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MEMOIRS

OF

THE ADMINISTRATION

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY PELHAM,

COLLECTED FROM THE FAMILY PAPERS,

AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

BY WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.

ARCHDEACON OF WILTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO HIS GRACE

HENRY-PELHAM PELHAM-CLINTON,

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, EARL OF LINCOLN,

KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,

THESE MEMOIRS,

DERIVED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES OF INFORMATION,

PRINCIPALLY THROUGH THE KINDNESS OF HIS GRACE,

ARE, WITH PERMISSION, INSCRIBED,

AS A TESTIMONIAL OF GRATITUDE AND RESPECT,

BY THE DESIRE

OF

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

I SUBMIT this Work to the Public, with extreme diffidence, as it was composed under the increasing infirmities of age, and a total defect of sight. Sensible of these disadvantages, I considered my literary career as terminated, by the "MEMOIRS OF THE DUKE OF SHREWSBURY;" and therefore I deem it necessary to state the motives which prompted me, at so late a period of life, to resume my favourite pursuits.

Soon after completing the "Memoirs of the Life and Administration of SIR ROBERT WALPOLE," I conceived the design of tracing, in a sequel to that work, the revolutions of the cabinet, and the struggles of parties, during the ministry of MR. PELHAM. In this view I was encouraged, by the communication of numerous documents from various collections, particularly from the papers of Horatio, first Lord Walpole, who long continued on the most intimate terms with Mr. Pelham; and also from those of Lord Hardwicke, who filled the important post of Chancellor, from 1736 to 1756. By these and other aids, I hoped that I should be enabled to elucidate a period of our History, comparatively little known. Understanding also, that the late Miss Pelham, daughter of the minister, possessed many documents from her father's private collection, I applied to her on the subject; but, though my application was kindly seconded by the Duchess Dowager of Newcastle, the relict of the grandson of Mr. Pelham, I could not conquer her objections to the communication of those papers. In consequence of this disappointment, the design was relinquished, though I had, in the interim, procured much additional information, particularly from the papers of Sir Thomas Robinson,* of Mr. Keith, and of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.

The Correspondence of the Duke of Shrewsbury had not been long submitted to the Public, when the "Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George the Second," a posthumous work of Horatio, third Earl of Orford, issued from the press. This book attracted my attention, as the production of a nobleman well acquainted with the transactions and characters of the period. I found, however, with regret, that though it contained much valuable and original matter, it was deeply imbued with the prejudices and antipathies of the writer, and was calculated to create an impression, highly unfavourable to the character of Mr. Pelham. The misrepresentations, and errors with which it abounded, induced me to enter into a new and attentive scrutiny of the documents I had laid aside. While I was engaged in this pursuit, I received a flattering communication from the Duke of Newcastle, offering the use of such papers and information as his Grace could procure, with the view of presenting a faithful and impartial narrative of the administration of his ancestor. By his Grace's kindness, I was permitted to examine those very papers which Miss Pelham had before withheld, and which had been transferred, through her bequest, to her nephew and executor, the Honourable Charles Watson, son of the first Lord Sondes, and of Grace, the third daughter of Mr. Pelham.

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* Afterwards Lord Grantham.

These advantages encouraged me to resume my original design, not merely with a view to beguile the tædium of my situation, but also to contribute the means left at my disposal, for the illustration of a curious and interesting period of our National History.*

When I had nearly completed my intended work, I was honoured with a communication from the late lamented Earl of Chichester, liberally offering me access to the letters and papers of the Duke of Newcastle, which his lordship inherited from his noble father. Availing myself of this proposal, the whole collection was submitted, at my request, to my friend Mr. Rylance, who made extracts or copies of the most important documents. Hence I was enabled to enlarge my narrative, and to correct and explain many points, on which I had before possessed but imperfect information.

With the assistance of my late faithful and able secretary, Mr. Hatcher, as well as of Mr. Rylance, I have completed this Work, and now offer it to the candour of the Public, trusting in that indulgence, which I have so frequently experienced, and to which I have now an additional claim.

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* It is much to be regretted that, excepting the papers in the possession of the late Miss Pelham, no letters or documents were found by Mr. Pelham's executors at the time of his decease. In fact, many of the papers relating to his administration remained in the hands of his secretary, Mr. Roberts, who, by his will, left them to Lady Katherine Pelham, the relict of Mr. Pelham, requesting her either to deliver them to her nephew, the Earl of Lincoln, or to destroy them; but notwithstanding the most diligent search, no such papers have been found, and there is reason to conclude that they were destroyed by the widow of Mr. Roberts. This loss, however, is in some measure compensated, by numerous letters from Mr. Pelham, which are preserved in the collection bequeathed by his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, to his relative Thomas Pelham, who succeeded to the title of Lord Pelham, and was afterwards created Earl of Chichester.

It is here proper to specify the materials to which I have had recourse.

1. ORFORD PAPERS.
2. HARDWICKE PAPERS.
3. WALPOLE PAPERS.
4. GRANTHAM PAPERS.
5. CAMPBELL PAPERS.
6. HANBURY PAPERS.
7. KEITH PAPERS.
8. PELHAM PAPERS, communicated by the Duke of Newcastle.
9. NEWCASTLE PAPERS, in the possession of the Earl of Chichester.

From the large Collection of the Orford Papers, I have drawn some important information, relative to the early period of Mr. Pelham's official career, particularly to the part which he took, in public affairs, towards the close of Sir Robert Walpole's ministry.

The Papers left by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke have proved a rich source of secret history, connected with the long period of the Chancellor's public life. The most valuable and curious portion of this collection comprises the confidential correspondence of his lordship, with the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham, down to the year 1753.

Another source, still more fertile, is the Collection of Horatio, first Lord Walpole, the brother of Sir Robert Walpole, from which I drew such valuable materials for other works. Of these documents, I particularly availed myself, in my "Memoirs of Lord Walpole," to elucidate indirectly the character and ministry of Mr. Pelham, with whom he was so long and intimately connected.

The mine, however, was not exhausted ; and in the present work, I have not only introduced new documents, but have placed in a different and more distinct light, some of those which I had previously employed. Of these I may particularly specify the confidential correspondence, long maintained, on the most important topics, between Lord Walpole and the minister.

The Campbell Papers contain some interesting letters from Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle, to Archibald, Duke of Argyle, which contribute to explain the transactions of government, as connected with the Rebellion of 1745.

From the Collection of Sir Thomas Robinson, afterwards Lord Grantham, embassador at the court of Vienna, from 1730 to 1748, and joint plenipotentiary at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, I have been enabled to throw new lights on that delicate and complicated negotiation. In that collection I also found some highly curious letters from the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Sandwich, on the same subject.

The Papers of Mr. Keith, who succeeded Sir Thomas Robinson at Vienna, have been instrumental, in extending and explaining the narrative relative to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and have furnished me with additional letters from the Dukes of Cumberland and Newcastle, and from Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, on the great political questions then at issue, particularly on the negotiation with the court of Vienna, for procuring the election of the Archduke Joseph as king of the Romans.

From the Hanbury Collection, I have selected many private letters, written by Mr. Fox and his friend Mr. Harris, on the intrigues and secret history of the Cabinet. These will be found to furnish information, which could be given only by a principal actor in the political drama.

The Pelham Papers form an important supplement to this mass of Historical Evidence. They comprise several confidential letters to Mr. Pelham, from Lord Orford, at the critical period which followed his lordship's retirement; and tend to display the causes which occasioned the elevation of Mr. Pelham, to the office of first Lord of the Treasury. They also contain some letters, between the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Sandwich, during the negotiations for the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But the most important portion of these papers, consists of the private letters between Mr. Pelham and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, on the most critical transactions of their administration; particularly on the negotiations for the Definitive Treaty, in 1748. The value of these documents, as illustrating the events of the period, and the characters of the writers, will be readily admitted.

The Newcastle Papers, in the possession of the Earl of Chichester, supplied an additional series of private correspondence, between the two brothers, and the Chancellor; more especially during the struggle for the removal of Lord Carteret, the negotiations for the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the stay of the Duke abroad in 1750, and 1752. Connected with this series are other papers, on subjects so multifarious, that it would be tedious to detail their contents. I must, however, particularly advert to the correspondence between the Dukes of Cumberland and Newcastle, from the year 1745, to 1748; and to the private and confidential letters, which passed between the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, at different periods, between 1743, and 1754; as well as to those between the two brothers in 1750, 1752, and 1753; also to the private letters between the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Stone, his confidential Secretary; and between Mr. Pelham and Mr. Stone, at several periods.

Portions of this voluminous correspondence have been introduced into the narrative. It was originally my intention to have followed the same course throughout the whole work; but as the documents were too numerous to be introduced in the latter part of these Memoirs, I have extracted the substance, and thrown the letters themselves into the Illustrative Correspondence, that the reader may thus trace the general course of events in the History, and pursue the details, in the interesting series of papers with which it is illustrated. This new arrangement commences from the 19th Chapter, just before the conclusion of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

In composing the narrative, connecting and explaining these documents, and in tracing the progress of events, I have examined the most authentic printed authorities. Besides our national Historians, Smollett, and the Continuator of Rapin, I have consulted the Gazettes, Periodical Publications, and Pamphlets of the times; and have also profited by the testimony of foreign writers, most worthy of credit.

With respect to Parliamentary proceedings, I have relied on the Journals of the Lords and Commons for dates and facts. I have also derived considerable advantage from the abstracts of the speeches, contained in a Parliamentary Journal of remarkable passages and debates, during the third and fourth sessions of the third parliament of George the Second, composed by the honourable Philip Yorke, eldest son of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and successor to his estate and honours. This curious narrative contains a faithful account of the proceedings of the Lower House, recorded under the impression of the moment, and accompanied with occasional views of the Political History and Character of the Times. It was kindly communicated to me, in manuscript, some years ago, by my noble friend the Earl of Hardwicke; and has been since printed by Mr. Hansard, in his collection of Parliamentary Debates I have likewise examined and compared the reports of the speeches, given in the periodical publications, particularly in the London and Gentleman's Magazines. But, in tracing the proceedings of the Legislature, I have derived the greatest assistance from the Parliamentary History published by Mr. Hansard; which forms an invaluable and indispensable appendage to our national annals, and contains a vast mass of curious information.

As the principal intention of these Memoirs is, to give a specific account of the views and sentiments of Mr. Pelham, I have not scrupled to enter largely into the proceedings of the Legislature; because a very interesting portion of the public life of a British minister, belongs to Parliamentary History; and the best exposition of his principles, as well as the most accurate estimate of the merits or demerits of his measures, must be derived principally from the public debates. The printed speeches of Mr. Pelham, in particular, carry with them internal evidence of their general authenticity; and are in full accordance with the opinions expressed in his correspondence, and with the whole tenor of his patriotic administration.

Lastly, although it is not necessary to specify all my authorities, I cannot omit again to mention the Posthumous Memoirs of Lord Orford. To this work I have had recourse with considerable advantage; though I have been too sensible of the prejudices of the noble author, to confide in his relations, except in cases where I had collateral evidence to guide my judgment, or where peculiar circumstances left me no room to question the authenticity of his statements. In the reports of the Parliamentary Debates, it is but just to acknowledge my obligations to him, for intelligence not to be found in any other writer.

It gives me much pleasure to recognize on this, as on former occasions, the constant kindness of Sir George Nayler, Garter Principal King of Arms, in affording me the most authentic genealogical information. I have also to express my sincere thanks to William Woods, Esq. Norfolk Herald Extraordinary, for the prompt attention, which he kindly paid to my inquiries, and the assistance which he afforded me in verifying their results.

It remains for me to repeat, generally, my thanks to the possessors of the various collections of Papers, which were kindly communicated to me; and again to avow my particular obligations to the Duke of Newcastle, for the kind interest he has taken in this work, and the zeal and perseverance with which he has been pleased to facilitate my researches. A tribute of acknowledgement is also due to his Grace, for the obliging present of the plate, which illustrates the second volume.

Nor can I omit renewing the expression of my gratitude to the honourable Charles Watson, for imparting to me the above-mentioned correspondence, without control. I should have been happy had the late Earl of Chichester survived, to receive a similar tribute, for the unreserved confidence with which his lordship was pleased to intrust his valuable documents to my inspection, and the urbanity with which, on all occasions, he received my applications.

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THE WORK which is here submitted to the Reader, occupied the attention of its revered and venerable author, for several years previous to his death. It was left for publication to his brother the Reverend GEORGE COXE, and was by him consigned for revision and correction, during its progress through the Press, to Mr. Hatcher and Mr. Rylance. The share which they had both taken in the literary labours of the late Archdeacon, and their perfect acquaintance with his plans and style of composition, fully qualified them for this office ; and they have endeavoured to execute it with the utmost fidelity and attention. It is hoped, therefore, that these Volumes, though posthumous, and compiled under considerable disadvantages, will do no discredit to the well-earned and established reputation of the Writer.

May, 1829.

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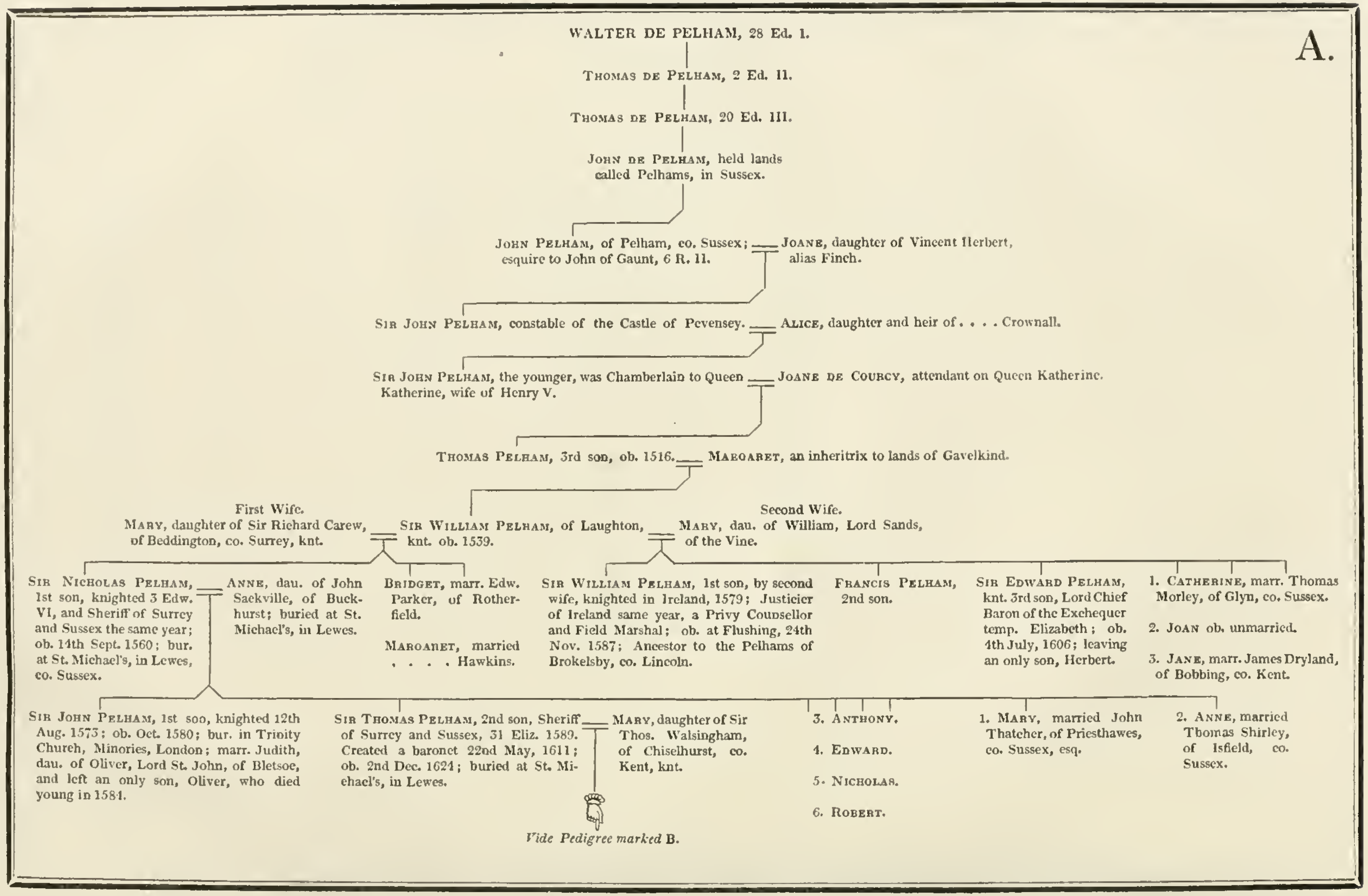
GENEALOGY.

GENEALOGY

OF THE

PELHAM FAMILY.



A.

WALTER DE PELHAM, 28 Ed. I.

THOMAS DE PELHAM, 2 Ed. II.

THOMAS DE PELHAM, 20 Ed. III.

JOHN DE PELHAM, held lands called Pelhams, in Sussex.

JOHN PELHAM, of Pelham, co. Sussex; esquire to John of Gaunt, 6 R. II. = JOANE, daughter of Vincent Herbert, alias Finch.

SIR JOHN PELHAM, constable of the Castle of Pevensey. = ALICE, daughter and heir of . . . . Crownall.

SIR JOHN PELHAM, the younger, was Chamberlain to Queen Katherine, wife of Henry V. = JOANE DE COURCY, attendant on Queen Katherine.

THOMAS PELHAM, 3rd son, ob. 1516. = MARGARET, an inheritrix to lands of Gavelkind.

First Wife. MARY, daughter of Sir Richard Carew, of Beddington, co. Surrey, knt. = SIR WILLIAM PELHAM, of Laughton, knt. ob. 1539. = Second Wife. MARY, dau. of William, Lord Sands, of the Vine.

SIR NICHOLAS PELHAM, 1st son, knighted 3 Edw. VI, and Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex the same year; ob. 14th Sept. 1560; bur. at St. Michael's, in Lewes, co. Sussex. = ANNE, dau. of John Sackville, of Buckhurst; buried at St. Michael's, in Lewes.

BRIDGET, marr. Edw. Parker, of Rotherfield.

MARGARET, married . . . . Hawkins.

SIR WILLIAM PELHAM, 1st son, by second wife, knighted in Ireland, 1579; Justicier of Ireland same year, a Privy Counsellor and Field Marshal; ob. at Flushing, 24th Nov. 1587; Ancestor to the Pelhams of Brokelsby, co. Lincoln.

FRANCIS PELHAM, 2nd son.

SIR EDWARD PELHAM, knt. 3rd son, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer temp. Elizabeth; ob. 4th July, 1606; leaving an only son, Herbert.

1. CATHERINE, marr. Thomas Morley, of Glyn, co. Sussex.

2. JOAN ob. unmarried.

3. JANE, marr. James Dryland, of Bobbing, co. Kent.

SIR JOHN PELHAM, 1st son, knighted 12th Aug. 1573; ob. Oct. 1580; bur. in Trinity Church, Minories, London; marr. Judith, dau. of Oliver, Lord St. John, of Bletsoe, and left an only son, Oliver, who died young in 1584.

SIR THOMAS PELHAM, 2nd son, Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, 31 Eliz. 1589. Created a baronet 22nd May, 1611; ob. 2nd Dec. 1624; buried at St. Michael's, in Lewes. = MARY, daughter of Sir Thos. Walsingham, of Chiselhurst, co. Kent, knt.

☞ *Vide Pedigree marked* B.

3. ANTHONY.

4. EDWARD.

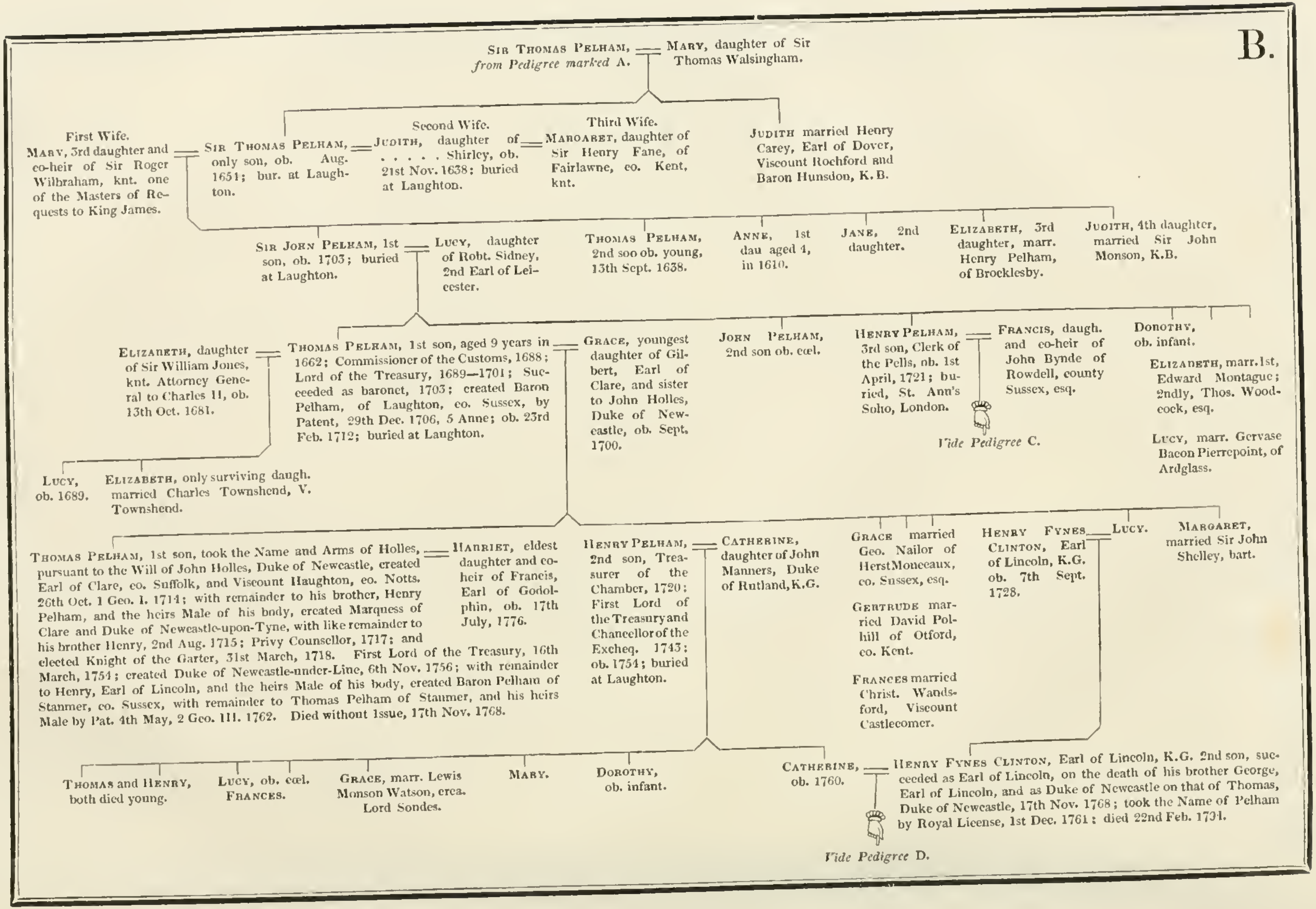
5. NICHOLAS.

6. ROBERT.

1. MARY, married John Thatcher, of Priesthawes, co. Sussex, esq.

2. ANNE, married Thomas Shirley, of Isfield, co. Sussex.

B.



Sir Thomas Pelham, *from Pedigree marked A.* = **Mary**, daughter of Sir Thomas Walsingham.

First Wife. **Mary**, 3rd daughter and co-heir of Sir Roger Wilbraham, knt. one of the Masters of Requests to King James. = **Sir Thomas Pelham**, only son, ob. Aug. 1651; bur. at Laughton. = Second Wife. **Judith**, daughter of . . . . . Shirley, ob. 21st Nov. 1638; buried at Laughton. = Third Wife. **Margaret**, daughter of Sir Henry Fane, of Fairlawne, co. Kent, knt.

Judith married Henry Carey, Earl of Dover, Viscount Rochford and Baron Hunsdon, K.B.

Sir John Pelham, 1st son, ob. 1703; buried at Laughton. = **Lucy**, daughter of Robt. Sidney, 2nd Earl of Leicester.

Thomas Pelham, 2nd son ob. young, 13th Sept. 1638.

Anne, 1st dau aged 4, in 1610.

Jane, 2nd daughter.

Elizabeth, 3rd daughter, marr. Henry Pelham, of Brocklesby.

Judith, 4th daughter, married Sir John Monson, K.B.

Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Jones, knt. Attorney General to Charles II, ob. 13th Oct. 1681. = **Thomas Pelham**, 1st son, aged 9 years in 1662; Commissioner of the Customs, 1688; Lord of the Treasury, 1689—1701; Succeeded as baronet, 1703; created Baron Pelham, of Laughton, co. Sussex, by Patent, 29th Dec. 1706, 5 Anne; ob. 23rd Feb. 1712; buried at Laughton. = **Grace**, youngest daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Clare, and sister to John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, ob. Sept. 1700.

John Pelham, 2nd son ob. cœl.

Henry Pelham, 3rd son, Clerk of the Pells, ob. 1st April, 1721; buried, St. Ann's Soho, London. = **Francis**, daugh. and co-heir of John Bynde of Rowdell, county Sussex, esq.

Vide Pedigree C.

Dorothy, ob. infant.

Elizabeth, marr. 1st, Edward Montague; 2ndly, Thos. Woodcock, esq.

Lucy, marr. Gervase Bacon Pierrepoint, of Ardglass.

Lucy, ob. 1689.

Elizabeth, only surviving daugh. married Charles Townshend, V. Townshend.

Thomas Pelham, 1st son, took the Name and Arms of Holles, pursuant to the Will of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, created Earl of Clare, co. Suffolk, and Viscount Haughton, co. Notts. 26th Oct. 1 Geo. I. 1714; with remainder to his brother, Henry Pelham, and the heirs Male of his body, created Marquess of Clare and Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with like remainder to his brother Henry, 2nd Aug. 1715; Privy Counsellor, 1717; and elected Knight of the Garter, 31st March, 1718. First Lord of the Treasury, 16th March, 1754; created Duke of Newcastle-under-Line, 6th Nov. 1756; with remainder to Henry, Earl of Lincoln, and the heirs Male of his body, created Baron Pelham of Stanmer, co. Sussex, with remainder to Thomas Pelham of Stanmer, and his heirs Male by Pat. 4th May, 2 Geo. III. 1762. Died without Issue, 17th Nov. 1768. = **Harriet**, eldest daughter and co-heir of Francis, Earl of Godolphin, ob. 17th July, 1776.

Henry Pelham, 2nd son, Treasurer of the Chamber, 1720; First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Excheq. 1743; ob. 1754; buried at Laughton. = **Catherine**, daughter of John Manners, Duke of Rutland, K.G.

Grace married Geo. Nailor of HerstMonceaux, co. Sussex, esq.

Gertrude married David Polhill of Otford, co. Kent.

Frances married Christ. Wandsford, Viscount Castlecomer.

Henry Fynes Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, K.G. ob. 7th Sept. 1728. = **Lucy**.

Margaret, married Sir John Shelley, bart.

Thomas and **Henry**, both died young.

Lucy, ob. cœl.

Frances.

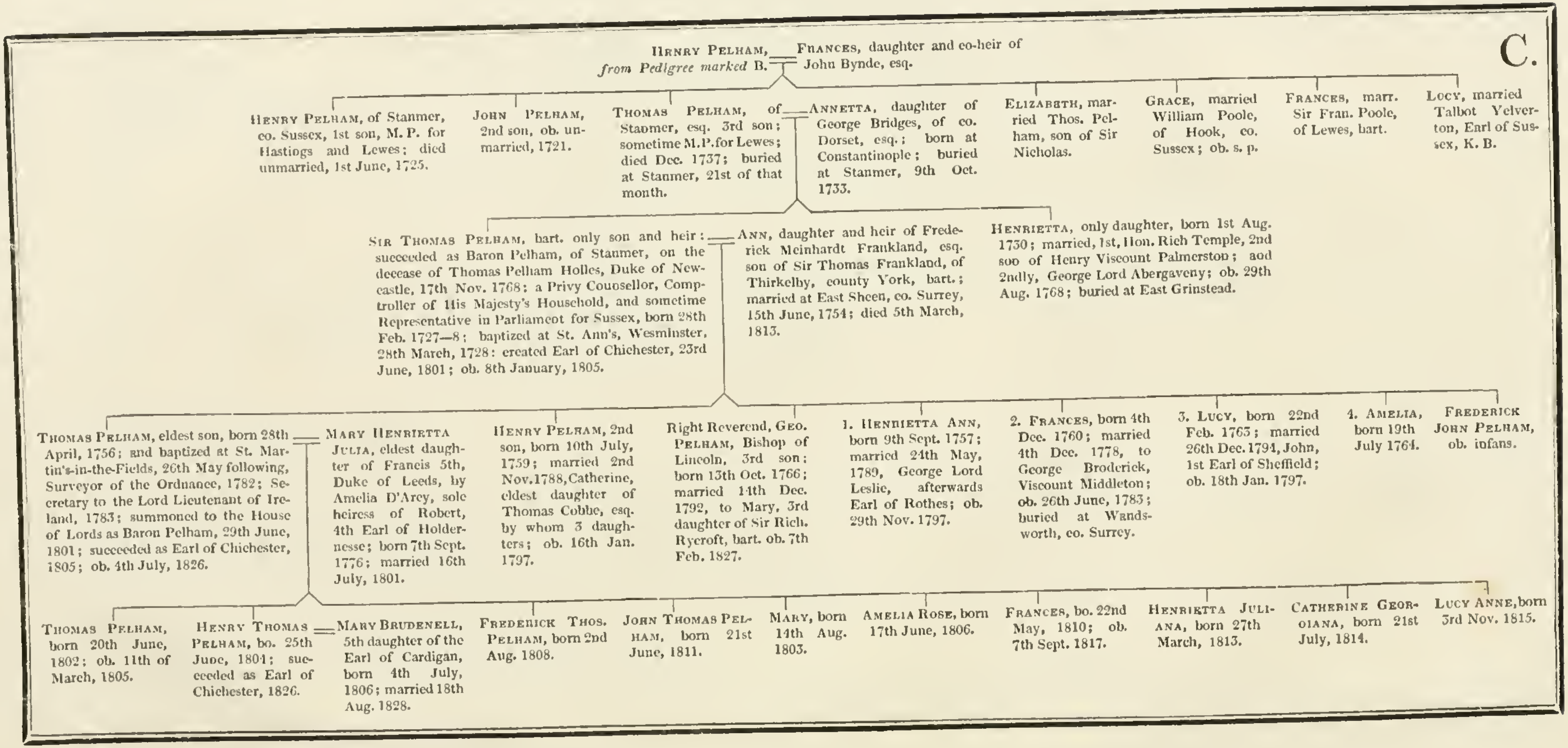
Grace, marr. Lewis Monson Watson, crea. Lord Sondes.

Mary.

Dorothy, ob. infant.

Catherine, ob. 1760. = **Henry Fynes Clinton**, Earl of Lincoln, K.G. 2nd son, succeeded as Earl of Lincoln, on the death of his brother George, Earl of Lincoln, and as Duke of Newcastle on that of Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, 17th Nov. 1768; took the Name of Pelham by Royal License, 1st Dec. 1761; died 22nd Feb. 1794.

Vide Pedigree D.



C.

Henry Pelham, *from Pedigree marked* B. = **Frances**, daughter and co-heir of John Bynde, esq.

Henry Pelham, of Stanmer, co. Sussex, 1st son, M. P. for Hastings and Lewes; died unmarried, 1st June, 1725.

John Pelham, 2nd son, ob. unmarried, 1721.

Thomas Pelham, of Stanmer, esq. 3rd son; sometime M.P. for Lewes; died Dec. 1737; buried at Stanmer, 21st of that month. = **Annetta**, daughter of George Bridges, of co. Dorset, esq.; born at Constantinople; buried at Stanmer, 9th Oct. 1733.

Elizabeth, married Thos. Pelham, son of Sir Nicholas.

Grace, married William Poole, of Hook, co. Sussex; ob. s. p.

Frances, marr. Sir Fran. Poole, of Lewes, bart.

Lucy, married Talbot Yelverton, Earl of Sussex, K. B.

Sir Thomas Pelham, bart. only son and heir: succeeded as Baron Pelham, of Stanmer, on the decease of Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle, 17th Nov. 1768; a Privy Counsellor, Comptroller of His Majesty's Household, and sometime Representative in Parliament for Sussex, born 28th Feb. 1727—8; baptized at St. Ann's, Wesminster, 28th March, 1728: created Earl of Chichester, 23rd June, 1801; ob. 8th January, 1805. = **Ann**, daughter and heir of Frederick Meinhardt Frankland, esq. son of Sir Thomas Frankland, of Thirkelby, county York, bart.; married at East Sheen, co. Surrey, 15th June, 1754; died 5th March, 1813.

Henrietta, only daughter, born 1st Aug. 1730; married, 1st, Hon. Rich Temple, 2nd son of Henry Viscount Palmerston; and 2ndly, George Lord Abergaveny; ob. 29th Aug. 1768; buried at East Grinstead.

Thomas Pelham, eldest son, born 28th April, 1756; and baptized at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, 26th May following, Surveyor of the Ordnance, 1782; Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1783; summoned to the House of Lords as Baron Pelham, 29th June, 1801; succeeded as Earl of Chichester, 1805; ob. 4th July, 1826. = **Mary Henrietta Julia**, eldest daughter of Francis 5th, Duke of Leeds, by Amelia D'Arcy, sole heiress of Robert, 4th Earl of Holdernesse; born 7th Sept. 1776; married 16th July, 1801.

Henry Pelham, 2nd son, born 10th July, 1759; married 2nd Nov. 1788, Catherine, eldest daughter of Thomas Cobbe, esq. by whom 3 daughters; ob. 16th Jan. 1797.

Right Reverend, **Geo. Pelham**, Bishop of Lincoln, 3rd son; born 13th Oct. 1766; married 14th Dec. 1792, to Mary, 3rd daughter of Sir Rich. Rycroft, bart. ob. 7th Feb. 1827.

1. **Henrietta Ann**, born 9th Sept. 1757; married 24th May, 1789, George Lord Leslie, afterwards Earl of Rothes; ob. 29th Nov. 1797.

2. **Frances**, born 4th Dec. 1760; married 4th Dec. 1778, to George Broderick, Viscount Middleton; ob. 26th June, 1783; buried at Wandsworth, co. Surrey.

3. **Lucy**, born 22nd Feb. 1763; married 26th Dec. 1794, John, 1st Earl of Sheffield; ob. 18th Jan. 1797.

4. **Amelia**, born 19th July 1764.

Frederick John Pelham, ob. infans.

Thomas Pelham, born 20th June, 1802; ob. 11th of March, 1805.

Henry Thomas Pelham, bo. 25th June, 1804; succeeded as Earl of Chichester, 1826. = **Mary Brudenell**, 5th daughter of the Earl of Cardigan, born 4th July, 1806; married 18th Aug. 1828.

Frederick Thos. Pelham, born 2nd Aug. 1808.

John Thomas Pelham, born 21st June, 1811.

Mary, born 14th Aug. 1803.

Amelia Rose, born 17th June, 1806.

Frances, bo. 22nd May, 1810; ob. 7th Sept. 1817.

Henrietta Juliana, born 27th March, 1813.

Catherine Georgiana, born 21st July, 1814.

Lucy Anne, born 3rd Nov. 1815.

D.

HENRY, Duke of Newcastle, &c. &c. &c. — CATHERINE PELHAM, ob. 1760.
from Pedigree marked B.

GEORGE CLINTON, 1st son, born 26th Nov. 1745; ob. 19th Aug. 1752.

HENRY CLINTON, 2nd son, born 5th Nov. 1750; married Frances, dau. of Francis Seymour Conway, 1st Marquis of Hertford, (by whom an only daughter Catherine, who married William, Visct. Folkestone, now Earl of Radnor) he ob. *vita patris*, 22nd Oct. 1778.

THOMAS PELHAM-CLINTON, Duke of Newcastle and Earl of Lincoln, born in St. Margaret's, Westminster, 1st July, 1752; baptized 28th same month; Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum, of the county of Notts; Major-General in the Army, and Colonel of the 17th Light Dragoons; died 17th May, 1795; buried at Windsor. — ANNA-MARIA, youngest daughter of William, Earl of Harrington; married 2nd May, 1782. — SIR CHARLES GREGAN-CRAUFORD, G.C.B. Lieutenant-General in the Army; married 13th Feb. 1800; died 26th March, 1821.

ANNA-MARIA PELHAM-CLINTON, eldest daughter, born 1st August, 1783; married at Clumber, co. Notts, in Jan. 1801, to Colonel Stapleton Cotton, now Viscount Combermere, G.C.B. &c.: she died 31st May, 1807.

HENRY-PELHAM PELHAM-CLINTON, Duke of Newcastle, &c. eldest son and heir, born in parish of Walton, co. Essex, 31st Jan. 1785; Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Notts, and of the town and county of Nottingham; Custos Rotulorum of the Borough of Newark; Steward of the Forest of Sherwood and Park of Folewood; and High Steward of Borough of Retford, all in said county of Notts. Elected Knight of the Garter, 19th June, 1812. — GEORGIANA-ELIZABETH, daughter of Edw. Millar Mundy, of Shipley, co. Derby, esq. by Georgiana, Dowager Lady Middleton, his 2nd wife, younger of the two daughters of Evelyn Chadwick, of West Leak, co. Notts, esq.: and co-heir to her brother, James Chadwick, esq.; married at Lambeth Palace, by Special Licence, 18th July, 1807.

THOMAS-PELHAM PELHAM-CLINTON, 2nd son, an Officer in the Army; born 23rd Feb. 1786; ob. 8th Oct. 1801; buried at Gibraltar; unmarried.

CHARLOTTE-PELHAM PELHAM-CLINTON, 2nd & youngest daughter, ob. unmarried, 23rd May, 1811; buried at Bothamsall, co. Notts.

HENRY-PELHAM PELHAM-CLINTON, eldest son, commonly called Earl of Lincoln; born 22nd May, 1811; baptized at St. George's, Hanover-square, co. Middlesex.

CHARLES-PELHAM PELHAM-CLINTON.

THOMAS-PELHAM PELHAM-CLINTON.

Twins, born 3rd Dec. 1813.

WILLIAM PELHAM-CLINTON, born 13th February, 1815.

EDWARD PELHAM-CLINTON, born 18th February, 1816.

JOHN PELHAM-CLINTON, born 22nd and died 23rd April, 1817.

ROBERT-RENEBALD PELHAM-CLINTON, born 15th Oct. 1820.

GEORGE PELHAM-CLINTON, born 24th Sept. and died 7th Oct. 1822.

ANNA-MARIA PELHAM-CLINTON, eldest daughter, born 6th August, 1808; baptized at Great Ealing, co. Middlesex; ob. 27th May, 1822.

GEORGIANA PELHAM-CLINTON, born 18th Mar. 1810; bapt. at St. George's, Hanover-square.

CHARLOTTE PELHAM-CLINTON, born 1st Oct. 1812; baptized at Putney, co. Surrey.

CAROLINE-AUGUSTA PELHAM-CLINTON, born 23rd Aug. 1818.

HENRIETTA PELHAM-CLINTON, born 29th Aug. 1819.

A daught. still-born, 24th Sept. 1822; twin with George.

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

Origin and distinction of the Pelham family—Account of Thomas, Lord Pelham—Characters of the Duke of Newcastle and his brother, Mr. Henry Pelham—Their principles, connections, and official situation—Mr. Pelham vigorously supports Sir Robert Walpole in Parliament—Differences between Sir Robert Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle—Successful mediation of Mr. Pelham and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.

MR. PELHAM, who, in conjunction with his brother, the duke of Newcastle, guided the helm of State from 1743 to 1754, was descended from an antient and honourable family.

His ancestors appear to have derived their name from the Lordship of Pelham, in Hertfordshire, where they were settled at the time of the Conquest. In the reign of Edward III. John de Pelham signalized himself at the Battle of Poitiers, and assisted in taking prisoner John, king of France. In memory of this action, the arms of the family were charged with the buckle of a sword-belt,* and a portion of leather adhering to it, as if it had remained in the hand of the warrior, when he unhorsed his royal captive; and this memorial is still borne by his descendants.

By his marriage with Joan, daughter of Vincent Herbert, or Finch, he acquired certain lands and houses in Winchelsea; and having been also appointed Constable of the Castle of Pevensey, by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, he transferred his residence to the county of Sussex. He was raised to the honour of knighthood in 1368, and his successors increased their possessions in the county, by various grants from Henry IV. and subsequent monarchs, among which were the manors of Laughton and Halland, on the attainder of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford.*

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* This buckle and sword-belt are quartered in the arms of the present duke of Newcastle, and of the earl of Chichester, both descended from the antient family of Pelham. See Collins's Peerage. Edit. 1812.

In the reign of James I., Thomas, the descendant of John de Pelham, was created a baronet. His son, Sir John, was one of the knights of the shire for the county of Sussex ; a distinction which several of his ancestors had enjoyed, and which he acquired, no less by the integrity of his character than by the extent of his property, and the consideration derived from his numerous connections. He was a member of the Parliament, which restored Charles II. and held his seat during four Parliaments, in the reign of that monarch. He espoused lady Lucy, second daughter of Robert Sidney, earl of Leicester, by whom he had three sons and two daughters.

His eldest son, Thomas,† the third baronet, as a member of the Convention Parliament, was a prominent mover of the Revolution ; and the sense entertained of his services was manifested, by his appointment in the first commission of Customs issued under king William. In 1689 he was nominated a lord of the Treasury, and held his seat at the board, until his resignation on the 1st of March, 1692,‡ when the Whigs were dismissed, to admit the Tories.

On the changes in administration, which were made in 1697, to gratify the Whigs, he was re-appointed one of the lords commissioners of the Treasury, and continued in that post, until the divisions among his party gave the preponderance to their opponents. On that occasion he resigned his employment, in June, 1699. Mr. Pelham was among those who ineffectually opposed the factious and ungrateful proceedings of the House of Commons, towards their great deliverer; and, although the Whigs were at this time persecuted with unrelenting animosity, the integrity and candour of his character secured him from the odium attached to his party. Accordingly, on the new commission of Treasury, in March, 1701, he was induced by the king, who greatly esteemed his moderation and capacity, to resume his place at the Treasury board, then under the management of lord Godolphin.

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* See Dugdale's Baronage.—Art. De Vere, Earl of Oxford.

† John, the second son, died unmarried; Henry, the third son, continued the collateral line, and was ancestor of the present earl of Chichester.

‡ Both Guthrie and Collins have fallen into an error in saying that he did not resign this post until 1694. His resignation appears in the Gazette of March 1, 1692.

He remained in the same post till the decease of king William. On that event he retired from his official situation; and, on the death of his father, in 1703, succeeding to his paternal honours and estates, he devoted his time to domestic concerns. But when the Whigs again became predominant, in 1706, Sir Thomas Pelham was among the first of that party who experienced the favour of the Crown; for he was raised to the peerage, by the title of Baron Pelham, of Laughton, in the county of Sussex. Continuing warmly attached to the same cause, he was one of the sixty-nine peers who voted for the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverel, which was then regarded as the test of Whig principles. He died at Halland, the family seat, in 1712, and was buried in the parish church of Laughton.*

Lord Pelham is commemorated as a nobleman of high integrity, candour, and disinterestedness; distinguished for great capacity in public business, for accurate knowledge of the laws and constitution, and for his zealous, though temperate attachment to rational liberty.

He was twice married. By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Jones, attorney-general to Charles II., he had two daughters, Lucy, who died unmarried, and Elizabeth, first wife of Charles, second viscount Townshend, who was afterwards prime minister to George I. He espoused, in second nuptials, lady Grace Holles, youngest daughter of Gilbert, earl of Clare, and sister of John Holles, duke of Newcastle. By this lady, who died in 1700, he had two sons, Thomas and Henry, and five daughters. Grace, the eldest, married George Naylor, esq. of Hurstmonceaux, in Sussex, and died in 1710; Frances, the second, Christopher Wandesford, viscount Castlecomer; Gertrude, the third, Edmund Polhill, esq. of Otford, in the county of Kent; Lucy, the fourth, Henry Clinton, seventh earl of Lincoln; and Margaret, the fifth, Sir John Shelley, baronet, of Michel Grove, in the county of Sussex.

The influence of their family, and their intimate connexion with lord viscount Townshend and Mr. Walpole, obtained for the sons of lord Pelham an early distinction.

Thomas, afterwards Duke of Newcastle, was born July 21, 1693. At an early age he was sent to Westminster school, where he made no inconsiderable progress in classical literature, and completed his education at Clare

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* This account of the Pelham family is principally derived from documents in the Heralds'-College; and from Collins's Peerage, edited by Sir Egerton Brydges.—Art. Duke of Newcastle, and Earl of Chichester.

Hall[*] in the University of Cambridge. By the will of his maternal uncle,[†] John Holles Cavendish, duke of Newcastle, who died July 15th, 1711, he was left his adopted heir, assumed the name and arms of Holles, and succeeded to a great part of his vast estates, by which inheritance, added to his own family property, he became one of the richest subjects in the kingdom.

In 1712 he succeeded to the barony of Pelham, on the death of his father; and at this early age displayed an ardent zeal for the Protestant Succession: it is even said by a contemporary author,[‡] that to his influence was greatly owing the prevention of public tumult in the metropolis, on the proclamation of George I. In 1714 he was created earl of Clare, by patent dated 26th October; and in August, 1715, duke of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and marquis of Clare, with remainder in default of male issue, to his brother, Henry Pelham, and his heirs male. The same year he married the lady Henrietta, daughter of Francis, earl of Godolphin, and grand-daughter of John, duke of Marlborough. In 1717 he was appointed Lord Chamberlain, and, in the succeeding year, was honoured with the Order of the Garter. In 1724 he received the Seals, as Secretary of State, on the dismissal of lord Carteret, through the influence of lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole.

The duke of Newcastle, to an extensive knowledge of foreign affairs, added an extraordinary activity and diligence in business. He wrote with peculiar fluency and correctness; and though he never possessed the grace and dignity of an accomplished orator, he was a bold, animated, and efficient debater, displaying equal address in attack and reply, zealously combating the arguments of his political adversaries, and defending with energy the measures of government.

Firmly attached to the House of Brunswick, and faithful to the principles of the Revolution, he adopted that political system, which was founded on the union of the maritime powers with the House of Austria, in opposition to France; and in this system he persevered, with singular constancy, during the joint administration of himself and his brother.

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[*] He was admitted on the 9th of May, 1709.—From the communication of the rev. Dr. Webb, Master of Clare Hall.

[†] It is remarkable that John, duke of Newcastle, should have left a great part of his estate to his nephew Thomas Pelham, son of his second sister, notwithstanding he had an only daughter Henrietta, and his eldest sister, Elizabeth, had a son, by her husband Christopher Vane, lord Barnard. This bequest occasioned a law-suit between Henrietta, afterwards wife of Edward Harley, second earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and the legatee, the duke of Newcastle, which, after a long litigation, was compromised and settled by act of Parliament, by which the daughter obtained nearly half her father's property; the remainder, which was assigned by the act to the duke of Newcastle, had been entailed by his uncle, in default of issue male, on himself, on his brother Henry Pelham, and on the children of his eldest sister Elizabeth, by lord Barnard.

[‡] Guthrie's Peerage.—Art. Pelham.

In pecuniary matters he was disinterested and generous; and, so far from improving his fortune by the emoluments of office, he diminished it, by an unsparing expenditure, in promoting the interests of his country, in supporting the Protestant Establishment, and in maintaining the proper dignity of his rank and station as a peer of the realm, and a minister of state.

From too high an opinion of his own merits and sagacity, he was at all times open to flattery; and when the possession of the Seals, as principal Secretary of State, had secured to him a great share of political power, this weakness became so obvious, that a well-turned compliment on his paramount influence over the affairs of Europe, was a sure passport to his favour.* His temper, naturally sanguine, inclined him to undervalue difficulties, to calculate too much on the success of his own projects, and to place too firm a reliance on the professions and promises of those foreign powers with whom he negociated.

Elated by his family influence, and by the consideration which he enjoyed, as the principal leader of the Whigs, as well as by his high station in the government, he had become fond of power, and tenacious of authority. Hence, his predominant foible was a sensitive jealousy of those with whom he was connected in administration: he always expected much deference to his opinion, and was continually apprehensive lest his colleagues in office should obtain greater influence with the sovereign and the parliament, than himself. This official jealousy, combined with a disposition fretful and irritable, caused great uneasiness to all his friends, not even excepting his brother, of which we shall find frequent instances in the course of this work. Conscious, however, of this defect, he frequently listened to the remonstrances of those who enjoyed his confidence; and, in his cooler moments, endeavoured to make amends for the uneasiness and embarrassments which he had occasioned.

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* Lord Chesterfield alludes to this foible in one of his Letters to his Son:—

"Tell him, *en badinant*, that his skill and success in thirty or forty elections in England, leave you no reason to doubt of his carrying his election at Frankfort; and that you look upon the archduke as his member for the empire."—Letter from lord Chesterfield to his Son, dated 26th June, 1752.

In his correspondence with the lord chancellor Hardwicke, he gives continual proofs of this placability; and we cannot adduce better evidence of the readiness with which he could be brought to sacrifice his opinions, and acknowledge the hastiness of his temper, than in one of his replies to a friendly remonstrance of the Chancellor.

"*March* 1738-9.

"At my coming home last night, I received your lordship's most tender and affectionate letter. I never entertained one moment any doubt of your goodness or friendship to me, of which I daily receive such valuable proofs; but I must own I was extremely hurt to find myself so universally blamed, the other night, by all my best friends; and as I knew I intended nothing more, but as Chavigny says, *de constater nos principes*, the opposition I met with, from a certain quarter,* I thought no good omen for our future proceedings. However, your kind letter has convinced me, that I misjudged the time, and I heartily wish I could have had your previous opinion; and then, I am persuaded, I should have submitted to it. "*Habes confitentem reum*," and I have only the farther favour to beg, that notwithstanding what has passed the other night, you would continue the same kind and friendly advice; and pursue, in your own way, the view you had so affectionately followed, of preserving that good harmony, which is so much to be desired for public, as well as private reasons. As to the measures to be taken, with regard to the public, I am persuaded you and I do not differ, and as to the time or means of bringing them about, I shall hereafter entirely submit to your better and cooler judgment. I shall call upon you for one half hour this evening, before eight o'clock, if you will give me leave; and am, if possible, more than ever yours, &c."

In domestic life the duke of Newcastle was social and affable; kind to his dependants, cordial with his friends, and most affectionately attached to his wife, whose health, at all times delicate, frequently suffered from an hysterical complaint, and over whom, on such occasions, he watched with the fondest solicitude.

Henry Pelham was born in 1696, and received his early education in the house of his noble father, under the tuition of the learned Dr. Richard Newton, then student of Christ-church, Oxford, by whose instructions he improved the solid, rather than brilliant, talents, which he derived from nature. Dr.

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* Sir Robert Walpole.

Newton having been appointed principal of Hart-hall, in the University of Oxford, in July 1710, Mr. Pelham, the following September, though only in his fifteenth year, was admitted into that Society, for the purpose of continuing his studies under the superintendence of so able an instructor.* He entered into public life at an early period, and gave a proof of his loyalty, when the Protestant Establishment was endangered by the rebellion of 1715. As a captain in the regiment of general Dormer,† he distinguished himself on various occasions, and especially in the brief, but decisive battle, at Preston in Lancashire.

Soon after this event Mr. Pelham visited the continent, and having spent a short time at Paris, returned to England. He landed at Dover in the latter end of October 1717, and, passing through the capital, hastened to Hampton Court, to pay his respects to the king, by whom he was received with flattering marks of attention. He was also affectionately welcomed by his brother, who had been recently appointed to the office of Lord Chamberlain.

Mr. Pelham thus notifies his arrival, and describes the state of the court and parties, in a letter to his friend, Mr. Berkeley, whom he had left at Paris.

"*November 3rd*, 1717.

"After some few misfortunes on the road, and a very violent storm at sea, I got up to Dover last Saturday, and to London last Sunday, where I found very little company, except the prince's family. I went afterwards to Hampton Court, where I was much flattered, and had great honours done me. The news of the town now, and whole conversation, is, of the young prince, who was born last night at six o'clock, and her royal highness very well. I never saw any body so transported as the prince of Wales. Lord Hervey being in waiting, was sent immediately to the king, and had the honour of kissing his majesty's hand. * * * * * *

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* His matriculation is thus recorded:—
1710, Sep. 6.
Ex Aulâ Cervinâ.
Hen. Pelham. 15. Tho. de civ. Lond. Barron. fil.
—Extract from the archives of the University of Oxford, communicated by the rev. Dr. Bandinel, principal librarian of the Bodleian Library.

† From the documents in the War-office, it appears that Mr. Pelham was appointed, July 22nd, 1715, a captain in brigadier Dormer's regiment. No previous rank being stated against his name, as is usually the case, this was probably his first commission, and as no other promotion has subsequently been found, we may conclude that he served in this expedition only as a volunteer, and did not afterwards continue in the army.—By favour of Richard Brown, esq. chief Examiner of army accounts in the War-office.

"Politics are much as you left them, the difference running as high between the two courts as ever. The king forbade the lord of the bedchamber inviting lord Townshend, and Walpole,* to dine with him at Newmarket; all others were very welcome. The ministers say they have nothing to ask this sessions, that can be refused them, only common subsidies. They are reducing the army to fifteen thousand men, that reduction to be made by private men out of each company and troop, without breaking the corps."† * *

As Mr. Pelham was now of age, he was brought into parliament, in February 1719, for the borough of Seaford in Sussex, in which place his family had considerable influence.

In 1720 he was appointed treasurer of the chamber, on the recommendation of lord Townshend, his brother-in-law, and his friend Mr. Walpole, both of whom the king had recently recalled to his service; the former being appointed president of the council, the latter paymaster of the forces. On the 6th of May, Mr. Pelham made his first speech in the House of Commons, as mover of an address of thanks, for his majesty's condescension in asking the advice of parliament, concerning the insurance of ships and merchandise, and the appropriation of supplies from that source, in aid of the civil list. The motion was seconded by Mr. Walpole, who thus announced his secession from the ranks of opposition, and gave the first public indication of that accordance in sentiment with his young friend, which characterised the whole of their subsequent connection.

In 1721, when lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole were restored to their former posts, as secretary of state, and minister of finance, Mr. Pelham was called to the Treasury board, where his diligence and services gave him an additional claim to the friendship of Mr. Walpole.

In the general election in 1722, he was unanimously chosen one of the members for Sussex, of which county he continued to be the representative during the remainder of his life. In 1724, he was nominated to the post of secretary at war, which he filled until 1730, when he obtained the lucrative and honourable office of paymaster of the forces. In his different employments he was no less remarkable for urbanity of demeanour than for great regularity and unremitted diligence in business.

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* For the causes of the removal of lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole, of the appointment of lord Sunderland and Mr. Stanhope, and also of the misunderstanding between the king and prince of Wales, see "Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole, Ch. 15, 16, and 19."

† This letter is printed among the Collection of Letters to and from Henrietta Countess of Suffolk and the Hon. George Berkeley, vol. I. p. 17.—Published by the right hon. J. W. Croker, first Secretary in the Admiralty-office.

In his first efforts as an orator, he was occasionally embarrassed; but this effect of youth and inexperience was soon removed by practice, and he commanded the attention of the House, by the candour of his demeanour and the soundness of his judgment. We are indeed informed by a contemporary writer,* that the members in opposition paid more deference to him than to any other friend of the minister.

The zeal, however, with which he supported the measures of government during the debates in parliament, often brought him into contention with Mr. Pulteney, the leader of opposition; and, in one instance, such warmth arose between them, that a duel was likely to ensue. After a short conversation, in which a challenge is supposed to have been given, Mr. Pulteney quitted the House, and Mr. Pelham rose up to follow him, but some common friends interposing, the Speaker ordered the serjeant at arms to summon Mr. Pulteney to return. In the mean time, it was resolved by the House, "that they be enjoined not to prosecute any quarrel, or shew any farther resentment, for what had passed between them." Mr. Pulteney having returned, the Speaker acquainted him with the injunction, after which the two members stood up in their places to explain; but the explanation not being deemed sufficiently satisfactory, they were required to be more explicit, and accordingly they declared that they would obey the order of the House.† This is the only instance, during Mr. Pelham's long career in parliament, in which he appears to have been engaged in a serious quarrel, with any of the members in opposition.

In the debates on the Excise-bill, in March 1733, he warmly supported that measure, in defiance of party and popular clamour. During this period of agitation, he not only defended the minister in parliament, but on one occasion evinced his personal attachment by an act of great intrepidity. After the last debate on the bill, as Sir Robert Walpole was passing through the lobby of the House of Commons, accompanied by Mr. Pelham, he was surrounded by a clamorous mob, not of rabble, but of well-dressed persons. When the two friends had nearly reached the steps leading to Alice's coffee-house, some individuals seized Sir Robert's cloak, and as the collar was tightly fastened, nearly strangled him. At this moment of danger Mr. Pelham attacked the assailants, pushed Sir Robert into the passage leading to the coffee-house, and, drawing his sword, stationed himself at the entrance, exclaiming in a firm and determined tone, "Now, gentlemen, who will be first to fall?" This spirited defiance over-awed the assailants, who quietly dispersed. *

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* Guthrie.

† Continuation of Rapin, vol. xx. p. 121.

Mr. Pelham participated in the zeal of the minister in favour of the pacific system, and supported his wise, though fruitless, attempts to prevent a war with Spain.

In 1740 and 1741 he took a prominent share in opposing the parliamentary attacks on Sir Robert Walpole; and, in the debate which took place on the 13th of Feb. 1740-41, on the celebrated motion, made by Mr. Sandys, for the removal of the minister, he stood forth as his principal defender.† His speech on this occasion evinces not only great powers of argument, but considerable knowledge of foreign and domestic affairs, admirably combined and directed, in justifying the system of policy which was now so pertinaciously arraigned. Sir Robert Walpole felt the full value of so efficient a coadjutor, and frankly declared, that to Mr. Pelham he owed his principal support in the House of Commons.

During these occurrences, Mr. Pelham experienced great difficulty in soothing the official jealousy of his brother, and in suspending the consequent disputes between him and Sir Robert Walpole, which frequently rose so high as to threaten a breach in the administration. These altercations had been witnessed by Mr. Pelham with pain and anxiety. He therefore strongly recommended to his brother to use a greater degree of caution in his correspondence with the minister, and also persuaded him to have recourse to the advice of the chancellor, and to submit to his dispassionate opinion. We find that the duke listened to these prudent suggestions, and occasionally employed the chancellor to correct any intemperate expression which had escaped his pen. Of these circumstances we have proof in the following letters written by Mr. Pelham to his brother.

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* In the memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 41, I have asserted, on a traditional report, that the minister was saved by the exertions of his second son, Sir Edward Walpole, and general Churchill; but I here correct the anecdote, from the particulars related by Sir Edward Walpole himself, to Edward Roberts, esq. late clerk of the Pells, who communicated them to me.

† See Chandler's History and proceedings of the House of Commons, vols. xii and xiii.

"Dear Brother; *Halland, Aug. 9th*, 1738.

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"I have read your papers, and can easily feel for you, considering the difficulties you were under, and the little time you had to form your conduct and digest your thoughts, upon this great and important result.[*] Horace and you write to one another like friends, but I must say like friends at a great distance. I wish, considering how you intended to close, that you had omitted some parts of what you said, though I dare say it will be . . . . .[†] by the duke of Richmond. I find it was very much approved of by them that differed with you in their conclusions. You know my reasons why I wish some things had been omitted, not from the impropriety or ill judgment of what you said in general, but from the knowledge of the person[‡] whom I wish you most to agree with, and therefore, as I think, by your letters, you do agree with him, in what is to be done now, what occasion was there for reminding him, that you differed with him in the fundamentals, that brought these propositions before you. I wish Mr. Walpole had been present at the cabinet; for I really believe he would then have done everything he could to have prevented his brother's being in a passion, and easily might have prevented what occasioned it.

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"I am very sorry to find Lord Chancellor is so much out of order. If his indisposition goes off he should come to London; for, in these times, many persons that mean the same thing, and have temper and wisdom to express their meaning, do great service."

"Dear Brother; *Houghton, Nov. 15th*, 1738.[§]

"This morning we read over your dispatches together, and Sir Robert, I can assure you, not only in the conclusion, but as he went along, approved of every paragraph in your letter. I did not tell him that I had your original draught, nor did he insinuate that you had any assistance in forming it. I am glad you took Lord Chancellor's alterations; for though they don't make any great difference in the substance of what you wrote, yet it makes your orders introduced in a manner more agreeable to the present system, than your way of writing was; what I mean is, yours had more of what Sir Robert calls 'invita Minerva.'

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[*] Alluding to the negotiations for terminating the disputes with Spain.

[†] This word is illegible.

[‡] Sir Robert Walpole.

[§] Newcastle Papers.

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"You may be well satisfied with Sir Robert's reception of your letters; for, without flattery, I never saw him better pleased, nor indeed do I think he had ever more reason. You see what a willing mind can do. So much for politics. As a sportsman, we have had as fine chases yesterday and Monday, both fox and hare, as ever I saw in this country, or almost any other. Our landlord* keeps out the whole time, and, though he cannot ride hard, enters into the whole, and pleases himself with getting in by his knowledge of the country."

The conciliatory efforts of Mr. Pelham, aided by those of the chancellor, were also successful in another instance, which shortly afterwards occurred, when Sir Robert Walpole offended the duke of Newcastle, by resolving to confer the post of Privy Seal, on the intended resignation of lord Godolphin, upon lord Hervey, who had repeatedly insulted the duke by his sarcastic reflections. Finding his remonstrances against this obnoxious appointment of no avail, the duke adopted the resolution of resigning. In a violent letter to the lord chancellor, he details, in exaggerated terms, the evil consequences, which he supposed would follow the appointment of lord Hervey to the post of Privy Seal, and which would particularly affect his lordship, the duke of Grafton, Mr. Pelham, and himself. After artfully observing, that their weight and authority would be considerably diminished by the elevation of lord Hervey, and expatiating with a great degree of irritation, on the ill effects which he himself in particular apprehended, he continues "If your lordship should think, that in order to make my cause your own, I have stated too strongly what I apprehend may be the consequence to yourself, I shall dwell no longer upon that, but bring it to the point, where Sir Robert Walpole himself has put it, and where I am sure I am not mistaken—I mean as it affects me; and, as it will be impossible for me to continue in my employment with any ease, credit, or reputation, I hope my friends will see it in that light, and then do what they think is proper upon the occasion. Might it be too much to hope for, from your lordship's friendship, that you would take an opportunity to let Sir Robert Walpole see, and that very soon, that if this measure is obstinately pursued, it will be impossible for your lordship and the rest of us, to take that part in the administration that we have hitherto done; and that, if Sir Robert Walpole has any intention to single me out as the object of his resentment, by making this promotion, in order to render my continuance in office uneasy to me, or indeed impracticable, if that should happen to be the case, it would create great confusion in the king's administration, and could not but be resented by those who are so good as to entertain a friendship and concern for me. If you think any thing of this kind right, you will word it in a much better manner than I can do. My meaning only is, that Sir Robert Walpole should see, that the promoting my lord Hervey to the privy-seal would necessarily occasion a breach in the administration. If I have said too much, or if what I have proposed is unreasonable, I hope you will excuse it, as it proceeds from the most mature and impartial consideration that I can give this affair.

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* It is well known that Sir Robert Walpole was a very keen sportsman, and fond of the chase even to a late period of his life. He was at this time in his sixty-third year. He kept a pack of hounds both at Houghton and New Park; and the late lord Hardwicke, in his Walpoliana, informs us, that in times the most critical, he would always open the letters of his gamekeeper before those of the ministers, or even of the king.

"My own party, I think, is taken; I have thoroughly weighed and considered it. I shall not alone, abruptly, at the beginning of the session, give up, because my lord Hervey is made privy-seal; but I shall from that moment determine to have nothing more to do with Sir Robert Walpole, and to take my opportunity of withdrawing from the administration, when I can do it with the greatest duty and respect to the king, and with the greatest regard to my own honour and reputation; and I think nobody can blame me, when they consider the reason assigned by Sir Robert Walpole himself for this measure, and the professed disinclination and dissatisfaction that he has with me."

After a few similar observations, he concludes with the following postscript, "These are my own pure genuine thoughts; my brother knows nothing of this letter, and if your lordship pleases, it may remain a secret from him. My heart must be full upon this subject; and I am sorry to say, that every circumstance that passes, upon every other subject, does but too much confirm me in my opinion in relation to this."*

In consequence of his determination, the duke endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Pelham, and all his other friends, to concur with him in tendering their resignation. But as no remonstrances could induce the minister to desist from his intention of conferring the post of privy-seal upon lord Hervey, and as he had obtained the approbation of the king, both Mr. Pelham and the chancellor disapproved so violent a measure for so trifling a cause. Accordingly, by their temperate advice, they appeased the resentment of the duke of Newcastle, and finally persuaded him to acquiesce in the appointment of lord Hervey, which, after a suspense of several months, took place in April 1740.

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* Duke of Newcastle to lord Hardwicke, Oct. 14th, 1739. Hardwicke Papers, MS.

On this occasion we find a letter from Mr. Pelham to the chancellor, gratefully acknowledging the success of his interposition, in reconciling his brother and Sir Robert Walpole.

"My Dear Lord;

"* I cannot sufficiently express the sense I have of your great goodness to my brother, his friends, and family. You have given ease to my mind; and by your successful negotiation, I have procured what I almost despaired of, a mutual inclination in both parties, to live together in friendship and confidence for the future.—I saw my brother and Sir Robert together yesterday morning, and, by their looks and behaviour, we could have thought there had never been any coldness between them.—Horace,† I had some discourse with alone, who took the force of every thing your lordship said to him, and I think agrees with you in almost every point. He promises, and I believe him, to act upon the plan your lordship laid down, and answers very confidently for his brother. I hope we shall be able to keep our friend from taking unnecessary exceptions also; and if so, I am not sure but the dangerous experiment may have produced some good with regard to futurity. I have not yet seen Sir Robert alone, but will endeavour to do it to-morrow or Monday, at New Park. I cannot flatter myself that any thing I shall say, can give force to what your lordship has, with so much truth and affection, said already; but you may be assured I will follow your steps, and only confirm, as far as in me lies, what you have promised, and what you desired.

"I cannot finish this letter, without repeating my most sincere and hearty thanks to your lordship, and hoping that you believe there is no one that can have a greater honour and esteem, and if I may say so, friendship, for your lordship, than your most obedient and obliged servant."‡

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* Hardwicke Papers.

† Mr. Walpole.

‡ This letter is without date, but was evidently written in 1740; and as lord Hervey was appointed in April, that year, we can scarcely doubt that it relates to the dispute on his promotion. Of which, see an account also in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 53.

SECTION II.

Foreign and domestic Transactions at the close of Sir Robert Walpole's administration—Rise and progress of the war with Spain—Events which followed the death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth—Accession of Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary—War for the Austrian Succession—The King of Prussia invades Silesia, and defeats the Austrians at the battle of Molwitz—England warmly supports the House of Austria, and grants a subsidy to the Queen of Hungary—Intrigues of France for the dismemberment of the Austrian dominions—The King of England collects an army to support the Queen of Hungary—Advance of two French armies into Germany—Forced neutrality of Hanover—Successful irruption of the French and Bavarians into Upper Austria—Unpopularity of the Hanover neutrality—Dissatisfaction of the Duke of Newcastle—His resolution to resign, prevented by the advice of Mr. Pelham—Correspondence on the subject.

BEFORE we proceed in our Narrative, we deem it necessary to take a survey of the state of foreign and domestic affairs, towards the close of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, and to advert to the principal events which occurred, during the short ministerial career of lord Wilmington. This preliminary survey will elucidate the situation of the cabinet, the views of parties in England, the state of the country, and the aspect of foreign affairs, when Mr. Pelham was placed at the head of the Treasury.

It had ever been the policy of Sir Robert Walpole to persevere in the same pacific line of conduct, which had fixed the House of Brunswick on the British throne, secured the safety of the Protestant Establishment, augmented the resources, and promoted the prosperity of England. With a view, therefore, of maintaining his pacific system, the minister anxiously laboured to avoid a rupture with Spain; being well aware of the dangers and difficulties in which it would involve the nation, at a time when no dependence could be placed on the assistance of a single ally on the continent, and when it was morally certain, that in such a contest, England would have to withstand the whole House of Bourbon. But his consent to a declaration of hostilities was extorted, by the clamour of the people, the remonstrances of his colleagues, and the cabals of his adversaries. The event fully justified his forebodings. Expeditions were, indeed, directed against the colonies of Spain, the only vulnerable part of her dominions; but their issue was attended with the most disastrous consequences. The useless conquest of Porto Bello was relinquished, the attack upon Carthagena was unsuccessful, and the meditated attempt upon the Havanna being abandoned,* the fleets returned to England, with the loss of twenty thousand men, and the expenditure of six millions sterling.

Amidst these disasters a new scene of peril and alarm was opened on the continent. After the death of the emperor Charles VI., on the 20th of October, 1740, a deceitful calm had prevailed; and, as none of the numerous pretenders to the Austrian Succession advanced any claim, except the elector of Bavaria, Maria Theresa, the daughter and heiress of the deceased emperor, had taken tranquil possession of her hereditary dominions. The calm was however of short duration; for Frederic II., who had recently ascended the throne of Prussia, poured his troops into Silesia, under the pretext of enforcing some obsolete claims to that duchy, and in January 1741 entered the capital, Breslau, almost without opposition. On this unexpected aggression, Maria Theresa made the most earnest appeals for aid to all the guarantees of her hereditary Succession; but from none, except England, did she derive any real assistance.

Deeply concerned at this new accession, to the evils which he had endeavoured to avert, Sir Robert Walpole earnestly deprecated every measure likely to extend the war to the continent. Although he was disappointed, in his endeavours to induce the queen of Hungary, to purchase a peace by the cession of part of Silesia, he still protracted the negotiation; but being again overborne by the importunities of the king, the sentiments of the cabinet, and the voice of the people, he finally consented that an appeal, in her favour, should be submitted to Parliament.

The king accordingly made an animated speech from the throne, on the 8th of April, in which he announced his resolution to maintain the balance of power in Europe, by supporting the queen of Hungary. He stated, that in consequence of the requisition of that Princess, for the aid of twelve thousand men, stipulated by treaty, he had applied to the king of Denmark, and to the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse Cassel, for that number of auxiliaries, to be ready to march forthwith to her assistance; and was concerting other measures, calculated to defeat the designs which were forming, or formed, to the prejudice of the House of Austria. He concluded by requesting the concurrence and support of Parliament.*

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* War was declared in October, and Porto Bello was taken and relinquished in November 1739. Carthagena was attacked in March 1741, and the fleet returned to Jamaica in the following May. Admiral Vernon, the commander of the fleet, arrived in England January 1743.

For an account of these disastrous expeditions, see Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Period 7., chap. 54, and History of the Kings of Spain, of the House of Bourbon, chap. 43 and 44.

On these grounds the minister proposed a grant of 300,000*l.* to the queen of Hungary; and, in the debate which ensued, the motion was strenuously vindicated by Mr. Pelham. An address was accordingly voted to the throne, and the grant was accompanied with an assurance, that Parliament would assist his Majesty in the defence of his own continental dominions, if attacked in consequence of this measure.

The hopes still entertained by the minister, of effecting a reconciliation between Austria and Prussia, were frustrated by the opposition, especially by lord Carteret, who encouraged the court of Vienna to persevere, and adduced the relief now given, as an earnest of future support. Thenceforward events took that course which Sir Robert Walpole had foreseen and dreaded. Notwithstanding the total defeat of her forces by the king of Prussia, in the sanguinary battle of Molwitz, on the 10th of April, Maria Theresa still rejected all overtures for an accommodation, and persisted in the continuance of hostilities, with the hope of preserving her inheritance entire.

At this period the king of England had repaired to Hanover, determined to assist his ally with troops as well as with subsidies. He had collected an army of twenty-eight thousand men, consisting of sixteen thousand Hanoverians, in addition to the twelve thousand Danish and Hessian auxiliaries, and he expected a reinforcement of twelve thousand British troops, then encamped on the coast of Essex. Maria Theresa, whom the zeal of her Hungarian subjects had enabled to reinforce her armies in Silesia, impatiently expected the arrival of these succours.

Stimulated by these proceedings, the French cabinet matured their projects for dismembering the territories of the House of Austria, and for placing the imperial crown on the head of their dependent, the elector of Bavaria, while they deluded the queen of Hungary with professions of neutrality, and even of friendship. With this view marshal Belleisle, as ambassador from France, entered into private negotiations with the king of Prussia, the elector of Bavaria, and other German princes.

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* Journals of the Lords—Chandler's Debates.

Several claimants now advanced their pretensions. The first was Philip V. of Spain, whose example was followed by the king of Sardinia, and even by Augustus king of Poland.[*] In the projected partition, each of these potentates was to receive his share. Bohemia and Upper Austria were assigned to the elector of Bavaria; Moravia and Upper Silesia to the king of Poland, elector of Saxony; and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz, to the king of Prussia. Austrian Lombardy was allotted to Spain; and a territorial compensation was promised to the king of Sardinia. Measures were adopted for securing to the elector of Bavaria the imperial dignity; and, to neutralise the force of the northern powers, Russia, by the intrigues of France, was embroiled in a war with Sweden.

As the king of Prussia was interested in counteracting the ascendancy of France in Germany, the British cabinet persisted in their efforts to reconcile him with the court of Vienna. But Maria Theresa, encouraged by the sympathy of the British nation, and by the devotion of her Hungarian subjects, still peremptorily rejected all his demands. The connection between France and Prussia was therefore cemented by a specific treaty.

The confederate powers soon commenced their meditated aggression. The king of France issued a manifesto, declaring that, as the forces of the king of England were in motion, he was resolved, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, without prejudice to the Pragmatic Sanction, to march troops towards the Rhine, for the purpose of maintaining the freedom of the imperial election, and of being ready to assist those princes, who might require him to fulfil his engagements.

Accordingly two French armies, each of 40,000 men, penetrated into Germany. The first having passed the Rhine, advanced under marshals Belleisle and Broglio, and joined the elector of Bavaria, who was invested with the supreme command. After announcing in a manifesto, his claims to Upper Austria, the Tyrol and Bohemia, the elector moved forward to the Danube, with an army of 72,000 men; took Passau, penetrated into Upper Austria; and, on the 21st September, possessed himself of Lintz its capital, where he was inaugurated as Archduke. The second army, under marshal Maillebois, directed its march into Westphalia, and threatened to invade Hanover, unless the king of England would countermand the march of his troops, and consent to a neutrality.

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[*] For the account of these pretensions, see the History of the House of Austria, chap. 97, and Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain, chap. 44.

Unable to defend his German dominions against this force, and menaced also with an attack by the king of Prussia, his majesty made an earnest appeal to the British cabinet; and after stating the desperate situation of his electorate, together with his inability to resist the combined attacks of his opponents, he demanded the aid so solemnly promised to him by parliament, in such an emergency. But the rapid advance of the French, the inflexibility of Maria Theresa, and the threat of a combined attack from the French, Prussians and Bavarians, left him no other alternative than to accede to the neutrality of Hanover; and on the 27th of September, he signed a treaty for this purpose, in his electoral capacity. By this treaty he pledged himself not to oppose the advance of the French and their allies into the Austrian territories, nor continue the march of his succours, destined for the queen of Hungary. He also engaged not to obstruct the elevation of the elector of Bavaria to the imperial throne. Thus the whole force of Germany was either neutralized, or turned against the queen of Hungary.

During this adverse change in the course of foreign affairs, new subjects of dissension occurred in the British cabinet. The king had entered into the negotiation for the neutrality of Hanover, without consulting his English ministers; nor was Sir Robert Walpole himself informed of the transaction, until the conditions were arranged, when it was announced to him in a private letter from the king, which he received in the presence of the duke of Newcastle, without imparting the slightest hint of its contents.* His reluctant acquiescence having been obtained, an official account of the negotiation was afterwards transmitted by lord Harrington, from Hanover, to his brother secretary, and the rest of the ministers.

The duke of Newcastle denounced the conditions of this treaty as dishonourable to England and the allies, while he indignantly protested against the secrecy with which the negotiation had been conducted. Disdaining to suppress his feelings, he inveighed against the conduct of the king, in terms which to his brother seemed both intemperate and disrespectful. Mr. Pelham, therefore, laboured to soothe his indignation, by placing the affair in a more favourable light, and by shewing him, that the king had no other means of diverting the overwhelming force of France.

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* This account is taken from a letter of the duke of Newcastle to the lord Chancellor, dated July 19-30, 1741, that is, about two months before the signature of the treaty. Hardwicke Papers, MS. and the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 58.

In a letter* dated Sept. 13-24, from Wolterton, the seat of Mr. Walpole, after observing that he had left Houghton that morning, he adds, "Horace sends you his thoughts, which will shorten my letter. We read over the despatches yesterday together; and I am very sorry to see, what I thought was too plain before, that the cause of the House of Austria is deserted, by all the powers in Europe, but ourselves. I hope, therefore, something will be struck out amongst you, to secure the Low Countries, and keep the French off from us, if possible. I am not partial to lord Harrington, as you know, but I think his last private letter to you is conceived in very just terms, and such as may, and ought to be the language of all friends here. We may, by a nearer access to the king than others, know his weaknesses, and be sorry to see they take such hold of him, as frequently to obstruct the good intentions of his servants; but in conscience, it cannot be said, whatever his private views were, that in this great concern to all Europe, he has omitted any thing in his power, to keep the natural friends of the queen of Hungary together; and has undoubtedly supported her, as far as any degree of prudence would admit him, with more than his own contingent. I dare say, when you consider these things coolly, and without prejudice, you will be of the same opinion. If not, you will at least think it prudent not to talk otherwise. Horace has got a most agreeable place here; an excellent house to live in, very well finished and furnished. A mighty pleasant country, for an enclosed one; and his own situation as good as he can wish."

These prudent suggestions were unavailing; for in a letter to the Lord Chancellor, dated 18-29 September, the duke of Newcastle still designated this neutrality as a disgraceful abandonment of the House of Austria.† He proposed, that the ministers in England should transmit to lord Harrington a strong remonstrance, representing the great unpopularity and impolicy of the treaty, and requesting his Majesty to reconsider it. He even gave it as his opinion, that if it were actually concluded, the cabinet should make a solemn appeal to every court in Europe, declaring that, as king of England, his Majesty would adhere to the engagements contracted with the court of Vienna, by the treaty of 1731, and employ his best efforts to maintain the liberties of Europe, in concert with those powers who should be disposed to support the House of Austria. After recommending that these assurances should be conveyed specifically to the queen of Hungary, the court of St. Petersburg, and the States General, he added these strong expressions: "If something of this kind be not immediately done, the electoral neutrality will be, to all intents and purposes, a royal neutrality, and the English ministers, who acquiesce in the one, will thus make themselves the authors of the other, and the Lord have mercy upon them!"

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* Newcastle Papers.

† Hardwicke Papers.

A proposition so likely to offend the king, deeply mortified Sir Robert Walpole, and was far from receiving the approbation of the other ministers. Yet when a formal communication of the treaty was made by lord Harrington to the British cabinet, the duke of Newcastle persisted in his objections, though unsupported by any of his colleagues; and formed a resolution to resign, which he communicated in a letter to his brother, dated Claremont, Oct. 2-13, 1741.

"I am sure you will excuse this trouble, which is upon an affair that must now come soon to be determined; and I choose to write upon it, in order to avoid disagreeable incidents, which otherwise often happen, and which I am always sorry for. Whenever I reflect seriously upon the present situation of the administration, and of publick affairs, I cannot but be of opinion, that it is very improper for me to continue in business. I desire we may not enter into a dispute by what means, or by whose fault; but the fact I am afraid is certain, that there is no one in the active part of the ministry, that has either any confidence at present in me, or I in him, except my Lord Chancellor? And though I am thoroughly persuaded that he has a private friendship for me, which cannot be exceeded, and has seldom been known in men in his station, yet I have seen too much of administrations to imagine, that that will extend itself to a thorough ministerial concurrence in thoughts, views, and actions, and therefore my present consideration is confined singly to myself. Perhaps I may, and I hope I do, judge wrong; but I must own freely to you, that I think the king's unjustifiable partiality for Hanover, to which he makes all other views and considerations subservient, has manifested itself so much, in the conduct of this summer, that no man can continue in the active part of the administration, with honour and satisfaction to himself; for he must either own he was a cipher, which, perhaps, I think is in a great measure the case of every minister, without exception, that was in England, or he must be thought to have advised and concurred in measures which, in my opinion, are both dishonourable and fatal to the interests of all Europe, and consequently to those of this country in particular. I have endeavoured to see how this can be avoided, and hitherto I have not been able to find out.

"Suppose every thing that has been done, may truly be said to be in his majesty's electoral capacity, the king and his servants ought to regard his personal honour equally in both capacities; but, from the nature of things, as well as from present appearances, it is easy to see, that it is impossible to confine what the king has done to his electorate only. France has other views; and though perhaps nothing may be yet concluded, or formally agreed, that may bind England, it is not to be imagined but that the cardinal, either by letter or by Bussy,* has explained himself so upon our affairs, and particularly on our disputes with Spain, that he looks upon the king's agreeing to the electoral neutrality as an earnest of the other; and think what a situation are the king's servants in, either to advise the king to go in some measure back from his word, break the electoral neutrality, which will be executed by the electoral vote having been given to the elector of Bavaria, expose his electoral dominions to the resentment of France, in whose power he must be, after having abandoned all those powers who might have stood by him (which advice, however, I should be disposed to give), or they must, by defending what is done, and engaging to do what may be expected, in order to make what is done effectual, make themselves authors and supporters of measures, which were taken without the knowledge of any of them, and highly disapproved by most, if not all, of them, and which in my humble opinion, must prove in their consequences most prejudicial to this country.

"Would they all agree to remonstrate, like men, to the king, against these measures, upon his Majesty's return, and act one plain uniform part afterwards, something might be done; but, as that is not to be expected, we must consider what to do, upon what will be the case. My dear brother, there is nothing I ever took amiss of you, but your not believing that it is *measures* and not *men* that grieve and disturb me. If ever any one was drove out of an administration for *measures*, and at present I may say *measures* only, I am, if I go out now. I have notions, I have ways of thinking and acting, that some of my best friends will not allow me.

"There are two considerations upon this great question, of which I am as much aware as any body can be for me. The first, that though I may think I do right now, and perhaps *be pleased* with doing so, yet my natural love of politics, and being concerned in the public world, both in *town* and *country*, will make a private life very disagreeable to me. This may be the case for aught I know, but I hope it will not. I am a good deal off from those sort of pleasures at present; I have no comfort in the administration, and less at court; and I think I shall find out new amusements in the country, whilst my behaviour in parliament will certainly not expose me to the resentment of the administration. The next consideration I cannot so well answer, and upon that, as well as all the rest, I desire your opinion, viz., whether the going out at this time may not be so contrived, as to avoid the imputation of leaving the king and my friends, in time of danger and distress? This I can assure you affects me more than you imagine.

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* The French minister in England.

"I have thus truly explained to you my own thoughts. No one living knows of this letter, or of my intention to write to you in this manner; so it is entirely my own. You know all I think upon this subject, and be so good only as to be assured, I really think what I say, and that I say all I think to you. Let me have your opinion with freedom, and with the same affection as usual. I have yet taken no resolution, however I may reason upon the subject. Your thoughts shall have all the weight you can wish or expect. I have consulted nobody but Lord Chancellor and yourself, and you know all that has passed between us two." I am, &c.

The answer of Mr. Pelham evinces a profound knowledge of human nature, as well as of his brother's character.

"*Oct. 8th*, 1741.*

"I received your kind letter on Friday, in the coach, as I was going to Esher, which I have read over and over. As you desire me to give you my opinion on the several things you state therein, I will give it you with all the freedom, sincerity, and affection, that can possibly arise from a brother that wishes you as well, if not better, than any man living. Do not think, when I say this, that I have the least expectation that any thing that I can now say, will vary the opinion that you have already fixed. I don't, because there is nothing I can say, that you don't already know, and what, I am sure, must have occurred to you before ever I mentioned it. But, as your future ease, the quiet of your friends, the interest of the king, and the opinion of the world, will greatly rest, upon your taking a right or wrong step in this critical juncture, I thought I could not excuse myself, if I did not in this manner recapitulate in some measure, what I had formerly said to you on the like occasions.

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* This letter is copied from a draught in the hand-writing of Mr. Pelham. Pelham Papers.

" You seem to take it a little amiss of me, that I should suppose your present uneasiness proceeds from the dislike of *persons* and not *things*: I am satisfied that it is from *both*; and, give me leave to say, that prejudice to persons, at first, often influences the judgments of the best of men, in *things* afterwards. Our partialities make us approve, and our prejudices do the contrary. This is the case of us two; which is the best founded, we must leave to time and others to determine. But if your present anxiety is singly upon what part you may be obliged to take, the next winter, or at any other time, upon the supposed act of neutrality, which the king has entered into at Hanover, I own I cannot find out how that can possibly affect *you*, or in what instances you can be expected to support more than you, out of duty and affection to the king, would wish to do. It looks as if the thing itself would fall to the ground; and, if not so, it will be time enough sure to see the disagreeable consequences of it, I mean as far as are personal to yourself or the English ministry, when they plainly appear, and not to forestall what perhaps the common world will never find out. A partiality to Hanover in general, is what all men in business have found great obstructions from, ever since this family has been upon the throne; and indeed on your principle, no man that has, or ever shall serve them, can be supposed to preserve his integrity. But that can't be your thoughts; and therefore no one that knows how conversant you have been in the secret dispositions of the royal family, ever since you were Lord Chamberlain, will believe that you quit the service of the king now, on that account. All we have to do is to secrete their weaknesses; and, if no act of ours is required to give any sanction to these indiscretions, I do not see that the honour or conscience of the most scrupulous minister can ever be called into question. You are in a public capacity; therefore consider whether the exposing the king, as you must necessarily do, if you go out now, to the reproaches of his enemies, is more for your honour, and in a private one, whether it will not give you more future uneasiness, than the acquiescing in a measure taken at Hanover, which, though from your warm zeal for the old system of the House of Austria, you at present think a very bad one, perhaps when it is farther explained, you may think an absolutely necessary one.

" I have now done with troubling you on this head, and shall endeavour to be short on all others. You fancy if you go out, that it will be you only, and that you shall never join in any opposition, professedly, against those with whom you have acted for so many years; but believe me, dear brother, before this session is at an end, you will be as declared an opponent as lord Carteret or Mr. Pulteney. They profess what you really think, and when you are out, will tell you they mean the same things; act for a time in subservience to you, till, by degrees, from the Spanish war, down to the attempts to support the Pragmatic Sanction, you will have agreed so long with them, that it will be difficult for you to separate from them in other points. An absolute retired life you cannot live, and a motley one, when you are not in the king's service, you will not.

" I am very unwilling to mention myself, or the rest of your friends and relations, on this occasion; but I cannot say all that is necessary to be said upon the subject, without it. What figures must we make, especially myself, in a lucrative office under the king, supporting an administration and measures, which you declare such a dislike to, as to change the life the world has always thought you liked best, to one that hitherto there is no notice you like at all. And on the other hand, what will you think and feel for driving us out, and after that find, what must be the case, that you and I shall politically differ, the same as if we were in direct opposition to one another in public offices. This I name to you, only as a circumstance that must follow your separating yourself from your old friends. Upon the whole, I am most exceedingly grieved to find you under so great anxiety, and in some degree surprised to find it. If I understand that part of your letter, where you speak of my Lord Chancellor, rightly, he does not think his honour calls upon him to withdraw; then, why should you? It must therefore be your choice, and not necessity. In that case, I would not for the world have you stay an hour longer than your own ease and happiness will allow you; but if it is peculiar to the active office you are now in, there is an easy way, which I have often mentioned to you, of setting that out of the question. Take another, retire from business, and in some degree from court, but not from the king's service, or your friends. If it is measures of office only, this with some difficulty may be done, but if it goes farther, there is nothing in my opinion can remove that, but what was not improbable a few days ago, and may very probably happen in the course of nature very soon.*

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* Probably alluding to an illness of Sir Robert Walpole.

"Now, dear brother, I have finished all I had to say. If I have taken too much freedom, excuse it. Believe me, it proceeds from a real affection and concern for you; and, if I am in the wrong, be assured it is an error in me, and not a desire to differ with you. Whatever you determine, to my life's end, I shall continue anxious for your honour, concerned for your interest, and a most affectionate and faithful friend and brother."

"P. S. There needs no reply to this; we have both said all we can."

These arguments produced the desired effect, and Mr. Pelham had the satisfaction of preventing a schism in the administration, and of preserving the connection between his brother and Sir Robert Walpole, at a period of peculiar difficulty, when concord among the ministers was especially requisite, to counterbalance the increasing strength of their opponents, and give due vigour and consistency to the exertions now required from the nation.

SECTION III.

1741—1742.

Sir Robert Walpole resigns, and is created Earl of Orford—Views and Characters of the parties who had concurred in expelling him from power—Arrangements between the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pulteney for a new Administration—Changes and appointments—Prosecution of Lord Orford defeated—Firm attachment of Mr. Pelham to the ex-minister—Parliamentary proceedings—Letters from Lord Orford to Mr. Pelham—Schism in the Cabinet—Rise, influence, and views of Lord Carteret—Character of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.

WHILE Sir Robert Walpole was embarrassed with the feuds of a divided cabinet, he was assailed in parliament by a powerful opposition. His repugnance to the war with Spain, drew on him the whole odium of the disasters with which it was attended, and the misfortunes on the continent were attributed to the same cause. Thus, on the eve of a general election, he was reproached for miscarriages, which he had in vain laboured to prevent, and the result was such, as both his friends and enemies anticipated. Although he still enjoyed the favour of the king, he was either deserted, or but faintly supported, by many of his colleagues; and, after an ineffectual struggle with the new parliament, he was constrained to retire from office. In reward for his long and meritorious services, he was raised to the peerage, by the title of Earl of Orford.

But the Opposition found it more easy to drive the minister from his post, than to divide the spoils of the fallen administration. The members of Opposition consisted of Jacobites, Tories, the adherents of the prince of Wales, and disaffected Whigs, who differed from each other in their principles and views. Of these the least powerful, but most zealous, were the Jacobites, who had hoped that a change of administration would conduce to the restoration of the Stuart line. They were decided and implacable enemies to Sir Robert Walpole, on political grounds, but they cherished no personal vengeance against him; and, under the influence of their leader, Mr.

Shippen, were perhaps inclined to screen him from the effects of popular fury, after having disarmed him of his authority.*

The Tories participated in this political hostility to the ex-minister; but some of them were still farther influenced by personal resentment, and willing to concur in his prosecution. In the House of Peers, the principal members of this party were John, duke of Argyle, their leader, and lords Gower, Bathurst, and Winchelsea. The death of Sir William Wyndham had deprived them of their chief in the House of Commons; but Sir John Hinde Cotton, Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Sir Francis Dashwood, and other subordinate speakers, maintained the contest with determined perseverance.

The third class comprised the adherents of the prince of Wales, who had been recently forbidden to appear at court, and had suffered many other mortifications from his royal father, which he imputed to the minister, and therefore was strongly inclined to resent. Under lord Cobham, as chief, the principal members were young and aspiring men, among whom may be distinguished Pitt and the Granvilles, Lyttelton, Dodington, Dr. Lee, and lord Percival, afterwards earl of Egmont.

But the most numerous and efficient class of opponents consisted principally of disaffected Whigs, who had amalgamated themselves with the other parties, and gave union and energy to the whole. Among them were a few who were styled genuine Whigs, and who, amidst all their hostility to the minister, respected the principles of the constitution; but many were men of turbulent spirits, who indulged in the wildest speculations, and whose object, under the name of reform, was, to curtail the power of the Crown, and augment the influence of the people. The immediate purpose of the disaffected Whigs, as a body, was, to direct the whole vengeance of parliament against the ex-minister; and, in the heat of their zeal, they did not hesitate to avow their fixed resolution of bringing him to the block.

Their acknowledged and efficient leader was the celebrated William Pulteney.† Himself a genuine Whig, and originally the friend and coadjutor of Walpole, he had been converted, by the disappointment arising from unsuccessful rivalry, into a formidable antagonist, and possessed the skill to profit by every favorable event, and to govern the discordant passions of the whole Opposition. By his repeated declarations in parliament, Pulteney had openly pledged himself to prosecute the minister to the utmost extremity. His principal adherents, in the House of Commons, were Mr. Sandys, Sir John Rushout, and lord Limerick; and their efforts were strengthened by the more disinterested co-operation of Sir John Barnard, whose prudence and integrity gained him general approbation, while his popular eloquence rendered him a dangerous adversary. In the House of Peers the Whigs acknowledged lord Carteret as their leader; and among their principal members were the duke of Bedford, with the earls of Sandwich and Halifax, and the earl of Chesterfield, whose eloquence and sarcastic wit were frequently distinguished in this political warfare.

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* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap 56.

† For an account of Mr. Pulteney, and of his quarrel with the minister, see Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 39.

The Opposition had two objects in view, that of effecting a general change of administration, with a proportionate distribution of power and emolument among its component members; and that of bringing to justice the minister whom they had pertinaciously charged with every species of malversation and misconduct.

On attaining the goal of their ambition, their interested cabals led to a partial failure in both these purposes. The colleagues of the minister now came forward, not only to rescue him from his enemies, but to secure to themselves a principal share in the division of power. Countenanced by the king, and aided by the personal adherents of lord Orford, they acted with double advantage against a divided body, of which the members were ready to sacrifice each other, in their general struggle for the spoils. The management of the negotiation fell into the hands of the duke of Newcastle, as chief of the existing administration, and as the great leader of the Whigs. The duke acted on this occasion with consummate prudence, and was guided by the secret advice of the ex-minister. Availing himself of the alarm, which Mr. Pulteney began to feel, at the avowed purposes of the turbulent Whigs, to overturn the constitution, and the attempts of the Jacobites to restore the Stuart family, he found little difficulty in convincing him, that the complete success of his own party would lead to the overthrow of the Protestant Succession. The prince of Wales, naturally influenced by a similar appeal, felt the necessity of restraining the violence of those to whom he had hitherto given countenance. By the operation of these causes, a species of compromise was effected; and a conference, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements, took place at Newcastle House, between the duke of Newcastle and the chancellor on one side, and Mr. Pulteney and lord Carteret on the other.* Pulteney having declined the post of prime minister, in adherence to his repeated pledge, never to accept an office, was permitted to nominate a certain number of his friends; and thus was formed a motley administration, composed of Whigs, as a basis, with some moderate Tories, and certain adherents of the prince, who was also gratified with an increase of revenue, and with the restitution of his honours. Pulteney demanded only a peerage, and a seat in the cabinet, where he hoped still to sway those who owed their promotion to him. The post of first Lord of the Treasury, for which he had recommended lord Carteret, was, at the king's express desire, transferred to the earl of Wilmington; and lord Carteret accepted the seals, as Secretary of State for the northern department, which secured to him the principal direction of foreign affairs. Mr. Sandys was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the inferior places at the Treasury Board were filled by Sir John Rushout, and Mr. Gibbon, friends of Pulteney, and by Mr. Compton, a relative of lord Wilmington. John, duke of Argyle, was re-appointed colonel of the Horse Guards blue, and nominated Commander of the Forces, and Master-general of the Ordnance. Lord Hervey, as Privy Seal, and Sir Charles Wager, as head of the Admiralty were succeeded by earl Gower, and lord Winchelsea. Lord Harrington having resigned the seals, in favour of lord Carteret, was created an earl, and appointed to the office of President of the Council, vacant by the promotion, of lord Wilmington. The duke of Newcastle continued Secretary of State for the southern department, and lord Hardwicke retained the Great Seal as Chancellor. Three of the prince's adherents, lord Baltimore, lord Archibald Hamilton, and Dr. Lee were placed at the board of Admiralty. Lord Cobham was created field marshal, and restored to the command of the first troop of grenadier guards, of which he had been deprived in 1733, for his opposition to the Excise scheme. Sir William Younge continued Secretary at War. In the royal household no essential change was made; but the office of Secretary of State for Scotland was revived, in favour of the marquis of Tweeddale, who was attached to Mr. Pulteney, and was soon afterwards elected one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland.

We have no documents to assist us in ascertaining what share Mr. Pelham took in these arrangements; but, doubtless, he was frequently consulted by the duke of Newcastle, and we have, on the authority of lord Orford himself, † a striking proof of his discretion on this critical occasion. The ex-minister, probably with the previous consent of the king, had strongly exhorted him to accept the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer; but Mr. Pelham was unwilling to undertake so responsible a trust, under a weak and heterogeneous administration, and consequently to act in opposition to the views of Mr. Pulteney, whose influence in the House of Commons was then predominant, and who had specially recommended Mr. Sandys. He therefore declined the splendid offer, and continued in his post as Paymaster of the Forces.

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* See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 60.

† See his letter to Mr. Pelham, dated July 13th, 1743, in chapter I.

Waller, who had aspired to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, indignantly refused the place of a minor lord of the Treasury, and continued in violent opposition. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Lyttelton followed his example, although they held offices in the household of the prince, and were attached to lord Cobham, who supported the new administration.

Such a motley arrangement produced the usual consequences, dissatisfaction, jealousy, and disunion. The turbulent Whigs resented the desertion of their leaders; the Tories complained of the inadequate distribution of power; within a month, the duke of Argyle resigned all his employments in disgust, and was succeeded in the command of the Forces by the earl of Stair, a nobleman of whig principles; and the duke of Montague again became Master of the Ordnance.*

In consequence of this disunion, the proceedings against the late minister were not unanimously prosecuted, though the more ardent of his enemies pursued him with increased rancour. Their vindictive spirit gave general offence, while the possession of power soothed his moderate opponents; and the different charges against him were manfully repelled by his friends, among whom Mr. Pelham was most conspicuous. He, in particular, vigorously opposed the motion of lord Limerick, on the 9th of March, 1742, for a secret committee, to inquire into the conduct of affairs during the preceding twenty years.

He commenced his speech on this proposal, by condemning it as unjust and inquisitorial. Admitting the authority of parliament, to examine any specific act of mal-administration, he protested against a general inquiry into the conduct of a minister, for the long term of twenty years, instituted in deference to popular clamour, or from partial views of policy, excluding all regard to circumstances during that period. "In such cases," he observed,

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* Life of Bishop Newton, vol. ii, p. 47.—Posthumous Memoirs of Glover, passim.—Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 59, and 60.

"we ought not to form our judgment, from the light in which any past measure appears to us, but from that in which it probably appeared when first adopted; for, considering the circumscribed range of human knowledge, and foresight, subsequent incidents may often make a measure appear wrong which seemed at first to be right." He then refuted the principal objections against the foreign and domestic policy of Sir Robert Walpole. In domestic affairs, he vindicated his conduct, on the three points against which the arguments of his opponents had been chiefly directed; namely, the South Sea affair; the numerous grants which he was accused of having procured for liquidating the debts of the Civil List; and the introduction of the Excise scheme. In foreign affairs, he gave a triumphant answer to the censures cast on the treaties of Hanover and Seville, which he extolled as propitious to the maintenance of our maritime and commercial privileges, and as conducive to the welfare of England, as well as to the general tranquillity of Europe. He demonstrated the wisdom of our neutral policy, during the war of the Polish Succession, which had subjected the minister to such acrimonious invectives; defended his earnest endeavours to prevent a rupture with Spain; and hesitated not to justify the Convention* with that power, which had excited so much obloquy, while he feelingly lamented the reluctant acquiescence of the minister in the general clamour for hostilities, the unfortunate issue of which fully vindicated his temperate and pacific conduct. He concluded by observing, that as no solid ground existed for an inquiry, from the supposed weakness or wickedness of any of the late measures, he should give his negative to the question.†

This strong appeal to the good sense of the House was answered by Mr. Pitt, in a strain of severe invective; but Mr. Pelham had the satisfaction to see the motion negatived, though only by a majority of 244 against 242.

As this trifling advantage arose from the absence of Mr. Sandys, on his election at Worcester, and that of Mr. Pulteney, on the death of his daughter, the enemies of the ex-minister renewed their attack on the 23rd, confining their inquiry to ten years; and they succeeded through the presence and exertions of Mr. Pulteney, the motion being carried by 252 against 245. The inquiry was prosecuted in the same spirit that had prompted its institution, and several subordinate agents, employed in the secret distribution of the public money, were examined, in the hope of establishing a charge of malversation. Paxton, the solicitor of the Treasury, and Scrope the secretary, were called to account for the specific sum of £.1,147,211, which they were found to have received from the minister; and on their refusal to give answers, which might criminate themselves, a bill of indemnity in favour of those, who should furnish evidence against the earl of Orford was introduced into the House of Commons, and carried by the very small majority of 5; namely, 164 to 159. The injustice of such a bill, however, was so flagrant, that it was rejected by the Peers on the 25th of May, lord Carteret himself being its principal opponent.

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* For an account of this Convention, by which Sir Robert Walpole vainly hoped to prevent hostilities with Spain, see Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 53. Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chap. 21. and Memoirs of the Kings of Spain, chap. 43.

† Chandler's Debates, vol. xiii, p. 182.

Irritated by this disappointment, the most violent among the Commons proposed a vote of censure on the decision of the Upper House, as an obstruction of justice; but many who had reluctantly acquiesced in the inquiry, and even others who had warmly approved it, objected to this proceeding, as tending to create disunion in the legislature. Such was the change of feeling on the subject, that both Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys voted against the motion, which was negatived by 295 against 193.

The downfall of Sir Robert Walpole occasioned public rejoicings in every part of the country; and the violent advocates of reform anticipated from the destruction of the corrupt influence, so long imputed to that minister, by his clamorous rivals, a new order of things. Halcyon days were expected to smile upon the country, and the golden age to be restored. Instructions were sent from numerous counties, cities, and boroughs, to their representatives, demanding, among other claims, the revival of triennial parliaments, the exclusion of pensioners, the limitation of the number of placemen in the House of Commons, and the abolition of standing armies in time of peace.*

These sanguine hopes were far from being realised. The new ministers eluded their former promises; not a motion for the reform of any single abuse was passed; and they openly resisted a proposal, made by Sir Robert Godschall, and seconded by Sir John Barnard, for the Repeal of the Septennial bill. No opposition, however, was organized in the House of Commons, because the friends of the ex-minister cordially supported the measures of government, and because even those who had been excluded from a share in the spoils, were either too feeble to take a decided course, or unwilling to renounce all hope of future admission to power.

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* For these instructions, see Chandler's Debates, vol. xiii. p. 115.

Accordingly the supplies, after a faint resistance from two or three violent Tories, were granted without a division. The sum of £.500,000 was voted to the queen of Hungary; the subsidies to other foreign powers were confirmed; and £.5,863,061 was granted for the purposes of the war, and for deficiencies created by the expense of the last year's operations. For the sea service were voted 40,000 seamen, and 11,550 marines; for the land service a force of 35,554 effective men.*

After the prorogation of parliament, Mr. Pulteney accepted a peerage, with the title of earl of Bath, and thus lost the remnant of that popularity, which had been so much diminished, by his conduct in arranging the administration. About the same period, as a farther gratification to the Tories, lord Bathurst was appointed captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners.

During this period, Mr. Pelham had not faltered in his defence of the earl of Orford, who was grateful for his friendship, and anxious for the promotion of his interests. No less intimately acquainted with the wiles of parties, than with the current of public opinion, and the state of the cabinet, the ex-minister saw that the new administration was too weak to continue; and that the affairs of the country could not be effectively managed, except by the united party of the Whigs, under a leader possessing their full confidence. Actuated by these considerations, he warmly assisted Mr. Pelham with his advice and influence, even while his own fate was yet doubtful.

In a letter, dated Aug. 23, 1742, he thus addresses his friend :—

"DEAR MR. PELHAM,

"I most heartily wish you well, and wish you success, for your own sake, and for the sake of the whole. My politics are in a narrow compass. This is a Whig parliament; or at least you cannot possibly have a better, do not suffer it to be whistled away; receive the Whig party as you found it; let them think they have the same support entire, as they had from the administration; and the administration will have the very same support from them. A state of doubt at the beginning of next session will confound all your affairs: judgement you do not want, resolution is a necessary ingredient in time of action; popularity and moderation are†

"I am most unfeignedly, in all circumstances, your most affectionate and faithful friend and servant."

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* Journals of the Commons.—History of the Revenue, by James Postlethwaite.

† The blank is thus left in the original.

This exhortation was the more necessary, as lord Carteret, and his friend lord Bath, acting on a separate interest from that of the Pelhams, laboured to procure a farther admission of Tories into power. In this emergency Mr. Pelham applied to lord Orford, and received a cordial promise of support, accompanied with more urgent instances to identify himself with the Whigs, and take the lead in the arrangements for the ensuing session.

The Earl of Orford to Mr. Pelham.

"DEAR SIR, "*Houghton, October* 31*st*, 1742.

"I take the opportunity of this private conveyance by Horatio Townshend, to return you my thanks for your last favour; and you may be assured you may rely upon every thing that depends upon me, to support the administration. I am every where very explicit upon this subject, and most sincere; for I truly think, if the Opposition, however formed and composed, should prevail, the whole is undone. I will neither like nor dislike any thing upon account of persons, but support to my utmost what is, because I think in my conscience, there can be no change but for the worse. But you must be the first wheel in this machine, and whoever will think of making your authority less, will create difficulties that will not easily be got through. Upon this principle, I venture to give you my opinion, upon a point that seems to me very material, relating to the meeting at the Cockpit, to communicate the king's speech, the day before the session, where I think you must preside. Under you, all the independent Whigs will list and unite; no man can answer for, or secure a zealous and cordial union of the Whig party, if any body takes upon them the lead, that they know have been instruments, and active, in destroying the Whig party for twenty years together, and have brought it into such danger, that the Tories think they have now an opportunity of making a push for the whole.

"As for me, it is probable they may think of making me the pretence and object, which is upon no other foundation, but presuming that the court patriots will be under difficulties, in not agreeing with them in *eodem tertio*;* but a question carried is a victory, which they think will be decisive in its consequences. It is most certain, that no part that I am to act will any ways determine their measures relating to me. You all seem to agree that it is resolved to attack me in some shape or other: How can any conduct of mine provoke or divert what is already determined? I have made the consideration of this topic so familiar to me, that I can truly say, nothing they can do will give me any vexation: it may give me trouble, but that I can undergo.

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* Alluding to a principle in logic, that they who agree in the third term, or consequence, agree in the whole.

"I shall set out from hence on the 11th, and be in town on Saturday night, which was always my design, and I can see no reason to alter it. Every gentleman in these parts, on our side, will attend. I have heard that some of the others talk doubtfully."

In fact the members of administration were now more than ever divided. The Pelhams, and those servants of the crown, who had acted with lord Orford, could not cordially coalesce with the persons recently introduced; and their aversion was heightened, by the superior favour which lord Carteret had now attained with the king.

This distinguished nobleman was descended from an antient and honourable family. He was the son of George, first lord Carteret, by lady Grace, daughter of John, the last earl of Bath of the line of Granville. Succeeding to his paternal title in 1695, he commenced his course of education at Westminster school, and removing to Christ-church, Oxford, pursued it with such success, that Swift humorously reproached him, with having carried away from the university, more Greek, Latin, and philosophy, than became a nobleman of his exalted rank. To his classical attainments, he joined an extensive knowledge of modern languages and polite literature; and cultivated with success the different branches of historical and political science, which are calculated to form the senator and the statesman. Entering the House of Peers in 1711, he took a lively interest in the politics of the time, and zealously supported the Protestant Succession. On the accession of George I., he shared in the honours lavished on the Whigs, with whom he co-operated in parliamentary discussions. His talents for diplomacy obtained for him the embassy to Sweden in 1718, and a mission to the Congress of Brunswick in 1720. In that of Cambray he assisted as minister plenipotentiary, and was sent to Paris, as embassador extraordinary, at that most critical period, the regency of the duke of Orleans. On the death of Mr. Craggs in 1721, he was called to the vacant post of secretary of state.

Having been early attached to lord Sunderland, he joined that nobleman and Mr. Stanhope in the cabinet, against lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole. He acquired, also, the confidence of the king, by his indefatigable attention to business, and by his proficiency in the German language, an advantage which none of the other ministers enjoyed.

On the death of lord Sunderland, he aimed at a predominant and independent interest; but the superior influence of lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole, compelled him, in 1724, to resign the seals as secretary of state, though he still retained the favour of the sovereign,* who appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland. He held that post until 1730, notwithstanding his occasional bickerings with the ministry.

Returning from his government, he joined the opposition against Sir Robert Walpole, to whom he proved a formidable adversary, not merely by his experience as a statesman, but by the force and splendor of his eloquence. In this political warfare he established an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Pulteney, and on the division of power, took the lead, among those who formed part of the administration under his auspices. From habit and connections, lord Carteret was the rival of the Pelhams; and on his admission to office, he employed every effort to wrest the management of affairs from the hands of the duke of Newcastle. By the same qualifications which had won the favour of the deceased monarch, he ingratiated himself with George II., whose views of foreign policy he warmly and implicitly espoused.

His eminent talents as an orator and a statesman, were however counterbalanced by defects no less prominent. A consciousness of his own superior abilities, and of the favour of his sovereign, rendered him presumptuous and overbearing, and inclined him too much to assume the character of a dictator, and to control the counsels of those with whom he was associated in office. His convivial qualities, also, often carried him to excess; and in these moments of weakness, he seldom failed to overstep the bounds of propriety and moderation.†

After this outline of the character of a nobleman, who so long rivalled the Pelhams, it may be necessary to exhibit a similar sketch of another member of the cabinet, who essentially aided them, in their struggles for pre-eminence.

Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwicke, was born on the 1st of December, 1690. He was the son of an attorney at Dover. After receiving a liberal education, in which he made great proficiency in classical and general learning, he devoted himself to the profession of the law. He was called to the bar in his twenty-fifth year, and, by his ability and diligence, soon acquired extensive practice, in causes of the highest importance. By the interest of his early patron, the duke of Newcastle, he was returned to parliament in 1718 for the borough of Seaford, and afterwards for that of Lewes. In 1720, when only a junior counsel on the Western Circuit, he was raised to the office of solicitor general, by the recommendation of lord chancellor Parker. He particularly distinguished himself on the trial of Layer and others, for high treason, in 1722; and his reply to the defence made for Layer, was justly considered as one of the best specimens of pleading ever offered at the bar.

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* For the History of this Revolution in the Cabinet see the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 24, and Memoirs of lord Walpole, chap. 3.

† Life of lord Chatham, by the rev. F. Thackeray, vol. i. p. 76.

With such claims to patronage, his advancement was rapid and honourable. In 1724 he was appointed attorney general; and, in discharging the duties of that office, he realised the most sanguine expectations of his friends.

In the House of Commons he distinguished himself not merely as a lawyer, but as a statesman, on various questions of foreign and domestic policy. His arrangement was clear, his reasoning close and powerful, his diction elegant, and his temper so equable, that its serenity was never disturbed by petulant opposition, or malignant invective.

Such qualifications would have ensured his promotion to the highest dignities of the law, even without political interest: with that advantage his progress was accelerated. In 1733 he was constituted Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and soon afterwards was called to the House of Peers, by the title of Baron Hardwicke, and obtained a seat in the cabinet.

His judgements, as Lord Chief Justice, have been classed among the happiest instances of legal discrimination, and were illustrated with that variety of knowledge, which rendered them instructive lessons in jurisprudence, to all who frequented the court, either for improvement or practice.

On the decease of lord Talbot, early in 1737, he was raised to the dignity of lord high chancellor, for which he had long been designated by the public voice. His conduct on the Chancery bench was distinguished for patient attention, integrity, diligence, and punctuality. Of the soundness of his decisions, no better proof can be given, than that, in the course of nearly twenty years, only three appeals were made from them to the House of Lords, and in these instances they were confirmed. Of this great lawyer, lord Mansfield was often heard to say, that "when he pronounced his decrees, wisdom herself might be supposed to speak."*

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* Butler's Reminiscences, p. 133.

The equanimity of lord Hardwicke, as a cabinet minister, was continually exercised by the misunderstandings which occurred between his patron, the duke of Newcastle, and Sir Robert Walpole . He conducted himself, however, in such a manner, as to preserve the confidence of both; and, by his influence with the duke, obviated, as far as human prudence could obviate, the effects of their disagreement, on the important questions then at issue. His advice was appreciated, not merely by the weight attached to his office, but by the estimation in which his political acquirements, and his accurate judgement were deservedly held.

The paramount influence which this great lawyer possessed, even during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, not only over the duke of Newcastle, but over the whole cabinet, is strikingly manifested in the following extract of a letter from his grace, dated October 14th, 1739.

" The great and deserved weight and credit, which your lordship has, both in the House of Lords, and in the council, arise undoubtedly from those great qualities, which are inseparable from you, to which those that are at present in the king's service, in the House of Lords, do the greatest justice, and pay the greatest deference: and it is no disagreeable circumstance, in the high station in which your lordship is, that every man in the House of Lords now knows, that yours is the sense of the king's administration, and that their interest goes with their inclinations, when they follow your lordship."

Between the two brothers, as between the duke and Sir Robert Walpole, the lord chancellor frequently acted as a mediator, and his friendly interference was attended with the same success, though he often joined with Mr. Pelham, in opposing the system of foreign policy adopted by his noble patron. His influence over both the brothers is apparent, in the whole course of their correspondence; and a single letter will evince their high estimation of his friendship, and their profound respect for his judgment.

The Duke of Newcastle to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.

" My Dear Lord, " *Newcastle House, Tuesday Morning.*

" As I have not had the pleasure of any private discourse with you, for some time, and am always desirous of it whenever I can, and you will permit me, if you will give me leave, I will wait upon you this evening, between eight and nine. I shall dine at Mr. Winnington's, in Conduit-street; and if

I hear nothing from you, will be at Powis House before nine. Give me leave only to beg one favour of you. I have observed, as I mentioned some time ago, less activity in business than formerly, which I have feared may arise from an inclination to withdraw from the active part of it, by degrees, and confine yourself chiefly to your own office. If this is in any measure the case, I must beg you would consider in what situation you will leave me; diffident of myself, doubtful without the previous advice and opinion of my friends (and as to that I must reckon only my brother and yourself), whether measures started in a hurry, often first in the closet, executed with precipitation, are or may be advisable; and utterly unable, without the assistance above-mentioned, to resist by myself the torrent. My brother has all the prudence, knowledge, experience, and good intention, that I can wish or hope in a man; but it will, or may, be difficult for us alone to stem that which, with your weight, authority and character, would not be twice mentioned. *Besides, my brother and I may differ in opinion, in which case, I am sure yours would determine both.* There has been for many years a unity of thought and action between you and me; and, if I have ever regretted any thing, it has been (forgive me for saying it), too much caution in the execution, which I have sometimes observed has rather produced, than avoided, the mischief apprehended.

" Forgive me, therefore, my dear lord, if I own most freely to you, that it will be impossible for me, in these circumstances, to go on with credit and security to myself, or with advantage to my friends, if the world don't see and understand, that you, my brother, and I, are one; not in the thought only, but in action; not in action barely, but in the first conception or digestion of things. This will give us real weight; this will add strength to us in the closet, and in the ministry, but this can be done only by yourself. I have desired my brother to talk very fully to you, who, I believe, intends it, some evening this week. I think I can guess from whence, or rather from what, any tendency to what I so much apprehend can arise. That is to be prevented only by the union I have recommended amongst us three.

" If, which I can't suppose, I should be so far mistaken, that when I am looking out for other causes, you should really have taken something amiss in me, or in my manner, the favour I beg, as I said at first, is, that you would freely tell me so. I will as freely own, if there is the least glimpse of a foundation for it. But, as I know my own heart, I find it full of all the love attention, gratitude, and regard for you, that it is possible for one to have for another."*

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* Though it may appear somewhat extraneous to the subject of our narrative, we have deemed it but justice to the character of lord chancellor Hardwicke, to submit the above letter, and the extract which precedes it, to the reader; because they evince, beyond the possibility of cavil, the falsehood of those assertions, with which a late noble writer has aspersed the reputation of this eminent statesman and lawyer, when he says, "in the House of Lords he was laughed at, in the Cabinet despised."

SECTION IV.

1741—1743.

Continental affairs—Suspension of hostilities between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia—Successes of the Austrians—Hostilities resumed by the King of Prussia—Austrians defeated at Czaslau—Treaty of Breslau—Successes of the Austrians against the French and Bavarians—Affairs of Italy—France and Spain meditate the conquest of Austrian Lombardy—The King of Sardinia secedes from the Bourbon alliance, and joins the Austrians—The French and their allies advance towards Lombardy—Retreat on Bologna—Successes of the British fleet in the Mediterranean—The King of Naples compelled to accept a neutrality—Arrangements in England—Preparations for sending an army into Flanders, to invade France—Missions of Lord Stair and Lord Carteret to Holland unsuccessful—Failure of the intended invasion of France—Differences in the Cabinet on the mode of prosecuting the War—The King persuaded by his ministers, to take the Hanoverian troops into British pay.

DURING these ministerial changes, the state of foreign affairs assumed a more auspicious aspect, and enabled the king of England to renew his efforts in favour of the House of Austria.

At the conclusion of the treaty of neutrality for Hanover, the queen of Hungary had been reduced to the most deplorable situation. The king of Prussia had subjugated the greater part of Lower Silesia. The elector of Bavaria, after the capture of Lintz, threatened Vienna, and prepared for the immediate invasion of Bohemia, whither Maillebois was marching, in the direction of Egra, and where no effective force was collected to obstruct his advance. Surrounded by these hosts of enemies, Maria Theresa had retired to Presburg; and, though supported by the zeal of her Hungarian subjects, could not raise strength sufficient to oppose her adversaries, increased as they now were, by the addition of the Saxons, whose sovereign had recently joined the confederacy against her. In this distress she was persuaded by the king of England to enter into a secret convention at Oberschnellendorf, with the Prussian monarch, who was desirous to check the French ascendancy in the empire. By this convention, dated Oct. 9th, 1741, she promised to cede all Lower Silesia, including the towns of Niess and Breslau, and the king of Prussia agreed to an immediate suspension of arms; but, to save appearances, it was stipulated, that Niess should be besieged, and that the Prussians should take up their winter quarters unmolested, in Silesia and Bohemia. Although this compact received only the verbal sanction of Frederick, and although hostile dispositions were still continued, yet it produced an effect the most salutary and opportune, as it enabled the queen of Hungary to direct her efforts against the other enemies, who occupied her hereditary dominions.

Neither the return of winter, however, nor the secret treaty just concluded, interrupted the operations of the French and their allies. On the 27th of November, Prague was taken by assault, by the united force of the French, Bavarians, and Saxons; and the grand duke of Tuscany,* who was hastening to its relief, with a considerable force, arrived only in time to witness its fall. The elector of Bavaria having made his triumphal entry into the city, was crowned king of Bohemia; and, after a short residence, hastened to receive the empty honours of the imperial diadem, at Frankfort, where preparations had been made for his coronation.†

Failing in the attempt to save Prague, the grand duke succeeded in intercepting the communications of the French, Bavarians, and Saxons, with Maillebois. At the same time, count Kevenhuller, with fifteen thousand men, crossing the Ens, invaded Upper Austria, and compelled a body of French, under the count de Segur, to take refuge in Lintz. He then poured his irregular troops into Bavaria, which was also invaded by general Berenclau, from the Tyrol; and by this well-combined attack, town after town fell into the hands of the Austrians. The Austrian general, marshal Neuperg, at the head of a considerable force, encamped behind the marshes of Budweiss and Tabor; and, in this position, covered Austria from the incursions of the Bavarians and Saxons, and prevented marshal Broglio from either relieving M. de Segur, or intercepting several detachments, which were entering Bavaria. This situation of affairs, which, if allowed to continue, might have rendered Maria Theresa more formidable than ever, induced the Prussian monarch to resume hostilities. He therefore renewed his alliance with the elector of Bavaria, whom he acknowledged as emperor and king of Bohemia, and purchased from him the county of Glatz, for 400,000 crowns.

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* Francis, husband of Maria Theresa, received the grand duchy of Tuscany, in exchange for the duchy of Lorraine, which was ceded to France; and by that title he was distinguished until his elevation to the Imperial throne.

† He was elected emperor, January 24th, 1742, and crowned, under the title of Charles the Seventh, in the following February.

With a view to secure this new acquisition, and to consolidate his possessions in Silesia, he, in the latter end of the year, sent marshal Schwerin to occupy Olmutz, besieged Glatz, and, with a co-operating corps of Saxons, invaded Moravia, and invested Brunn, the capital. The possession of this fortress would have ensured the conquest of the whole province, which, from its local position between Silesia and Bohemia, was a most desirable and important acquisition. But this grand design was rendered abortive; because he was but faintly supported by the Saxons, deprived of the assistance of the Bavarians, who were re-called to defend their own soil, and wholly disappointed of aid from the French, who were either unable or unwilling to assist him. In the mean time, the court of Vienna was not inactive. The possession of Bavaria having been secured by the capture of Lintz, the forces in Bohemia were considerably augmented; and while one corps continued the blockade of Prague, prince Charles, who commanded the principal army, threatened the Prussian magazines in Silesia, compelled the king of Prussia to evacuate Moravia, and followed him into Bohemia, where he had concentrated his forces in the neighbourhood of Chrudim. The object of Frederick was to force his way through the blockading army, and, by relieving Prague, to effect a junction with marshal Broglio. On the contrary, the design of prince Charles was, either to compel the king of Prussia to give battle with an inferior force, or by a rapid march to surprise Prague.* With this view, deeming himself superior in strength, he advanced to offer battle. The king accepted the challenge, and a sanguinary engagement took place on the 17th of May, between Chotusitz and Czaslau, in which the Prussian arms were again victorious, and prince Charles retired from the field, with a loss of seven thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

This defeat, however, proved advantageous to the House of Austria; for Maria Theresa, unable to retrieve her losses on the side of Silesia, and alarmed lest the capture of Egra,† effected by the French, before the battle of Czaslau, might open to her enemies a way for the conquest of Bohemia, yielded to the instances of England, and, on the 10th of June, concluded a treaty of peace with the king of Prussia, at Breslau.

In this treaty, the king of Prussia obtained the formal cession of all Lower, and part of Upper Silesia, with the county of Glatz;‡ and the elector of Saxony was influenced by his example to recall his troops from Bohemia, and desist from his claims on the Austrian inheritance. The disputes between the king of England, as elector of Hanover, and the king of Prussia, relative to some bailiwicks in the duchy of Mecklenburg, were also accommodated; and a defensive alliance was even arranged between the two sovereigns, in which the guaranty of Silesia and Glatz was particularly specified.

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* Annales de Marie Therese. Histoire de mon Tems, chap. 4 and 5. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xx. p. 554.

† It was taken by a *coup de main*, about the middle of April.

‡ Histoire de mon Tems, chap. 6. Memoirs of the House of Austria, chap. 102.

Thus relieved from the hostility of Prussia and Saxony, Maria Theresa poured fresh troops into Bavaria, and took ample vengeance for the unprovoked aggression of the elector; while her army in Bohemia, reinforced from Hungary and the hereditary countries, drove the enemy from post to post, and confining, almost within the walls of Prague, the French force of thirty thousand men under Broglio, cut off its communication with Maillebois, who had advanced beyond Egra, for its relief.*

In Italy, also, a sudden change occurred in favour of the House of Austria. The chief strength of the queen of Hungary, having, in the former year, been drawn towards Germany, the whole force, left for the defence of her Italian territories, had been reduced to fifteen thousand men, while almost every power in that quarter had been either neutralised, or turned against her. Soon after the battle of Molwitz, the king of Sardinia had joined the Bourbons, and, advancing claims to a part of the Milanese, had collected a considerable army in Piedmont, to support his pretensions. The king of Naples was induced, by the ties of kindred, to form a similar connection; while the Genoese, and the duke of Modena, under an ostensible neutrality, had entered into a secret understanding with France and Spain. Even Tuscany, the territory of the grand duke Francis, husband of Maria Theresa, was likely, through compulsion, to desert her cause; and Venice took no share in the impending contest.

From these circumstances, the French and Spaniards, in the beginning of 1742, had conceived the most sanguine hopes of conquering the Austrian dominions in Italy. The king of Spain had collected a force under Don Philip, at the foot of the Alps, for the purpose of penetrating into Piedmont, and joining the Sardinian army. He had also sent troops into the Genoese territory, and dispatched a body of ten thousand men, under the duke of

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* The works consulted for this outline of the operations are Annales de Marie Therese, Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse, Heinrich's Reichsgeschichte, vol. viii. passim, and the periodical journals of the time: see also History of the House of Austria, chap. 102.

Montemar, to Orbitello, while additional corps occupied other Neapolitan ports on the coast of Tuscany. About the commencement of 1742, the duke of Montemar, extorted a neutrality from the Tuscan government, obtained the pope's permission to march through the Ecclesiastical Territories, and, being joined by the Neapolitans, took up a strong position at Rimini, on the western shore of the Adriatic, where his army was rapidly augmented to forty thousand men. With this force, he purposed to pass through the duchy of Modena, and, in conjunction with the Sardinians, to invade Austrian Lombardy, in its almost defenceless state.

But, at this critical moment, the Italian dominions of the queen of Hungary were preserved, by the sudden defection of the king of Sardinia from the Bourbon alliance, through the agency and influence of England.

That wily prince, aware of his danger, and perceiving that he must support the burthen of the war, for the interests of Dón Philip, and without adequate advantage to himself, opened a clandestine negotiation* with the queen of Hungary, through the mediation of the king of England, and agreed, on certain conditions,† to unite his army with hers, for the purpose of resisting the meditated invasion. Having matured his projects in secret, he marched into Lombardy in May, with an army of thirty thousand men, and joined general Traun, who was stationed there with a force of seventeen thousand Austrians.

The loss of so indispensable an ally, disconcerted the Bourbon sovereigns; and the duke of Montemar, after witnessing the reduction of Modena and Mirandola, was constrained to retire towards Ferrara, and afterwards to the neighbourhood of Bologna. On the 8th of August, the Austro-Sardinian army took possession of the strong camp at Rimini.

To the attainment of these advantages, the timely aid of the British government had largely contributed. The fleet in the Mediterranean had been reinforced by a squadron under admiral Matthews, who was invested with the command of the whole armament, and with the character of ambassador, to treat with the king of Sardinia, or any other Italian prince who might be disposed to join the allies. This fleet rendered the most important services. On the 8th of August, a squadron under captain Norris destroyed a Spanish squadron in the French port of St. Tropez; and another, under commodore Martin, by threatening to bombard Naples, compelled the king to accept a neutrality, and withdraw his forces from the Spanish army. After these achievements, and the destruction of some magazines of corn, provided for that army by the Genoese, the fleet, remaining mistress of the Mediterranean, cut off its supplies of ammunition and provisions. Meanwhile the king of Sardinia, by means of his native militia, obstructed the entrance of the Spanish forces into Piedmont, and reconquered Savoy, which had been occupied by Don Philip. At the same time, the Austrians, under general Traun, kept in check the Spanish troops led by count Gages, the successor of Montemar; and, at the close of the campaign, the Spaniards remained in the provinces of Bologna and Romagna, leaving the Austrians and Sardinians in perfect tranquillity, to rejoice over the deliverance of Italy.

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* According to a letter from the duke of Newcastle to lord Hardwicke, in October 1743, it appears that this negotiation was begun soon after the death of the emperor in 1740; and that £.200,000 of the £.500,000 granted to the queen of Hungary by parliament, was destined as a subsidy for his Sardinian majesty. See this letter in the Illustrative Correspondence.

† These conditions were, the cession of the Vigevenasco and other districts in the Milanese, and the relinquishment in his favour, of her claims to the marquisate of Finale, in the possession of the Genoese; with a subsidy of £.200,000 from England.

In the course of these events, a decisive line of policy was adopted by the British cabinet, in conformity with the wishes and views of the sovereign. During the war of the Spanish Succession, George II. had displayed great personal courage in the field of Oudenarde, and on other occasions; he delighted in military enterprise, and his martial spirit rendered him zealous in vindication of his own honour, and the dignity of his crown. Skilled in foreign policy, though occasionally biassed by a natural feeling for his patrimonial electorate, he opposed the preponderance of France, on the higher principle of its hostility to the balance of power in Europe, as well as to the welfare of England. As he had deeply resented the insults of Spain, and had entered into the war with his characteristic ardour, he had been greatly mortified by the reverses that ensued; and this feeling was aggravated by the compulsory neutrality of Hanover, which he regarded as a sacrifice of his own interests, in a British quarrel. He therefore readily listened to vigorous counsels, and was impatient to cooperate, more decisively than by the mere grant of subsidies, with his belligerent allies. He viewed the depression of Austria with undisguised concern, and waited vigilantly for an auspicious turn in the tide of affairs. When, therefore, the treaty of Breslau between Prussia and Austria, and the recent reverses of the French, presented a favourable opportunity, he determined to assist the queen of Hungary, as an auxiliary, with all the means which he could derive from his British and foreign dominions.

In this wish he was warmly encouraged by the cabinet; for, not only lord Carteret, but even the Pelhams and their adherents, recommended the formation of a British and auxiliary army on the continent, to save the House of Austria, and bring the war to a speedy and prosperous issue. As the dilapidated state of the French frontier, toward the Netherlands, offered a favourable point of attack, a plan, suggested by lord Stair, was adopted for reducing Dunkirk, and penetrating through Artois and Picardy, towards the capital.

Conformably with this design, the resolution was taken, of dispatching 16,000 British troops to the Netherlands, to join the subsidiary Hanoverians and Hessians. To secure the hearty co-operation of the Dutch, lord Stair, who was intrusted with the command of these forces, repaired to the Hague, in April, as embassador extraordinary, with full powers to concert a joint plan of operations.*

The new system of policy was, however, as yet, too imperfectly digested to be formally avowed; but, in proroguing parliament on the 15th of July, the king entered into such an explanation, as was calculated to prepare the country for the development of extensive designs.

"The treaty," he observed, "which has been lately concluded between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia, under my mediation, and so highly to the honour of Great Britain, must undoubtedly produce the best consequences to the common cause.

"The successes of the Austrian arms in Germany, the junction of the king of Sardinia's forces with those of the queen of Hungary in Italy, and the present favourable disposition of the States General, and of other great powers, are, under God, chiefly owing to the generous assistance, afforded by this nation, to its antient and natural allies. These happy events cannot fail to give encouragement to our friends, and to establish the reputation of our strength and just influence abroad.

"*If, for the farther support and defence of the queen of Hungary, and for the secure restoration of the balance of power, so particularly recommended to me by my parliament, it should become necessary for me to contract new engagements, or to enter into farther measures, I rely upon your zeal and perseverance, in so just a cause, to enable me to make them good.*

"In the midst of these extensive transactions, I have been, and shall continue to be attentive to the vigorous prosecution of the war against

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* See letter from the duke of Newcastle to lord chan. Hardwicke, Oct. 24, 1743. Illust. Corr.

Spain, which is of the greatest importance to the trade and navigation of my subjects, the encouragement and protection of which shall be one of my principal cares."

Before the prorogation of parliament, the embarkation of the troops was begun; and detachments continued to pass over to the continent during the summer. The six thousand Hessians were ordered into Flanders; and, as soon as the accommodation between Austria and Prussia was concluded, the sixteen thousand Hanoverians marched for that country, where they began to arrive in August. It was the intention of the king to visit and review the army, in company with his son the duke of Cumberland, and the royal baggage was accordingly shipped, in the expectation of his immediate departure.

But, the mission of lord Stair to Holland proving unsuccessful, it was deemed imprudent to prosecute the intended invasion of France; and a great part of the season was wasted, in unavailing preparations and useless discussions. To terminate these delays, lord Carteret himself repaired to the Hague, in September, with the hope of deciding the wavering councils of the States General, and inducing them to declare war against France.

A recent revolution in the North afforded a favourable augury to the common cause. On the death of Anne, empress of Russia, in October 1740, the crown, agreeably to her dispositions, had been transferred to her infant nephew prince Ivan, under the regency of Biren, duke of Courland. This arrangement, however, did not prove permanent; for on the 18th of November, Biren was removed from his office, and banished to Siberia, by Anne of Mecklenburg, the mother of the young sovereign, who assumed the regency. But the change was far from adding strength to the government; and the public embarrassments were increased, by the hostile attacks of Sweden on the side of Finland. To avert the mischiefs incident to a long minority, the Russian nobles turned their views to Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, who, by the will of her father, was entitled to the succession; and on the 6th of December, 1741, a revolution, equally bloodless and, unexpected, deposed Ivan, an placed her on the throne*. Her elevation was signalised by a favourable turn of affairs; for, in the ensuing campaign, the Swedes were driven from Finland, and compelled to make overtures for peace, through the mediation of Great Britain. A defensive alliance was concluded between Elizabeth and George II, who was thus enabled to diminish the influence of France in the north of Europe. Elizabeth also took an interest in the affairs of Germany, and remitted a considerable sum of money to the queen of Hungary, as an earnest of future support.

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* For an account of these singular changes, see Travels in Poland, Russia, &c. B. iv. C. 10. B. v. c. 2.

From these extensive preparations, the people of England anticipated full success on the continent. Their expectations, however, were damped by the tardiness with which the army assembled in the Netherlands, and by the pusillanimous indecision which paralysed the councils of the Dutch.

The season elapsed before an army could be organized, and the king relinquishing his purpose of visiting the continent, directed the duke of Newcastle to transmit orders to lord Stair, that the troops in Flanders should remain in their respective quarters.*

Lord Carteret failed in his efforts to animate the Dutch to a vigorous prosecution of hostilities, and even with difficulty persuaded them to furnish twenty thousand men as auxiliaries, while they engaged to contribute their share to the subsidy for the queen of Hungary.

The issue of these negotiations increased the differences that already prevailed in the British Cabinet. Lord Carteret, in deference to the wishes of the king, recommended vigorous operations against France, on the side of the Netherlands; while the Pelhams, convinced that no efficient assistance could be expected from the Dutch, enforced the expediency of marching the army into Germany to relieve the Austrians, and interrupt the communication between France and Bavaria.

Still these differences were confined to the mode of conducting hostilities; for the whole cabinet agreed in acknowledging the necessity of a continental war, and approved the policy of maintaining a considerable force in Flanders. The king, however, was dissatisfied with the indecisive measures that had recently been taken. The treaty of Breslau, and the successes of the Austrians, having relieved his anxiety concerning his German dominions, he resolved to reduce his Hanoverian troops to their original complement, as the resources of his electorate were inadequate to support them on their existing scale, and there was reason to apprehend that the British parliament would not reimburse the extraordinary expense of their maintenance. This resolution was communicated to lord Carteret, and to the duke of Newcastle, who both intreated his majesty to relinquish a measure, which by diminishing the military force abroad, would necessarily occasion the recal of the British troops, and the total abandonment of the continental war. All the principal members of the cabinet concurring in this opinion, the king was persuaded to take into English pay, the sixteen thousand Hanoverians, in virtue of the power granted to him by parliament, for the relief of the queen of Hungary.*

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* Letter from Mr. Stone to lord Hardwicke, dated Oct. 4, 1742, M.S.

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* These facts are stated in the letter from the duke of Newcastle to lord chancellor Hardwicke, dated Oct. 24th, 1743. Illust. Corr.

SECTION V.

1742—1743.

Arrangements and changes before the meeting of Parliament—Critical situation of the Ministry—Popular clamour against the War on the Continent, and the German partialities imputed to the King—Meeting of Parliament—Speech from the Throne—Discussions on the grant for the maintenance of the British troops in Flanders—Violent Debate on the grant for the Hanoverian troops—Mr. Pelham defends the mode of making remittances to the Continent—Unpopularity of lord Bath, and the new members of Administration—Motion for reviving the inquiry into the conduct of the Earl of Orford—Rejected—Supplies—Close of the Session, and declaration of the King, that the British forces were about to enter Germany.

THE situation of affairs created considerable anxiety for the meeting of parliament; and, with a view to strengthen the government, several moderate Whigs and a few Tories, were admitted into subordinate posts. Lord Harry Poulett was made deputy lieutenant of the Tower, Mr. Finch, son of lord Winchelsea, vice-chamberlain, Mr. Edward Finch, his brother, groom of the bedchamber, Mr. Hooper, paymaster of pensions, Sir Charles Gilmour, paymaster of the works, Mr. Furnese, joint secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Daniel Boon, muster-master-general. The hon. Henry Legge was appointed surveyor-general of woods on both sides the Trent; and lastly, the office of solicitor general was conferred on Mr. Murray, afterwards so well known as lord Mansfield, who subsequently proved an efficient supporter of the Pelham administration, in the House of Commons.

The new system of policy, indeed, required for its defence all the aid which the government could obtain; for the Pelhams were far from being satisfied, either with the superiority assumed by lord Carteret, in the management of foreign transactions, or with the scheme of military operations countenanced by him. At the same time lord Carteret, lord Bath, and Mr. Sandys, with whom the Pelhams were now officially connected, had lost the influence which they formerly possessed, as leaders of the Opposition. On the other hand, the adversaries of government were as vindictive as when Sir Robert Walpole was driven from the helm; for they were irritated by their exclusion from power, and by the desertion of their great leaders, lords

Bath and Carteret. In the House of Peers their cause was principally maintained by the duke of Bedford, lords Chesterfield, Sandwich, Stanhope, and Westmorland; in the Commons, by Waller, Pitt, Lyttelton, Dodington, lord Strange, and Sir John Hinde Cotton, with other inferior, but by no means inconsiderable coadjutors. Even lord Cobham, though restored to his regiment, was secretly connected with his former adherents; and, as Glover observes, "was the life and spirit of the party."[*] Their great object was to punish the apostacy of their former leaders; and, after expelling lord Carteret, to reduce the Pelhams to a coalition on their own terms.

The temper of the public afforded a favourable scope for the efforts of Opposition. Advantage had been taken of the disappointment caused by the inactivity of the army in Flanders; and the national jealousy had been excited against continental enterprises in general. Lord Carteret was severely stigmatised; and the sovereign himself, as elector of Hanover, was boldly accused of involving his British subjects in a German quarrel, for the advancement of his own foreign interests.

In these inauspicious circumstances, the session of parliament opened on the 16th of November, and the Opposition found a popular topic of invective, in the question relative to a continental war, and the engagements to which it naturally gave rise.

In the speech from the throne, the king stated, that, in compliance with the advice of parliament, he had taken measures, for securing the balance of Europe, and restoring the public tranquillity, by sending a British force to Flanders; and added, that the six thousand Hessians in British pay, and sixteen thousand of his Hanoverian troops, had been dispatched to the same quarter.

He extolled the exertions of the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia; alluded with confidence to the change of affairs in the north; and spoke of the probable conclusion of peace between Sweden and Russia. Adverting to his treaties of defensive alliance with the Czarina, and the king of Prussia, he ascribed all these advantages to the vigorous counsels of Great Britain; and expressed his reliance on the aid of parliament, in fulfilling his engagements.[†]

The address in the House of Lords was moved by the marquess of Tweeddale, secretary of state for Scotland, and seconded by lord Montfort. It was opposed by lords Chesterfield and Westmorland, who inveighed with their usual animation against Hanoverian influence; but, after an able reply from lord Carteret, it passed without a division.

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[*] Glover's Posthumous Memoirs, p. 7.

[†] Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xii. p. 829. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xx. p. 588.

It was framed with the usual conformity to the tenor of the speech. After acknowledging the care and vigilance of his Majesty, in supporting and assisting the House of Austria, to preserve the equilibrium of Europe, peers expressed their thanks, for his attention to the public welfare, in sending to the Netherlands so considerable a body of his forces, and in strengthening it with his electoral troops, and the Hessian auxiliaries; thus forming an army, which might encourage the efforts of well-intentioned states, and give effectual aid to the queen of Hungary. They expressed a hope, that the vigorous and firm policy of Great Britain would infuse a corresponding spirit into other powers, equally bound by treaties and common interest, to take the same honourable course; and concluded by promising a steady continuance of their support, for the attainment of those great and desirable ends.[*]

In the House of Commons, a similar address was moved by the marquess of Hartington, son of the duke of Devonshire. The chief opponent was Sir Watkin Williams Wynne; for none of the great speakers in Opposition took any share in the debate. It was ably supported by Sir William Yonge, the secretary at war, as well as by Sir John Barnard, whose opinion influenced a considerable party in the house; and was carried by a majority of 259 against 150. It agreed in substance with the address of the Lords; and concluded with an assurance, that the Commons would, with the greatest alacrity, grant the requisite supplies to perfect the great work in which his Majesty was engaged, for prosecuting with vigour the just and necessary war with Spain, and for maintaining the honour and security of his Majesty and his kingdoms.[†]

The strength of the contending parties was more fully tried, on the question of supply, which brought into discussion the merits of the new system of policy.

The engagement, for taking into British pay the sixteen thousand Hanoverians, which had before been only surmised, was now formally announced in the estimates; and was eagerly seized by the Opposition, as a pretext for declaring against continental entanglements.

The motion made on the 6th of December by Sir William Yonge, in the committee of supply, for granting £.534,763, to defray the charge of the sixteen thousand three hundred and fifty-nine British troops in Flanders, did not pass without a debate, though the chief members in Opposition were still silent. The main objections were directed against the impolicy of plunging the country into a continental war, at a time when the successes of the queen of Hungary had disposed France for peace. It was urged, that wisdom as well as economy demanded the employment of money, rather than men, in aid of her Hungarian majesty; and the Opposition boldly asserted, that the object of ministers in entering into a war, was not the safety of England, but the aggrandisement of Hanover. The measure of taking the electoral troops into British pay, was censured as mean, selfish, and partial; while that of sending a British army abroad, without the consent of parliament, was denounced as incompatible with the Act of Settlement, and with the principles of the constitution.

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[*] Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 833. Cont. of Rapin, p. 588.

[†] Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 833.

Mr. Sandys, and the advocates of government, contended that the quarrel, which had led to hostilities, was not German but British; that the expedition to the continent was justified by the soundest policy; that the presence of a British force in the Netherlands, had already strengthened the favourable disposition of the European powers; and that it had operated as a diversion, to weaken the French army in Germany, by draining it of detachments, for the defence of the threatened frontier. The motion was finally carried by 280 against 160.*

The strength of Opposition was, in fact, reserved for resisting the proposal to take the Hanoverian troops into British pay, which was brought forward on the 10th of December; when the secretary at war, by command of his Majesty, presented a list of those stationed in Flanders, who had received such pay, since the 31st of August. Their numbers were six thousand five hundred and thirteen horse, and ten thousand seven hundred and fifty-five infantry; and the expenses of pay and levy money, from that period to the 25th of December, amounted to £.265,191. It was ordered, that the committee of supply should take into consideration, first the list of troops, and the charge for them, from August 31 to December 25, 1742; secondly, the estimate for their maintenance, from December 25, 1742, to December 25, 1743, amounting to £.392,697; and thirdly, the estimate of the charge for the Hessians, during the same periods.†

On this occasion all the invectives, formerly vented against Hanoverian influence, were renewed. The leaders in Opposition asserted, that the war on the continent was undertaken purely in defence of Hanover; that the bargain for the electoral troops was disadvantageous in itself, and a gross imposition on the people of England; and that, having been made without consent of parliament, it was unconstitutional. Condemning this system of policy, as a flagitious infraction of the Act of Settlement, they affirmed, that the kingdom of England, so powerful and so formidable, was become a mere province to a despicable electorate. It was farther urged, that the elector of Hanover was bound, by treaty, to support the House of Austria, without burthening his British subjects; and that these troops, in themselves useless, could not be employed against the emperor of Germany, to whose elevation the king had contributed, in his electoral capacity. Why, it was asked, were they to be paid, for eating and sleeping, in a place of security, afar from their own country, which was in danger? Their numerical force was also made a topic of complaint; since, if so large an aid could be claimed by the House of Austria, it might be contributed in British troops, or in money, rather than in foreign mercenaries. Lastly, it was contended, that the formation of an army in Flanders, while it could render no service to the queen of Hungary, would provoke the French to attack the Dutch barrier; yet this decisive step had been taken, without the concurrence of the States General, whose support had hitherto been deemed essential, in all military enterprises on the continent.

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* Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 906. Cont. of Rapin, vol. xx. p. 597.

† Journals of the Commons, December 10, 1742.

To these objections, the reply was, that the quarrel, in which the war had originated, was British; that it would be ungenerous and ungrateful to abandon the elector of Hanover, in a contest in which he had been involved, as king of England, and for which parliament had promised their support. As no draughts could be spared from England, it was alleged, that the assistance afforded to the queen of Hungary, was the best adapted for restoring general tranquillity; since troops, equally serviceable, could not elsewhere be procured, on terms so moderate, or be so expeditiously sent into the field. The assertion, that they would not be permitted to serve in Germany, was pronounced absurd; and strong hopes were held forth, that, by the example of Great Britain, the Dutch might be roused from their ignoble timidity, to take an active part in the war.

In this debate, the leaders of Opposition exerted all their energies; and, as they were aided by Sir John Barnard, and many of his partisans, the majority in favour of ministers, on the first question, was reduced to 67, the votes being 260 against 193.*

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* Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 940. Cont. of Rapin, vol. xx. p. 597. Chandler's Debates, vol. xiv. p. 98. Journals of the Commons.

Thus defeated, the Opposition no longer ventured to resist the motion for continuing the Hanoverians in British pay, during the ensuing year, but confined their objections to the levy money, claimed for troops who had been previously raised. Accordingly, when the report was brought up, an amendment to the first resolution was proposed, for deducting £.131,313 levy money. After another warm discussion, this amendment was negatived by 230 against 177,* and the other resolutions were carried without a division.

In the House of Peers, these estimates called forth a more vigorous effort from the Opposition, who endeavoured to prevent the discussion of the grant. Lord Stanhope, having vehemently declaimed against Hanoverian influence, proposed an address, beseeching his Majesty to exonerate his over-burthened subjects from the charge of those mercenaries, who had been taken into pay, in the preceding year, without the consent of parliament. The principal speakers, in this debate, were, lords Bath and Carteret, on the side of government, and the duke of Bedford, and lords Sandwich and Chesterfield, on that of the Opposition.

It was confidently expected, by the enemies of Lord Carteret, on whom the odium of the measure principally fell, that the duke of Newcastle would imitate the example of his brother, and give his silent vote in its favour. But, although his Grace objected to the military operations, proposed by his colleague, yet, as he had warmly approved the expedient of sending British troops into Flanders, and of taking into British pay the sixteen thousand Hanoverians, he defended it with as much spirit as lord Carteret himself. He strongly upheld the king's prerogative to hire foreign troops, without the previous consent of parliament, and asserted, that, on no former occasion, had the Crown been called on to communicate a similar treaty, until after its conclusion, when the sanction of parliament was required, for the necessary supplies. He demonstrated, that the king, as elector of Hanover, had an undoubted right to give that destination to his own troops, which might appear proper to him; and that, until parliament was called upon to vote the supplies for those troops, it could not reasonably expect to be consulted on the employment of them; adding, that as parliament had the power of granting or refusing such supplies, the proper time, for discussing the question, was on taking the estimates into consideration. He then combated the argument for sending to the continent an additional number of British troops, sufficient to supersede the necessity of employing foreigners, by shewing, that the disposable force in England, which had been rated at twenty-three thousand men, amounted only to twelve thousand; many of the regiments being diminished by losses in the American expedition, and all the marines being on board the fleet. He argued, that the king was reduced to the alternative, of failing in his engagements with the queen of Hungary, and injuring a cause, in which so much blood and treasure had been expended, or of obtaining, from foreign troops, that assistance which our own could not afford. He boldly declared, that the services of the Hanoverians were secured on cheaper terms, than could have been elsewhere obtained; and that, being masters of the politics of Hanover, we could depend on a continuance of those services; while any other power, on a sudden change of policy, might withdraw its aid, at the crisis when it was most essential. Alluding to the calumnies, relative to his majesty's partiality to his Hanoverian subjects, he declared that the king, so far from sacrificing the interests of his British dominions, to those of his electorate, would, if the necessity should arise, readily sacrifice the interests of Hanover, to those of Great Britain.

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* Journals of the Commons, December 13. It is very singular, that no account has been given of this last debate, by any of the contemporary or subsequent journalists. Chandler merely states, that the question occasioned a long debate: see vol. xiv. p. 194.

After enlarging on the necessity of taking the Hanoverian troops into British pay, to support the queen of Hungary, he continued:

" In defence of the Pragmatic Sanction, my lords, which all the princes of the empire, except his Majesty, saw violated without concern, are we now required to exert our forces. We are required, only to perform what we promised by the most solemn treaties, which, though they have been broken by the cowardice or ambition of other powers, it will be our greatest honour to observe with exemplary fidelity."

With this view, he added, the Hanoverian troops would march into the empire; and, if they had been hitherto detained in Flanders, it was because they were deemed most useful there, as they at once encouraged the Dutch, alarmed the French, defended that country, and maintained the communication between the queen's dominions, and those of her allies. Thus, they had changed the state of the war. Protected from a new hostile army, her Hungarian majesty had been enabled to secure the possession of Bavaria; while the French forces, instead of marching to assist Spain, to withstand the king of Sardinia, or to aid the emperor, in recovering the dominions forfeited by his alliance with France, had been drawn to a remote quarter, where they could render no service, either to their own country, or to their confederates. The united troops of Great Britain and Hanover, therefore, by living at ease in their quarters in Flanders, carried on the war more effectually, than if they had marched immediately into Bavaria or Bohemia.

"Since, then," he concluded, "the same reasons, which induced the government to hire them, still make it necessary to retain them, your lordships will prefer the general happiness of nations, the observance of public faith, and the security of our own liberties, with those of our posterity, to a small alleviation of our present expenses; and unanimously reject a motion, which has no other tendency, than to resign Europe into the hands of the French, and purchase a short and dependent tranquillity, by the loss of all the blessings that make life desirable."*

The original motion of lord Stanhope was negatived, by 90 votes against 35; but a spirited and able protest, comprising the principal arguments of Opposition, was signed by twenty-six peers.

To crown this victory, an address was moved by lord Holdernesse, declaring, that, in the unsettled and perilous situation of the affairs in Europe, it was a wise, useful, and necessary measure, to send a considerable body of British into the Austrian Netherlands, and to augment that force with sixteen thousand Hanoverians, and with the Hessians in British pay; and that it had already produced very advantageous consequences. This address was carried by 78 against 35. Thus terminated the parliamentary discussion of a question, which created so much discontent, and long continued to agitate the public mind.

At this period Mr. Sandys, and those members, who, under the assumed name of "Old Whigs," had formed a coalition with the remnant of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, became still more unpopular. They not only did not propose any of those reforms, for which they had so long contended, but supported the very measures of foreign policy, which they had before strenuously condemned, and even opposed the introduction of a place bill into the House of Commons, for which they had formally and repeatedly pledged themselves.

It does not appear, that Mr. Pelham took a share in any of these discussions, though he supported the measures of government with his vote and influence. The only debate into which he entered, was on a question in which, as Paymaster of the forces, he was officially and personally concerned. The agent, long employed for making remittances of money to the troops abroad, was an eminent merchant, named Gore, who had offered to effect those now required, at the rate of ten guilders thirteen stivers per pound sterling. But, as the actual course of exchange was ten guilders eighteen stivers, a counter-proposal was made, by another mercantile house, Messrs. Wilkinson and Muilman, to undertake the remittances, at ten guilders sixteen stivers. These offers being referred to Mr. Pelham, as Paymaster of the forces, he decided for Mr. Gore, on account of his superior advantages, in ensuring the regularity of the remittances; and though the terms were less favourable, this recommendation was accepted by the lords of the Treasury.

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* The substance of this speech is drawn from the MS. notes of archbishop Secker, and from the report in the Gentleman's Magazine, which are both given in Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xii. p. 1058: and also from the London Magazine, 1743.

The question was brought into discussion, and attempts were made to shew, that the board of Treasury had sacrificed the public interest to private considerations. Mr. Pelham gave a candid explanation of the whole affair, and clearly demonstrated the risk and inconvenience, which might have attended a change of contract. The motion, therefore, was negatived by 211 against 182.*

Before we close our account of the parliamentary proceedings in this session, we cannot omit an occurrence, which considerably affected the feelings of Mr. Pelham. On the 1st of December, a motion was made, for reviving a committee to inquire into the conduct of lord Orford, during the last ten years of his administration. We have no account of the debate which it occasioned: we only find, that the motion was made by Mr. Waller, and seconded by Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, and that it was negatived by 253 against 186, a proof that it was considered as a mere party question, and had ceased to be popular.†

After this failure, the enemies of lord Orford made no attempt to revive the prosecution; and, in no long time, Mr. Pelham had the satisfaction of receiving his advice and assistance, during the struggle for the post of first lord of the Treasury, which ensued on the death of lord Wilmington.

The forces, voted for the year, were forty thousand seamen, and eleven thousand five hundred and fifty marines; twenty three thousand six hundred and ten British troops, for guards in Great Britain; and sixteen thousand three hundred and fifty-nine for service in Flanders, together with six thousand one hundred and seventy-two Hessians, and sixteen thousand two hundred and sixty-eight Hanoverians. For the pay and maintenance of these forces, and for other contingencies, including a vote of credit for £.500,000, the sum of £.6,008,136 was granted.

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* Journals of the Commons. Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 1. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xx. p. 607.

† Journals of the Commons. Chandler's Debates, vol. iv. p. 32.

The other public business having been dispatched, this stormy session was closed, on the 21st of April, by a speech from the throne, in which the king announced the commencement of an active campaign; and stated, that he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, to pass the Rhine, as auxiliaries of her Hungarian majesty, and for her support and assistance. He added, that his fleets, in the Mediterranean, and the West Indies, were successfully prosecuting hostilities against Spain.

SECTION VI.

1743.

Departure of the King for the Continent—Progress of events abroad—Successful operations of the Austrians—The French, expelled from Bohemia and Bavaria, retreat towards the Rhine—Treaty of neutrality with the Emperor, and occupation of Bavaria by the Austrians—March of the British and Allied troops into Germany—Movements of the French army under Marshal Noailles.—Battle of Dettingen—The Allies encamp at Hanau—The French withdraw from Germany—Failure of the plan for the invasion of France—Retreat of the Allied forces into the Netherlands—Convention of Hanau, between the King of England and the Emperor, rejected by the British Cabinet—Negotiations with Austria and Sardinia, and conclusion of the Treaty of Worms—Division in the Cabinet, relative to a supplementary convention with Austria.

ON departing for the continent, the king, as usual, appointed a commission of nineteen lords justices, among whose names, for the first time, we find that of Mr. Pelham.

His Majesty landed at Helvoetsluys on the 13th of May, and proceeded to Hanover. He was accompanied by his second son, the duke of Cumberland, and attended by lord Carteret, as secretary of state for the northern province, who was thus enabled to appropriate an exclusive share of the royal confidence, and the chief management of the pending negotiations. The Pelhams did not contemplate, with indifference, this paramount authority. During the preceding winter, great discordance of sentiment had prevailed, concerning the conduct of the war. Lord Carteret, in deference to the apprehensions of the king for his electorate, had proposed an invasion of France, on the side of the Netherlands; while the duke of Newcastle strenuously persisted in recommending Germany for the scene of action, as affording scope for a diversion, more favourable to the House of Austria.

The effects of this discordance were not confined to the cabinet; for, repeated delays occurred in forming the magazines, and in completing the necessary arrangements for a German campaign. The opinion of the Pelhams, indeed, prevailed ; but, at the same time, through the fears of the king for the safety of Hanover, lord Stair, the British commander, was fettered with instructions from lord Carteret, which were calculated to preclude any direct hostility, against the person or dominions of the emperor. In conformity with these instructions, lord Stair issued a circular letter to the principal courts of Europe, notifying, that he had no orders to act against the emperor, but only to oblige the French to evacuate Germany. He afterwards, on his advance into that country, dispatched a similar notification to his imperial majesty, then resident at Frankfort, and also to the magistrates of the place, adding, that he should respect that city, both as neutral, and as the imperial residence. But the emperor did not choose to trust to these assurances ; for, even before the allied troops approached Frankfort, he quitted that city, and returned to Munich, only to witness the successful progress of the Austrians,* in his own dominions.

The state of affairs in Germany, doubtless, afforded the most flattering hopes, that the presence of the British troops, and their foreign auxiliaries, would produce a decisive effect. Maillebois, after his vain attempt to extricate the French garrison in Prague, under the command of marshal Broglio, had withdrawn into Germany, with a loss of nearly seventeen thousand men. In consequence of this retreat, prince Charles, leaving Lobcowitz to blockade Prague, proceeded into Upper Austria, to repel any attempt, from the United French and Bavarians, on that province. But, not being able to procure a sufficiency of provisions in the neighbouring districts, Lobcowitz was obliged to scatter his troops over such a considerable extent of ground, that he could not effectually invest the place. Broglio, therefore, seizing this advantage, quitted Prague on the night of the 18th Dec. 1742, with a force, reduced to sixteen thousand men, and reached Egra, a frontier town of Bohemia, without encountering any considerable opposition from the scattered forces of the enemy. The exertions and sufferings of his troops, from cold, fatigue, and hunger, had however, reduced them to half their original number ; and, after halting for a month at Egra, he continued his retreat into Bavaria, where such of his regiments as remained fit for service, were incorporated with the French army, and the others returned to France. Having assumed the command, it was expected, that he would co-operate with marshal Seckendorf, commander in chief of the Bavarian troops, in defence of the country, against the expected invasion of the Austrians. But Broglio refused to form the proposed junction, and took up a defensive position at Pladling, on the banks of the Danube. In consequence of this want of concert between the French and Bavarians, the Austrians found little difficulty in defeating their armies in detail.

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* See Continuation of Rapin, vol. xx. p. 622.

Early in May, prince Charles advancing with a considerable force, attacked a corps of nine thousand Bavarians, who were posted near Sempach, and defeated them with the loss of four thousand men, and all their artillery, baggage, and standards. Their general Minuzzi was also taken prisoner. After this victory, the Austrian commander recrossed the Danube, and, being assisted by the advance of prince Lobcowitz, with a body of troops from Bohemia, to the northern bank of that river, he acquired the entire command of the country on both sides. With this increased force, he compelled Broglio to quit his position, and drove him successively through Landau, Deckendorf, and other places to Ingoldstadt. Having left a garrison in that place, the French marshal repaired to Donauwert, and was joined by count Segur, with a detachment of twelve thousand men, from the army of Noailles. But, notwithstanding this reinforcement, Broglio still refused to comply with the earnest intreaties of the Bavarian general, to hazard a battle, and even prepared to evacuate Bavaria.

Meanwhile, prince Charles, continuing his operations, invested Burghausen and Muhldorf, pushed forward a detachment against Munich, and, being joined by another body of Austrians from the Tyrol, became, in a great degree, master of the country.

The unfortunate emperor, after a fruitless appeal to his allies for support, finally abandoned his capital on the 8th of June, and, repairing to Augsburg, waited, with anxious expectation, the issue of the military operations upon which his fate depended. His general, Seckendorf, having made an ineffectual effort to save the capital, retreated, with a force diminished to nine thousand men, and took up a position between Ingoldstadt and Rain; and, in a few days, had the mortification to witness the surrender of Munich and Friedberg, with considerable magazines of every kind.

Deserted by the French, and consequently unable to offer an effectual opposition to his victorious adversary, Seckendorf, by order of the emperor, entered into a treaty of neutrality with prince Charles, on the 27th of June, by which the Bavarian troops were permitted to remain, unmolested, on a neutral territory of the empire, and the towns of Straubingen, Braunau, and Reichenhall, were surrendered to the Austrians. The native authorities were superseded, and the provisional homage of the States was paid to the queen of Hungary. This auspicious change in her fortunes had been previously marked by her solemn inauguration at Prague, on the 12th of May, as sovereign of Bohemia. Soon afterwards she was also recognised at Lintz, as archduchess of Austria.

During the successful career of the Austrians in Bavaria, preparations had been continued for the British expedition into Germany. After many delays, arising from the disinclination of the Dutch to co-operate, and the unwillingness of the Hessians to advance into the empire, the British and Austrian forces commenced their march, towards the end of February, under the joint command of the earl of Stair, and the duke of Aremberg. Taking the route to Aix La Chapelle, they were joined by the sixteen thousand Hanoverians, who had wintered in the bishopric of Liege, and by several bodies of Austrians; in consequence of which reinforcements, the army was increased to forty thousand men. They passed the Rhine, on the 14th of May, and, on the 23rd, encamped on the Maine, at Hochst, between Mentz and Hanau. In this position they remained until the commencement of June, waiting the junction of the six thousand Hessians, who had at length begun their march from the Netherlands, and of six thousand Hanoverians, in the electoral service, accompanied by a corps of cavalry. The presence of the allied forces, influenced the chapter of Mentz, to elect count Ostein, a partisan of Austria, to the vacant see of that electorate, and constrained the elector palatine, Charles Theodore, to conclude a treaty of neutrality, and recall his troops from the imperial army.

The king of France had not been inattentive to these movements. In the middle of May, an army of seventy thousand men assembled at Spire, on the Rhine, under the command of the duke of Noailles, with orders to obstruct the march of the allies, and to cover Bavaria on one hand, or Alsace and Lorraine on the other. After ascertaining the purpose of lord Stair, Noailles left garrisons in Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim; and, having detached twelve thousand men, under count Segur, to strengthen the army in Bavaria, he approached the Maine. On the 10th of June, he took up a strong position at Fundstadt, on Gros-Geron, within four leagues of the confederate camp, which was pitched on the opposite bank of the river.

The proximity of the two armies occasioned a series of manœuvres, in which Noailles exhibited great adroitness, in cutting off supplies, and in preventing the intended passage of the allies across the Maine, near Frankfort.

The earl of Stair, without waiting for the junction of the Hessians and Hanoverians, recalled the detachments, which he had pushed across the Maine to reconnoitre, and advancing up its course, with a view to secure the navigation, to draw supplies from Franconia, and to communicate with the Austrians in the Upper Palatinate, he reached Aschaffenburg, on the 16th of June. Noailles, vigilantly watching his movements, had detached troops to take possession of that town; and, though foiled in his object, by the previous arrival of the allies, he profited by the imprudent advance of lord Stair, beyond his magazines at Hanau. Distributing part of his army along the river, he took up a strong position between Great Ostheim and Hochstadt, and occupied the principal posts and fords on the Upper and Lower Maine. He thus cut off the supplies of the confederates, on the side of Mentz, as well as on that of Franconia. He also prevented their communication with the Upper Palatinate, and reduced them to the greatest distress.

On the 19th, the king, after a rapid journey from Hanover, arrived at Aschaffenburg, accompanied by the duke of Cumberland, and lord Carteret. He found the army in a critical situation; for, not only had vehement disputes arisen between lord Stair and the Austrian general, but the troops, from privation and suffering, had begun to throw off the restraints of discipline, and were daily committing depredations on the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts. Reduced to thirty-seven thousand men, they were posted in a narrow valley, between Mount Spessart and the Maine, extending along the banks of that river, from Aschaffenburg to Dettingen; and such was their distress for want of forage, that within a few days they must have sacrificed the greater part of the horses. The Hessians and Hanoverians, who had nearly reached Hanau, were not only unable to join, but were in danger of being obliged to surrender.

The presence and authority of the king suspended the feud between the two generals, checked the depredations of the troops, and roused the whole army from despondency. After several councils of war, the meditated advance towards the Upper Palatinate was abandoned; and as the enemy, by closing the passages of the Maine, had rendered the present position untenable, it was determined to fall back on the magazines at Hanau, and effect a junction with the Hessian and Hanoverian reinforcements, which would render the army equal to that of the enemy. This, however, was a movement of uncommon danger, in the face of a vigilant and enterprising antagonist.

Meanwhile Noailles, perceiving the intention of the allies, to withdraw by the way of Dettingen, advanced to Seligenstadt, with a view to oppose their retreat; and, throwing two bridges over the Maine, he dispatched his nephew, the duke of Grammont, with a force of twenty-three thousand men, across that river, to secure the pass in front of Dettingen, through which they had to march. Batteries were also raised along the opposite bank, to sweep the narrow valley between Mount Spessart and the river, and particularly to rake the defilés of Dettingen. A corps of twelve thousand men was sent to occupy the bridge of Aschaffenburg, with a view farther to obstruct the movements of the allies, and to harass their rear, during their expected retreat.

Soon after midnight, on the 27th of June, the confederate forces struck their tents, and commenced their march towards Dettingen, in two columns. The king, apprehending that the principal attack of the French would be from Aschaffenburg, posted himself in the rear, with four battalions of English guards, four of Lunenburg, and the Hanoverian artillery. This was a fortunate disposition, as the guns of the allies silenced a hostile battery, and suspended the occupation of Aschaffenburg by the French. The repulse, however, of the advanced parties from Dettingen, and the movements of the corps under Grammont, which was seen crossing the Maine at Seligenstadt, soon convinced the allies, that the principal peril hovered on their front. Their columns, therefore, immediately halted, and the king advancing towards the scene of danger, directed the army to be drawn up, with the infantry in front, and the cavalry in the rear; its right extending towards the Spessart, and its left to the river, in front of Dettingen, the best practicable precautions being taken to secure both flanks.

Had the skilful disposition of Noailles been carried into effect, the British monarch, and his army, would have been exposed to a fearful hazard. They were cooped up in a plain, scarcely half a mile in breadth; their rear was menaced by the enemy on the side of Aschaffenburg; and their whole line raked by the batteries beyond the Maine, whose meandering banks afforded every facility for a concentrated fire, at the short distance of two hundred paces. In front, the duke of Grammont had occupied Dettingen, covered by a morass and ravine, through which flowed a rivulet, passable only by a single bridge, and flanked by a village and a wood. Towards this point, farther reinforcements, from the army of Noailles, were already in motion.

On their march through the narrow defilé, leading to Dettingen, the allies suffered severely from the incessant fire of the enemy's batteries; and their sole hope consisted, in the possibility of cutting their way through the French lines, which possessed every advantage of nature and art. They fortunately escaped from almost inevitable destruction, through the impetuosity of the duke of Grammont, who, conceiving that the advancing force was only part of the hostile army, contravened the judicious orders of his uncle, and, leaving his almost inaccessible position, passed the ravine, to give battle, on ground equally advantageous to both parties. His advance necessarily caused the French artillery, posted on the opposite bank of the river, to suspend their fire, lest it should injure their own troops, and thus afforded additional safety to the allies. The king of England, perceiving the approach of the French, alighted from his horse, and took his station among the British and Hanoverian infantry, on the right; while the duke of Cumberland, as major general, headed the first line of these forces. The conflict spread rapidly from wing to wing; and, in the first onset, the impetuous charge of the French cavalry, threw the allies into disorder, which was, however, soon repaired by the steadiness of the troops, animated by the presence and exertions of the king. The dense mass of the infantry, led by his majesty in person, soon broke and dispersed the enemy, who were exhausted by their brave and imprudent assault; and so great a slaughter ensued, that Noailles, perceiving the disaster to be irremediable, recalled the corps of Grammont, leaving the allies in possession of the field of battle.

This retreat was made with such precipitation, that many were cut to pieces by their pursuers, before they reached the bridges, and many, throwing down their arms, fled to the mountains, and were taken prisoners without resistance. Others plunged into the river and were drowned; and numbers were swept away in their flight, by the fire of some pieces of artillery. The loss of the French was computed at six thousand men, among whom were one hundred and thirty officers, many of them of high rank; while the confederates lost only half that number.*

Although the earl of Stair, and the duke of Aremberg, who was wounded in the shoulder, behaved with great intrepidity, yet the victory was chiefly owing to the exertions of the king, and the duke of Cumberland.

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* Lord Carteret, in his letter dated Hanau, June 20, (July 1.) computes the loss of the French at four thousand, and that of the allies at one thousand five hundred; but the latter part, at least, of this estimate, appears to be erroneous, from the official accounts in the gazette; as the total amount, of the killed and wounded of the allies, is there stated to be, two thousand three hundred and fifty, which, as usual, is probably underrated. The authorities for the battle are, the official accounts in the gazettes, &c. Memoires de Noailles, vol. v. Hénault, Histoire de France, vol. iv. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xx. p. 628.

The description given of the battle by an eye-witness, in the unstudied language of a soldier, affords the most unequivocal testimony of their heroic valour.

" The French fired at his Majesty from a battery of twelve cannon, but levelled too high. I saw the balls go within half a yard of his head. The duke D'Aremberg desired him to go out of danger; he answered ' don't tell me of danger; I'll be even with them.' He is certainly the boldest man I ever saw. His horse being frighted, ran away with him, but he soon stopped him. The French got into the corner of a wood to flank our right.

" The king then drew his sword, and ordered the Hanoverian foot and horse, and some English, through the wood, and rode about like a lion. He drew them up in line of battle himself, ordered six cannon to the right, and bade them fire on the flank of the French. He stood by till they fired; they did great execution, killing thirty or forty at a shot. Then he went to the foot, and ordered them not to fire till the French came close, who were about one hundred yards distant. Then the French fired upon us directly, and the shot flew again as thick as hail. Then the king flourished his sword and said, ' Now boys; now for the honour of England; fire, and behave bravely, and the French will soon run.' Then the French foot gave an huzza, and fired very fast; but our men fired too fast for them, and soon made them retreat, and then gave another huzza, and fired. We had neither victuals, drink, nor tents to lie in, after the work was done. The king stood in the field till ten that night.

" The duke's intrepidity led his men into the midst of a storm of fire; and his horse, having received four wounds, ran away with him towards the enemy, where two Austrians, mistaking him for a French officer, fired their pistols at his head, and he received a ball in his leg."*

After the defeat of the enemy, lord Stair proposed to pursue them in their retreat; but, in the exhausted state of the whole army, this advice was prudently over-ruled. Having, therefore, halted a few hours, the allies left their wounded to the mercy of the French commander, and in the morning reached Hanau, where they were joined by the Hessians and Hanoverians. As the army now fully equalled that of the enemy, lord Stair again proposed to pass the Maine, and interrupt their march towards the Rhine. But, his advice being once more rejected, Noailles was suffered to proceed without molestation from Seligenstadt; and on the 2nd of July, he encamped along the Maine, from Steinheim to Offenbach, opposite the allies.

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* Extract of a letter from Mr. Kendal, of lord Ashburnham's troop, published in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1743. p. 387.

The effect produced on the cabinet in England, by the first intelligence of this battle, will appear from a letter of congratulation, written to lord Carteret, by the duke of Newcastle, dated June 24th, o. s. 1743, in which, while he expresses his admiration of the magnanimity displayed by the king, he anticipates the beneficial result, likely to ensue from this victory, for the interests of his Majesty, the measures of administration, and the disposition of the continental powers, both amicable and neutral.

"My Dear Lord, "*Newcastle House, June 24th*, 1743.

"I have so many letters of ceremony and congratulation to write, and have expressed myself so fully and sincerely to you, in my other letter, upon this joyful occasion, that I shall give you but very little trouble in this private letter. It is impossible to describe the general satisfaction and joy that appear every where; and what particularly affects all honest men, is, the share the king has personally had in this great action, which I verily believe will be of lasting service to him, and make impressions in his favour, which falsehood and malice will not be able hereafter to efface. You know, also, my affection and attachment to the duke. His royal highness having distinguished himself in the manner he has done, does, I own, greatly add to my joy in this affair.

"I must not forget, that the sanction which our measures receive from what has happened, and the flat contradiction that is now given to all the bare-faced assertions and malicious insinuations against them, must add weight to our administration, and be a sensible pleasure to all who are concerned in it.

"You may imagine, we are very impatient for the particulars of what has passed, and shall be so, to be informed of the future progress of our arms. Things may not seem material to you upon the spot, which, at a distance, are extremely so to us here; and, therefore, I must earnestly desire that you would not let me be uninformed of any, the least particular, that may pass. It is an odd figure we have made here, for some days, to have been without any letters from the army, when there was scarce another house in town, which had not some pretty material private accounts from thence. But that is now all over. Harry tells me, you say you have good intelligence; and, to be sure, that must be procured at any rate. I conclude you have so, for the *manœuvre* upon this last occasion, seems to have been admirably concerted. Reports of negotiations for peace, preliminaries signed, &c., are daily spread here; but, as I hear nothing of them from you, I conclude there is nothing in them. Whatever turn things take (though that of farther operations, and from whence we flatter ourselves with farther success, seems most probable), I trust you will not let us be uninformed, as well during the progress, as after the execution, of what shall be determined.

"This victory seems to make us masters of every thing, and it is our own fault if we do not make a good use of it. Our friends will be confirmed, our enemies disheartened, and the balancing powers determined in their choice.

"I had the honour to wait upon my lady Granville, and found her perfectly well. All friends send their compliments, and most sincere and hearty congratulations. I am," &c.

Although the battle of Dettingen may be considered rather as a fortunate escape, than as a decisive victory, yet, in the actual state of the war, it was regarded as most auspicious. The expectations which it excited were not wholly disappointed; for, Broglio, with the remnant of the French army in Bavaria, was rapidly retracing his steps from the Danube to the Rhine, in the direction of the Neckar. He was pursued by a body of forty thousand men, under prince Charles of Lorraine, who pushed a considerable force to the neighbourhood of the Rhine. Alarmed at the advance of the Austrians, Noailles also withdrew from Steinheim on the 13th of July, and recrossing the Rhine on the 17th, encamped near Worms. Soon afterwards, he occupied Spire, and being joined by the troops under Broglio, retreated to the lines behind the Lauter. Egra, and Ingoldstadt, the only posts remaining in the possession of the enemy, having surrendered in September, Germany was wholly delivered from the French; and sanguine hopes were entertained of prosecuting the military operations against France with still greater success. Councils of war were held at Hanau, at which plans were proposed, for the invasion of the French territory. Prince Charles, and general Kevenhuller, arrived there on the 26th of July, and having concerted with the king, arrangements for a combined attack, returned to the Austrian army, and marched toward the Brisgau.

The battle of Dettingen may, however, be regarded as the last important operation, during the campaign in Germany. Various causes contributed to paralyze the efforts of the allies. The proposed invasion of France excited considerable jealousy among the German princes ; and the king of Prussia, in particular, intimated his intention of resuming hostilities, should the House of Austria gain too great a superiority. Even the queen of Hungary, herself, was far from manifesting that cordial gratitude, which the services of England deserved. Affecting to regard the British monarch, merely as an auxiliary, she claimed the chief direction of the war, and attempted to render the efforts of the allies, subservient to the advancement of her own interests. The Dutch, also, shewed little zeal, in a cause which they had reluctantly embraced. Far from favouring the proposed invasion of France, they were chiefly solicitous to avert hostilities from their own frontier, and to hasten the conclusion of peace ; for, although they had voted an aid of twenty thousand men to the queen of Hungary, this force had not yet marched for the scene of action.

The discord, which reigned in the cabinets of the allies, pervaded every corps of their army. The Austrians and British were mutually actuated by national antipathies ; but between the British and Hanoverians a deadly hatred arose. As subjects of the same sovereign, they were rivals for his favour ; and some imputed misconduct in the late battle, combined with a supposed preference, shewn to the Hanoverians in the subsequent movements, raised a feeling of animosity against them, which could scarcely be restrained within the bounds of discipline. The British officers fully participated in this feeling with the soldiers ; and lord Stair presented a strong memorial to the king, in which, after censuring the inaction of the army subsequent to the engagement, he complained, that he had not been consulted in the military operations, and that he had experienced frequent marks of disregard. He concluded these representations, with a request that he might be permitted to resign the command of the forces, which was instantly granted, though in terms strongly indicative of the royal displeasure.*

An army, thus constituted, was incapable of acting with spirit and unanimity ; and the existing embarrassments were increased, by the complicated negotiations for peace, which had been opened towards the commencement of the campaign. To these causes must be ascribed the failure of the project concerted at Hanau for the invasion of France.

In conformity with that design, however, prince Charles concentrated his army, amounting to sixty thousand men, in the neighbourhood of Old Brisach ; and the king of England breaking up his camp at Hanau, crossed the Rhine at

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* Mr. Stone to lord Harrington, Sep. 11, 1743. Illust. Corr.

Mentz on the 22nd of August, and fixed his head-quarters at Worms, while his forces advanced toward Spire. A halt was made there of several weeks, apparently in expectation of the Dutch auxiliaries, who reached Frankfort in the beginning of September, and, advancing towards Worms, took post on the opposite bank of the river.

Meanwhile, the French commanders neglected no means of frustrating the menaced invasion. On crossing the Rhine, Noailles provided for the defence of Upper Alsace, and afterwards advanced to the Queich, where he fortified his position with new works. Farther reinforcements were despatched to this point; the command in Upper Alsace was confided to the prince de Coigny; and the banks of the Rhine were lined with troops and redoubts, from Huningen to Strasburg.

At length, the allies made a decisive movement. Prince Charles, having occupied the isle of Rheinmarck, near Old Brisach, effected a lodgment on the left bank of the rivernear Rheinweiler, from which his partisans made incursions into Lorraine and Upper Alsace, and appealed to the affection of the people, in favour of their antient sovereigns. About the same period, the king of England moved to the Queich, the French retiring as he advanced, and concentrating their forces; for Noailles, leaving count Saxe, who succeeded Broglio, with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, to defend the lines on the Lauter, led the rest of his forces to Haguenau, to support Coigny, who was stationed in the vicinity of Strasburg.

Here terminated the vast schemes of the allies, which had held all Europe in anxious suspense. Prince Charles, finding the season too far advanced, and his force too weak, to maintain a footing in Alsace, relinquished his design of establishing himself beyond the Rhine, and recrossed the river. The king of England, after razing the French works on the Queich, withdrew toward Worms. Soon afterwards, prince Charles, having destroyed the fortifications of Old Brisach, cantoned part of his army in Suabia, and sent the remainder, for winter quarters, into the Upper Palatinate and Bavaria. He then repaired to Vienna, to solemnize his marriage with the archduchess Marianne, sister of Maria Theresa. The English, and the Austrian corps, under the duke of Aremberg, with the Hanoverians in British pay, returned to Flanders; the Hessians, and the other Hanoverians, withdrew into their respective countries; and the Dutch auxiliaries established their quarters in Guelderland.*

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* Memoires de Noailles, tom. v.—Hénault, tom. iv.—Annales de Marie Therèse—Histoire

The disastrous situation of Bavaria, arising not only from the successful operations of the Austrians, but from the advance of the allied army into Germany, had induced his imperial majesty, through the agency of prince William of Hesse, to make overtures to the king of England, in the beginning of May, for a separate accommodation; and the king, for the sake of his electorate, was not averse from entering into terms with the head of the empire. The Pelhams, however, discountenanced the proposed arrangement, as well from distrust of the emperor, as from a dread of alienating the queen of Hungary; and we find the duke of Newcastle, in a letter to lord Carteret, detailing his reasons against listening to these advances, or deviating in the slightest degree from the line of policy which had been originally adopted.

"*May* 31*st*, 1743.

"You know, my dear lord, my sentiments, which I think appear at present to be the general ones of all well-wishers, both in England and Holland, with relation to a particular peace between the emperor and the queen of Hungary. I dread having France and Spain singly on our backs. I know prince William's artifices and views; and therefore I was sorry he intended to make you a visit, though I think his offers are no more than what have been made an hundred times. The emperor is the weak part of their union; he is more than half conquered already; there we must press France, and there we shall get the better of them. I wonder how, in these circumstances, he could ask leave to come to Frankfort! Sure, if one may say it of so great a prince, it is a meanness beyond expression. I wish the queen may not conceive jealousies from it, and that you may not find some inconveniencies from the neighbourhood. You see, I write to you, as freely as I could talk at *Stone's;* but it is to you and you only."

The retreat of the French from Bavaria, and the loss of his hereditary dominions, prompted the emperor to quit Augsburg, and again repair to Frankfort, for the purpose of renewing his overtures for peace; and the defeat of the French at Dettingen, which took place two days after his arrival, rendered him still more anxious to prosecute the negotiation.

des Provinces Unies, tom. x. p. 283—Gazettes, and Reports in the periodical papers—History of the House of Austria, chap. 104—Heinrich's Reichsgeschichte, vol. viii. p. 160—Continuation of Rapin, vol. xx. chap. 13.

These overtures were favourably received by the king of England, who still manifested a disposition, for re-establishing the peace of Germany, and for diminishing the influence of France, among the princes of the empire. Accordingly, the plan of a convention was digested between lord Carteret and prince William of Hesse, while the army was encamped at Hanau, in which it was stipulated, that the emperor should renounce his pretensions to the Austrian succession, dismiss the French auxiliaries, and join the allies, in a confederacy for preserving the tranquillity of the empire, and establishing a durable peace. In return, he was to obtain the restitution of Bavaria, the acknowledgment of his imperial title, and a monthly subsidy of three hundred thousand crowns, to be paid by England, until a suitable provision could be assigned him from the States of the empire.

The king expressed his satisfaction with the terms of this convention ; but it was strongly disapproved by the cabinet in England, and rejected, for the reasons already intimated by the duke of Newcastle, in his letter to lord Carteret. Humbled by this disappointment, the emperor made a new overture, comprising the surrender of his fortresses, to be guarded by neutral powers, and the co-operation of fifteen thousand of his troops with an allied army, to be formed in the empire. But the Pelhams could not overcome their distrust of his sincerity, or consent to relieve France from the burthen attached to his alliance. At the same time, the queen of Hungary, far from acquiescing in such an accommodation, was desirous to retain possession of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate; and proposed that an effort should be made for the recovery of Naples, that it might be transferred to the emperor, in compensation for his paternal territories.* Finding it impossible to reconcile such conflicting interests, the king and lord Carteret, with unfeigned reluctance, abandoned the negotiation.

During these proceedings in Germany, a collateral negotiation had extended to Italy. In the early part of the year, the Austro-Sardinian army had marched against the Spaniards, who had entered the duchy of Modena, in great force, and threatened to penetrate beyond the Po. A sanguinary battle was fought, on the 8th of February, at Campo Santo, which proved favourable to the allies ; for the Spaniards, reduced by sickness and the sword, to twelve thousand men, retreated towards Bologna, and remained on the defensive. This success tempted the queen of Hungary to delay the execution of the engagement, by which she had secured the aid of the king of Sardinia. Indignant at this treatment, his Sardinian majesty threatened to break his temporary compact, and even made overtures to the king of France, while he confined his military operations, chiefly, to the defence of Piedmont, leaving the Austrians to act against the Spaniards. He, at the same time, earnestly solicited the intervention of the king of England, and explicitly declared, that if his propositions were not instantly accepted, the same messenger should convey to Versailles, his accession to the terms offered by France.* To avert the mischiefs, that might be apprehended from his secession, the negotiation, which had been opened with the court of Vienna, was accelerated with the utmost zeal; the consent of the queen of Hungary extorted; and a treaty concluded at Worms, on the 13th of September. By this compact, Maria Theresa engaged to cede, to the king of Sardinia, the Vigevenasco and other districts of the Milanese; that part of the duchy of Parma included between the Po and the Tesino; and the town and part of the duchy of Placentia, with a portion of the county of Anghiera. She also transferred to him, her right to the marquisate of Finale, belonging to the Genoese republic. The king of England, on his part, undertook to reinforce the fleet in the Mediterranean, and to furnish an annual subsidy of £.200,000 to the king of Sardinia, as long as the war, and the occasion for that subsidy, should continue. The contracting parties also agreed, to make the confirmation of the secessions and arrangements, an article, in any future peace or truce. His Sardinian majesty was to have the supreme command of the allied forces; and in return for these advantages, he engaged to assist the confederates with an army of forty-five thousand men, and to renounce the pretensions which he had advanced to the Milanese.

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* Letter from Mr. Stone to lord Harrington, July 31, 1743. Illust. Corr.

At the same time was formed, a private engagement between the king of England and the queen of Hungary, under the title of an Explanatory Convention. The articles, as they originally stood, are not now distinctly known; but by one of them, the king of England agreed to pay, to the queen of Hungary, a yearly subsidy of £.300,000, *as long as the war should continue, or the necessity of her affairs should require.* The latter words, " or the necessity of her affairs should require," plainly implied, that the subsidy was intended to be continued after the termination of hostilities; and the reluctance of her majesty, to consent to the cessions, demanded for the king of

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* See a proof of this fact in lord Carteret's speech, on the 25th of January, in chap. iii. and also in a letter from the duke of Newcastle to lord Orford, dated September 16, 1743, in chap. i.

Sardinia, led to the surmise, that it was designed as a compensation, for those cessions. Of the treaty of Worms, the Lords Justices could not withhold their ratification, because, the necessity of the case left lord Carteret no other alternative, than an absolute and immediate conclusion; yet they objected to some of the conditions, particularly to the article stipulating for the continuance of the subsidy during the war, or as long as the necessity of affairs should require. But, to a similar article, respecting the subsidy, in the explanatory convention with Austria, which was not then signed, they absolutely refused their sanction; and we shall find that this point afterwards formed a subject of controversy between the Pelhams and lord Carteret.

The motives which prompted them to withstand the wishes of the king, in this particular, are partly developed in a note from the duke of Newcastle to Mr. Stone.

" *Claremont, Friday Night, October* 14, 1743.

*" I send you back the letters, that you may carry them early to-morrow morning to my brother, and read them with him, and let me know his thoughts when you come down here.

" This new convention goes so much beyond the treaty, &c., that I am at present inclined to represent against the ratifying it. It absolutely engages for a subsidy of £.300,000, and it engages positively for a *dedommagement*, even to the utmost extent of lord Carteret's *unknown promise*, at the making of the treaty of Breslau. It contains a very offensive supposition, with regard to the king of Prussia. It contains a new and unnecessary stipulation in favour of the king, as elector (for which alone, it will be said, this subsidy is given), and it refers to articles and interpretations of articles, in the treaty of 1742, which are not explained. Mons. Wasner's memorial I don't much understand, particularly that part of it, which relates to the article about the barrier for Savoy, to be taken from France. I therefore desire you would look out those remarks mentioned to have been made upon Ossorio's† paper, and given to Sir Thomas Robinson, and bring them down with you. When my brother has read these letters, you will send them to lord chancellor, and send this letter to you with them. It is a most strange, unfair, unpardonable proceeding in lord Carteret; but what we must always expect from him. To write in his last letter, as if Wasner had made no difficulties at all, and in this, that the whole affair was at an end, if he had not signed this declaration! I suppose my brother will see the chancellor, and they will determine what they will do. I have given you my hasty thoughts, and such as, possibly, upon farther consideration, I may not adhere to. I am yours, &c.

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* From the Newcastle Papers.

† Minister of the king of Sardinia.

"P. S. You will show my brother this letter.

"If I had been permitted, as I proposed, to have stated the objections to the several variations in the treaty, from the project sent from hence, and had observed upon the extraordinary method of sending the treaty to be ratified here, though in the present circumstances we could not take upon ourselves to refuse the ratifying the treaty, we had not now been troubled with ratifying this extraordinary declaration. Pray desire lord chancellor to send back the letters, and this letter, to Mr. Ramsden,* and order him to send them to Claremont.

"I shall be in town on Monday noon, and will meet my brother at lord chancellor's on Monday evening."

The treaty of Worms was soon afterwards followed by a similar engagement, between the queen of Hungary, and the elector of Saxony, for the mutual guaranty of their respective dominions; and thus, form and consistency were given to the alliance against France.†

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* One of the king's pages.

† Though several of these transactions took place after the appointment of Mr. Pelham, as first lord of the Treasury, on the 15th of September, we have thought proper to recite them in this place, that the course of the ensuing narrative might not be interrupted.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

ADMINISTRATION

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY PELHAM.

MEMOIRS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

1743.

Declining health of the Earl of Wilmington, First Lord of the Treasury, and views of the contending parties in the Cabinet, for the disposal of his office—The King promises the reversion to Mr. Pelham—Death of Lord Wilmington, and struggle for the vacant post—Application of Lord Bath rejected, and Mr. Pelham appointed First Lord of the Treasury—Letters from Lord Orford to Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle—Correspondence of the Pelhams with Lord Carteret.

DURING the important transactions which have just been recorded, the state of parties, at home, portended a change in the ministry.

Lord Carteret, feeling that his personal influence, as the confidential servant of the king, was counterbalanced, by the unpopularity of the foreign measures, which he had so strenuously laboured to promote, was anxious to profit by every event, which might increase his strength in the cabinet, and in parliament. A similar motive actuated the duke of Newcastle, and his friends, who had, in some instances, but lukewarmly supported the general system of foreign policy, and had even objected to many of the arrangements for the prosecution of the war. These opposite interests were brought into collision, by the declining health of the earl of Wilmington, whose death would occasion a vacancy at the head of the Treasury.

Lord Bath was persuaded, by lord Carteret, to declare himself a candidate for that post, although he refused to make any previous application; and he flattered himself that the interest of his noble friend, and the support of his own party, would ensure his success.

Lord Orford had foreseen the approaching struggle, with his usual sagacity, and exerted himself to frustrate the schemes of his political antagonist, and to promote the ascendancy of that party with which he had been so long identified. His views rested on his friend Mr. Pelham, as the only person, who, by his financial talents and political weight, was qualified to undertake the management of the Treasury, and the direction of the House of Commons. For the accomplishment of his purpose, equal delicacy and secresy were necessary; as he had to combat the powerful interest of lord Carteret with the king, and to remove the objections of Mr. Pelham himself, who shrunk from so delicate and invidious a pre-eminence.

The confidence, however, which the king still reposed in the ex-minister, and the high opinion which his Majesty entertained of Mr. Pelham, afforded hopes of a favourable issue. By the advice of lord Orford, Mr. Pelham made application for the post, which was likely soon to become vacant, and his Majesty immediately promised him the reversion.

On the 2nd July, 1743, the expected death of lord Wilmington occurred. Lord Bath instantly advanced his pretensions; and his request for the vacant office was dispatched by a private messenger to lord Carteret, who was then the only minister attending the king in Germany. A similar application was made, to his Majesty himself, by Mr. Pelham, with the knowledge and participation of his brother, and of his friend the lord chancellor. The party of lord Bath expected, that the personal influence of lord Carteret would secure the nomination of their leader; while the duke of Newcastle and his brother anxiously awaited a determination which, notwithstanding the promise of the king, they could scarcely anticipate to be favourable. As soon as lord Carteret received information of the death of lord Wilmington, he omitted no effort to secure the nomination of lord Bath; and the decision was suspended for a whole month, while the king was reposing at Hanau, after the battle of Dettingen. The formal answer to the application of Mr. Pelham, which stated that his Majesty's pleasure would be made known through the other secretary of state, was far from affording an augury of success. Indeed the resolution of Mr. Pelham began to waver; and even lord Orford fully appreciated the difficulties in which his friend was likely to be involved, though he still encouraged him to persevere, and in his letters, both to him and to the duke of Newcastle, urged the necessity of accepting the office, with whatever conditions it might be encumbered.

Earl of Orford to Mr. Pelham.

"Dear Sir, "*Houghton, July* 13, 1743.

"I take the opportunity of my son's going to London, to vent a few thoughts, that have occurred to me, upon the great question now in suspense.

I take it for granted lord Carteret will, if possible, prevent the success of your last proposition; because it as effectually shuts the Treasury door against him, as against lord Bath, but yet I think it will be complied with. All the world will see, as well as they, when this first step is taken, the whole scheme that you shall fix upon must follow sooner or later; and you must determine upon what will support you and carry you through. Those that you immediately disappoint, will be playing their back game as well as they can; and the first turn lord Bath will take, will be to secure a continuance of the present Treasury, and make, if he can, an arrant Wilmington of you. Nothing need be said upon this; but the second, and most material consideration is, for you to keep it in your power, to make terms with those that you must treat with, by alterations to be made, when you are to preside, must command, and be made easy.*

" The result of this is to keep yourself entirely free from any engagements with, or without regard to any, that at present belong to the Treasury Board. You can at any time continue any that you think proper; but the Cobhamites will now be waiting for this event. If they see you settled at the head, they will be more reasonable, than when they think themselves necessary to place you there. Lord Carteret will not break with you now upon any determination that the king shall make; but '*manet altâ mente repôstum.*' Lord Bath, when he feels that '*hæret lateri lethalis arundo,*' will probably flounce; but, when you are in possession, yield not to any accommodations with him, that will leave power in his hands only to hurt you; and if he has thought fit to write for the Treasury for himself, all is over betwixt him and you. In short, all this is saying nothing; but gain time, strengthen yourself; and enter into no hasty engagement.

" If you had taken the advice of a fool, and been made chancellor, under lord Wilmington, the whole had dropt into your mouth. Lost opportunities are not easily retrieved.

" Horace will give you an account of my accident.† It has been a bad affair, but the escape from greater harm truly wonderful. It has been said, this comes of dining with Tories; but I trouble them not much, and they me as little.

" I most undoubtedly am what you know me to be, a most sincere well-wisher to the whole, and that makes your cause and interest my only point in view, and a very faithful friend to you and all that belong to you."

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* This paragraph is obscure, but it is so in the original.

† This accident was a fall down stairs, when he was dining out with a friend in the country.

Earl of Orford to the duke of Newcastle.

"My Dear Lord, "*Houghton, August* 14, 1743.

"You might reasonably have expected to have heard something from me, before this time, upon the subject of your last letter; and if any opinion of mine could have been of any service or use to you, or indeed given you any satisfaction, I would not have been so long silent; but where it was impossible to form any opinion, from the circumstances of things, it was useless to trouble you. But, as at that time, you were hourly expecting an answer to the grand domestic affair, and as prince Charles was then upon the road to our court and army, the result of those two events was absolutely necessary to be known, before any thing could be determined upon the whole.

"The amazing delays upon domestics, hang up every thing in suspense; and, I suppose, are so connected abroad, to make one depend upon the other. That is, the difficulties that go from hence, are made the pretence for delays there; and upon domestics I can only say, if the offer comes to Mr. Pelham, however circumscribed, conditional, or disagreeable, even under a probability of not being able to go on, it must be accepted. It will be more honourable and justifiable to resign upon impracticabilities, than to appear defeated, and thereby disappointed, from whence no credit or merit can arise; but we have often seen a back game at back-gammon recovered. Your answer was all that could be said upon that occasion; and that whole system must certainly be at an end. And how can you, or I, or any body, judge, upon these new motions, wholly uninformed of what is designed.

"I can easily foresee the immense difficulties, that must attend Mr. Pelham, whatever his fate is; but difficulties must be struggled with, and few there are that cannot be surmounted, if properly and resolutely engaged in. I wish you all possible success, and I cannot hesitate in the support of a government, upon which, I think, the whole depends."

At length the dissensions among the generals, after the battle of Dettingen, the loud clamours against the Hanoverians, the inactivity of the army, and the rash resignation of lord Stair, seem to have discouraged lord Carteret, and impressed the king with the conviction, that the support of the Pelhams would be requisite, to counteract the unpopularity, likely to ensue, from such a concurrence of unfavourable events. This consideration, coupled with the dislike of his Majesty to lord Bath, turned the scale; and on the 23rd of August, Mr. Pelham had the satisfaction of receiving a letter from lord Carteret, dated the 16th, notifying his appointment as first lord of the Treasury, and explaining in a candid and manly style, his own reasons for supporting lord Bath; but, at the same time, offering congratulations on this proof of his sovereign's confidence, with assurances of sincere good-will, and of unreserved co-operation.

"SIR, "*Mentz, Aug.* 16-27*th*, 1743.

"I received, by Parker, at Hanau, on the 12-23rd past, the honour of your letter of the 5th July, and I received at the same place, by one of Sir John Rushout's servants, on the 9-20th, a letter from the earl of Bath, of the 2nd o. s., to the purport of that discourse, which you mention, in your letter, to have had with him, upon the accident of the earl of Wilmington's death. I laid both your letters before his Majesty, which he read with great attention, and then gave me the letter which you wrote to his Majesty, which I read, and returned to him. I told his Majesty, that you had acted very fairly and kindly by me, and for which I thought myself much obliged to you, in assuring lord Bath, that I had constantly declared, that if he liked that post, I must be for his succeeding to it, but that I had found him unwilling to accept it till now; that both your letters contained the whole matter, and therefore I would not trouble his Majesty farther, than by giving my opinion, that, in the present circumstances of affairs, it would be easier for his service to place lord Bath there; for that made but one motion, whereas, if you were placed there at present, I could not foresee how many motions must be made; that I thought lord Wilmington's death had happened at a very unlucky time. You see, I state the affair, very truly and naturally to you, and what could any body, in my circumstances, do otherwise? If I had not stood by lord Bath, who can ever value my friendship? And you must have despised me. However, as the affair is decided, in your favour, by his Majesty, I wish you joy of it; and I will endeavour to support you as much as I can, having really a most cordial affection for your brother and you, which nothing can dissolve but yourselves, which I don't apprehend will be the case. I have no jealousies of either of you, and I believe that you love me; but if you will have jealousies of me without foundation, it will disgust me to such a degree, that I shall not be able to bear it; and as I mean to cement an union with you, I speak thus plainly. His Majesty certainly makes a very great figure, and the reputation of our country is at the highest pitch; and it would be a deplorable fatality, if disputes at home should spoil all the great work.

"I desire you will shew this letter to the duke of Newcastle; I shall write a private letter to him by this messenger."

This letter was accompanied by one to the duke of Newcastle, in which lord Carteret enters, very minutely, into an explanation of various points of his conduct, and concludes with strong protestations of friendship, and the offer of his service and support.

"MY DEAR LORD, "*Mentz, Aug.* 16-27*th*, 1743.

"Your brother will shew you my letter to him of this date, and therefore I won't repeat in this, any thing that is said there. In your private letter of the 5th July, Your Grace complains, but with kindness, that you have had no private letters from me, nor any confidential communications; the reason of which is, that though I have sent you great and good news, in my dispatches, yet if my private letters were to be confidential, and otherwise I would not write them, they must have given you more pain than pleasure, and could be of no service to you, because you could not remedy any of those things, that have given me many a vexatious hour.

"I will begin with the most inconsiderable. First, I was for a fortnight so ill, that I thought I should not be able to hold out, but I desired that might not be mentioned, not to alarm my family, which could do me no good. I am now perfectly well again.

"Secondly, I was very uneasy for above a fortnight at his Majesty's ill state of health. He is now much better, and in no sort of danger, but I have really been under terrible anxieties upon that account. What good could writing do on such an occasion? I can write now with pleasure, that his Majesty is almost well, and is marched to day from hence, with the whole army, to Oppenheim. I shall follow early to-morrow.

"Thirdly, disunion amongst our generals, and other internal matters relating to our army, were exceedingly troublesome to me, and continue to be so; and yet not such matters as I could write about. When I relate them to you when we meet, Your Grace will judge of what I have had to go through, to prevent hitherto some very disagreeable eclat, which I am afraid, notwithstanding all I can do, may happen.

" Fourthly, you have known regularly by my public dispatches, every step that has been taken, for bringing about a peace; but, as for schemes of war, they can never be put into writing till executed, for obvious reasons, the principal of which is, that they change every day, according to the motions of the enemy. Our intention now is to go to Spire, and take that strong camp; but the French have but two marches to that place, and we have seven; our intention is, to force the French to come to us, and deliver a battle, if possible, or at least to prevent their whole army going against prince Charles.

" Fifthly, in two days we shall know, whether the French will take possession of the Spirebach. If so, we can proceed no farther than Worms.

" Sixthly, we have no letters from prince Charles since the 16th, but we have letters from his army of the 18th and 21st, which say that his passage of the Rhine is sure. If so, France will be thrown into such a consternation as no man alive ever saw them; and does not an Englishman deserve all reproach, and even a public death, that is not for pushing them to the heart?

" Seventhly, I have done, by his Majesty's commands, all in Holland that is possible, of which I can give you no account, because neither the king, nor those he concerts with, will permit it. General Ginkel came here yesterday; the Austrians and we have sent our pontoons, for the passage of the Dutch auxiliaries over the Mayn, below Frankfort; and we carry our bridge with us, that the Dutch may pass the Rhine at Worms, if the enemy make no other motions than hitherto they have done.

" Eighthly, we all understand that by the inflexibility of the court of Vienna, towards the court of Sardinia, all in Italy is still in the air; but Your Grace will have seen, by what I have said to the court of Vienna, that I have pushed on that scheme, which was settled by your Grace, before I came into the service, and which will probably succeed, to your honour, in the most strenuous manner.

" Ninthly, as to Bavaria, gained by a providential rapidity of success, I tell the queen, that she can't keep it, *justo titulo*, because not one state in the empire will consent to her occupation of it; and therefore, if she will agree with the emperor, who will demand nothing of her, and will make his renunciation in due form, it is then that a war may be pushed against France, in which the empire will concur; and Holland, seeing their security, will act with sincerity and vigour, as soon as the king of Sardinia is fixed.

" Tenthly, as to complaints upon want of concert, while the king is on this side the water, and at the head of an army, I don't look upon them as serious; and therefore, though my friends tell me so, I shall not force the nature of things. But, as I have courage enough, God be thanked, to risque, in a good cause, my natural life, I am much less solicitous about my political life, which is all my enemies can take from me, and if they do, it will be the first instance in which they hurt me; though, I must own, that my friends have been near ruining me at various times, of which I shall take care for the future, being past fifty-three.

"Under twenty interruptions, I have written this letter. Huske will soon come to England, his wound requiring it, and will tell you, and your brother, what I will not write.

"The goodness of our cipher is nothing as to confidential letters, unless you are to suppose that I put my letters in cipher myself. I am," &c.

"I desire, the *Stone Club* may read this."

The communication of this appointment, excited no less surprise than gratification in the two brothers, and the duke of Newcastle thus expressed himself, on the occasion, in a hasty note to the lord chancellor.

"My Dear Lord, "*Whitehall, Tuesday night, nine o'clock.*

"This evening, a messenger arrived from the army, with the inclosed agreeable, but most surprising, news. I send you all I know of it, and beg you would send the letters back to me, by this messenger, when you have read them. My friend Carteret's letter, to my brother, is a manly one; and that to me, in many parts of it, has the appearance of a kind one. *It is plain, we have got the better of him,* and our master has been surprisingly firm; but what has produced this just at this time, I am at a loss to conceive. The use we are to make of it, and the answers, both private and public, will require great and immediate consideration. Mr. Scrope* will carry the warrant through the several offices forthwith; but, perhaps (though I scarcely believe it), Mr. Sandys, &c. may resign, and then there may not be a board, except Gibbon and G. Compton will remain, though the other two quit."

Reply of the Chancellor.

"My Dear Lord, "*Powis House, Aug. 24th,* 1743.

"The pleasure I feel from reading the enclosed letters is greater than can be expressed; and I do most heartily congratulate with your Grace and Mr.

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* Secretary to the Treasury.

Pelham, and all our friends, on this happy event. Your Grace judges rightly of our friend Carteret's letters, and of our master's behaviour, which must have been very firm. However, it is strange in business, that no notice should be taken, either of the delay, or of the reason of perfecting it, just now.

"I have made so many particular appointments for people to come to me this morning, that it is impossible for me to go out; otherwise I should not have failed to have waited both on Your Grace and Mr. Pelham; but I know you will both excuse me. I will have the pleasure of meeting you at dinner, at lord Lincoln's, &c."

We do not find among the family papers, the reply of Mr. Pelham to lord Carteret, but we are enabled to give the answer of the duke of Newcastle.

"My Dear Lord, "*Newcastle House, Aug. 26th*, 1743.

"Moss, the messenger, brought me, on Tuesday last, the honour of your Lordship's letter in your own hand, of the 16-27th of August, and at the same time one to my brother, upon the great event of the Treasury. Both he and I are extremely pleased with the frank and open manner, in which your letter to him is wrote; and, though there are some parts, towards the conclusion of your letter to me, which are not quite so clear as I could wish, and as is natural to you, I can assure you, I put the best interpretation upon them, which I hope and believe is the truest.

"The disposition which the king has made of the Treasury, must (as you may imagine) give us the greatest satisfaction, and will, I hope, prove for his Majesty's service, to which no endeavours on our part shall, or can ever, be wanting.

"I will not enter into our different ways of reasoning, upon the confidential communications, mentioned in my letter of the 5th of July; I shall only, with great sincerity, assure you, that I am most heartily sorry for what you mention, in the first and second articles of your letter. I had, indeed, heard from Huske, that you had been out of order; but as I had not one word of it from any other quarter, I did hope that it proceeded from my friend's great care and concern, and that it was not of such consequence as I find it has been.

"I have, I own, been in great pain about his Majesty's ill state of health, having had an account of it from different hands. It is extremely good in you, to give me the satisfaction of hearing, that the king is almost well, and I hope to hear, very soon, that his Majesty is perfectly recovered.

"I most heartily wish you success in your military pursuits, and doubt not, but by the blessing of God, if you can force the French to come to a battle with you, they will come off no better than they did at Dettingen. However, I should hope, that, in all events, you may make such a diversion as will make prince Charles's operations the more easy, and induce France to agree to terms of peace, which may be safe and honourable for his Majesty and his allies.

"You may imagine, that in this situation of our armies we shall be very impatient of news from them.

"What you have been doing in Holland, I cannot, I must not know; but I am glad to find that the Dutch troops continue to advance to join you.

"The behaviour of the court of Vienna, in the affair of the king of Sardinia, is very unfortunate. I hope, what you have said to them, upon that head, will induce them to comply.

"As to Bavaria, the engaging the emperor and empire to concur, in earnest, and effectually, in a war against France (especially if the consequence would be the bringing in of Holland), would be a great and glorious work. But if the means of getting the emperor, should occasion the loss of the queen of Hungary, there would be no advantage by the exchange.

"I shall be heartily glad to see Huske; I hope he will come to us in good health, and clear up several things, about which, at present, we remain in the dark.

"I have communicated your letter to the *Stone** *Club;* they are much your servants, and send their compliments to you; wish all possible success to his Majesty and his arms, and that he may return to England, with all imaginable glory, and have as prosperous a campaign this winter, at home, as, we hope, he will have had, this summer, abroad. I am, &c."

Reply of Lord Carteret.

"My Dear Lord, "*Worms, Sept.* 4-15*th*, 1743.

"I had yesterday, by Thompson, the honour of your private letter, which gave me great pleasure, but some pain at the same time, because you say that in the conclusion of my private letter to you, there are some parts not so clear as you could wish, &c., &c.; however, you put the best interpretation upon them. As I never keep any copy of my private letters, I cannot recollect what Your Grace alludes to. Whatever my expressions may be, I know my heart is clear, and therefore I thank Your Grace for putting the best interpretation, which you may depend upon, is the truest.

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* Alluding to his friend and confidential secretary, Mr. Andrew Stone.

"The king just now sends for me; I must go. I cannot detain the messenger, but I will write fully both to Your Grace and your brother, to-morrow, by another messenger. I am," &c.

"P. S. ¼ past 10 in the morning, Sept. 4-15th. The last division of the Dutch will be here on Tuesday next. We have no news from prince Charles since the 7th; he had not then passed."

Lord Orford received the news of Mr. Pelham's appointment, with a warmth of satisfaction, equal to the anxiety with which he had promoted the change. His friendship is apparent, from the interest which he takes in behalf of Mr. Pelham, and from the judicious advice, suggested for his conduct, in a letter, dated August 25th.

"Dear Sir,

"I most sincerely rejoice with you at this first event; it puts you in possession, and gives you time to turn yourself; and the defeat of lord Bath upon an avowed and declared attack, is more decisive against him, than a battle of Dettingen. You have taken post, and will be able to maintain it; for, whether your colleagues go on awkwardly, or do not go on at all, either behaviour will, upon the king's return, give you both pretence and power to fix the scheme upon your own model. But, surely, for you, it is rather to be wished that they will hold on. It will avoid the necessity of your contending for new alterations, absent from the king, when every occasion will give your *dear friend* an opportunity of crossing or delaying your purposes; and it is too certain what great advantages presence has against absence, with *somebody*. You have lately felt the weight of it for a month, where to be sure the bias to you personally was very great; the boobies must therefore be managed. The worst that can happen to you is, for two months to bear the disagreeable part of lord Wilmington, with a majority of the board against you. Gibbon and Compton, I should think, may be made reasonable, when they see you there; the other two are not worth having, or must be bought at too dear a rate, considering what a bargain you have to make with other people, who will not come cheap. I shall therefore advise, what I take for granted you will do of yourself, write to the king full of duty and acknowledgment; without reserve, approve what he has done for the present, because he has done it; assure him you will endeavour to carry on his business in the way he judges proper; and only beg of him that he will not weaken your hands, and render you incapable of serving him, by making any farther alterations in any branch of the revenue, until you have the honour of seeing him; and, in particular, beg of him to keep your own office in suspense, until his affairs come to be settled, which it is impossible at present to judge of.

"You will treat the great man abroad, too, in his own way; give him as good as he brings; and desire him, as an earnest of that *cordial affection, which he bears to you and your brother*, and as a proof that *he will endeavour to support you, as much as he can*, to prevent any changes or engagements to be made, in the province where you now preside, detrimental or disagreeable to you and your interest.

"This thought arises upon a surmise, that lord Bath, upon his own disappointment, may write over, to protect his creatures in their present possessions; and encourage them, upon that presumption, to hold together. If they would purchase their peace of you, it will be false and deceitful. Your strength must be formed of your own friends, the old corps, and recruits from the *Cobham* squadron, who should be persuaded, now Bath is beaten, it makes room for them, if they will not crowd the door when the house is on fire, that nobody can go in or out. If lady* Archibald is fallen, as I hear, they must lower their topsails, and, if they still meditate the fall of the great man, the attempt, instantly, will be vain, which time, management, and opportunity, may bring about.

"I do not load you with personal assurances; but I never knew a time when I thought it more incumbent upon me to exert myself in support of the government; and I rejoice, for your sake and for my own, that affairs are put into your hands, where my private friendship, and my political opinion unite, in engaging me to do all I can, and call upon me to act in character; and how great had my difficulty been, if a contrary determination had put me under the necessity, of demurring between the support of the king, and reconciling my conduct with the measures of those, who are incapable of acting a right part, where interest, ambition, or vengeance, can at all influence their actions.

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* A nick-name for lord Archibald Hamilton, a member of the board of Admiralty.

"I think it needless to suggest to you, the necessity of forming within yourselves your own scheme. You must be understood by those that you are to depend upon; and if it is possible, they must be persuaded to keep their own secret. Remember, that the weakness of the present Treasury has left them at your mercy, and exposed them to the contempt of mankind. Pitt is thought able and formidable; try him or show him. Fox you cannot do without. Winnington must be had, in the way that he can, or will be had. Your solicitor* is your own, and surely will be useful. Hold up the attorney-general, he is very able and very honest. There are other members of the law, no ways contemptible, in party considerable, that may be had. It is your business now to forgive and gain. Broad Bottom cannot be made for any thing that has a zest of *Hanover*. Whig it with all opponents that will parly; but 'ware Tory! I never mean to a person or so; but, what they can bring with them, will prove a broken reed.

"Dear Harry, I am very personal and very free, and put myself in your power. Remember me kindly to my lord duke. Yours," &c.

We do not possess the answer of Mr. Pelham to this letter; but we find one from the duke of Newcastle to the ex-minister, in which he describes the impediments that obstructed the arrangement of the administration conformably with his advice, and doubts their ability to act amicably in concert with lord Carteret. He also examines the state of affairs on the continent, and scrutinizes the terms of the treaty of Worms, as well as the conduct of his brother secretary.

"My Dear Lord; "*Newcastle House, Sept.* 16-27*th*, 1743.

"As our friend Paxton was going to Houghton, I would not omit that opportunity of sending you some accounts of what had passed at home, and we had received from abroad, since my brother's last letter. He acquainted you with lord Stair's resignation, which, though it seemed sudden here, had, I believe, been known and expected at the army some time. I send you, inclosed, all the authentic accounts that I have had from lord Carteret, relating to it, which did not arrive here 'till Sunday last. The memorial, though containing some facts, which perhaps it may be very difficult to clear up, is certainly a very improper, and indeed indecent one, considering the person to whom it is presented, and who seems to be solely affected by it. But lord Stair, in his private letters, charges my brother Carteret, with every thing that is amiss. He has wrote one to my brother, charging lord Carteret with having totally altered the plan and system of measures, meaning, I suppose, the support of the queen of Hungary, without the knowledge of any of the Regency here, or any state in alliance with the king. He speaks kindly of my brother and me; says he shall wait at the Hague till he hears from us; and shews something like a design to be guided by us; but in this he will not be able to keep his word. We know, he has already wrote to lord Chesterfield; sent his memorial; made the same complaints, accompanied with the same sort of regard to us, who, he supposes, to be sure, are broke with Carteret. What disturbances this unlucky accident may create, or what inquiries it may give occasion to, will, I believe, greatly depend upon the final resolution we shall take, with regard to the present opposers, which brings me to touch, though very shortly, upon that question.

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* The solicitor was the Honourable William Murray, afterwards lord Mansfield, and the attorney-general Sir Dudley Ryder.

"I read, with great pleasure, and, if you will allow me to say, approbation, your thoughts upon that subject, in your letter to my brother. They were, and are, entirely agreeable to my own opinion and inclinations. But, at the same time, I am afraid, one part of it, viz., the taking in the Cobham party, and the Whigs in Opposition, without a mixture of Tories, is absolutely impracticable; and, therefore, the only question is, whether, in order to get the Cobham party, &c., you will bring in three or four Tories, at least, with them; for, without that, they will not come, and this is what I have the greatest difficulty to bring myself to. Though, if it be not done, I see the danger, and almost certainty, of being to depend on those, who certainly cannot wish us well in their hearts; and perhaps even giving them a good chance to be our masters.

"Lord Privy-Seal* is gone to Bath, this day. Some of our best friends, weighing the difficulties on all sides, are of opinion, that the least would be, to suffer those that are at present in, to remain in, or be transferred to employments of no trust, power, or confidence; and to take in the opposing Whigs, even with a mixture of three or four Tories, since it cannot be done without it.

"My brother was to see lord Privy-Seal last night. He intended to give good words, shew a disposition, but enter into no promise, or engagement, or give any assurance that could be taxed with breach of either, if nothing should follow. This was purely to keep the matter open, and prevent their uniting with their old associates, who are now in employment. And this being the true state of the question, viz., that without three or four Tories, you cannot have the Whigs; without the Whigs in Opposition, you must, in a great measure, depend upon the new Whigs at court; we should be very glad to know the sentiments of our best friends, and especially yours, whose advice, as it will be the best, will have the most weight with us.

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* Lord Gower.

" In all this consideration, we suppose my brother Carteret must be comprehended with us, if his behaviour, at his return, shall make it practicable for us to go on with him. I have had, by the last messenger, four or five lines, in his own hand, an unusual thing of late, in answer to my letter, which was an answer to his, upon my brother's appointment; and this letter is wrote in an open friendly manner. He says, he shall write fully, by the next messenger, to my brother and me.

" Thus much for what purely concerns domestics. As to foreign affairs, the long-depending definitive treaty, between the king, the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia, is, at last, concluded, and signed by lord Carteret, Wasner, and Ossorio; and, contrary to precedent, sent over hither, with a warrant to the lords justices, directing them to *confirm and ratify it.* The substance and form of the treaty, is agreeable to the project, sent from hence last winter; but there are some very material alterations and additions. As the project stood, the king of Sardinia was to remain attached to the alliance, till the war in Germany and Italy was over, and *till our peace was made with Spain.* That obligation is, by a particular declaration, signed only by Carteret and Wasner, extended now to the queen of Hungary; and there is, as there was before, an article, that no one of the powers should make *truce, peace, &c.*, without the participation of the others. That is expressly confirmed by the declaration; and it is also stipulated, that the king should " *employer ses forces, pour procurer à la Reine d'Hongrie, tout le dedommagement possible pour le passé, et sûreté pour l'avenir.*" This, I am afraid, my brother Carteret may have drawn, in some measure, upon himself, by his *tampering* with the emperor; and, to the king of Sardinia, we are engaged to take measures for restoring to him the possession of his countries, viz., Savoy, and putting them *à couvert* for the future, *même au moyen de quelques conquêtes à faire sur la France, de ce côté là.* These are strong articles, and were not in the original project. But, strong as they are, they must be agreed to, as things now stand, or all Europe is flung into confusion; and the queen of Hungary, the king of Sardinia, &c., flung into the hands of France, and we left to shift for ourselves in the best way we can. And things were in that situation, that, if this treaty had not been immediately concluded with the king of Sardinia, he was determined to sign with France; and we have some reason to think, from 101, that there was actually a person sent by France, to treat with one, authorised by the queen of Hungary, for that purpose; so that the danger was immediate.

"I send you the facts, as they are, and as short as I can express them, to make them clear. Your own judgment is too good, to want any comment, or explanation, from me. By this treaty, all negotiation with the emperor is entirely at an end; and, in this treaty, there is not one word but what is *entirely English*. There is an article for inviting the Dutch; I pray God they may come. This measure differs extremely, from what lord Stair imagined to be the system.

"The treaty of marriage for the princess Louisa, with the prince royal of Denmark, is concluded. Her royal highness will be going soon to Hanover, to be married there. We conclude, though we know nothing, the king will soon leave the army. Prince Charles still meets with difficulties in passing the Rhine; though he does not yet seem to give it over. Our army, I am afraid, will be able to do little more, this campaign. Where our winter quarters are to be, in Flanders, or Germany, and who is to command them, I know as little, as any man in the world.

"The Duke* has been, as I hear, proposed by lord Carteret, with a proper person, *à la tête;* but that is not at all relished. Let me have one word from you, by Paxton, and believe me, ever, &c.

"P. S. Harry sends his kindest compliments."

The union of the rival candidates for power was little more than nominal; and the Pelhams were so well aware of the superior influence of lord Carteret with the king, that they deemed it requisite to use the most active and persevering efforts, for maintaining the political ascendancy, which they had so fortunately gained. Their anxiety on this subject is manifest, from a letter, written by the Chancellor to the duke of Newcastle.

"My Dear Lord, "*Wrest, Sept. 8th,* 1743.

"Though I want words to express the grateful sense I have of your most obliging and affectionate letter of the 6th instant, yet I take this very first opportunity to return you my most cordial thanks for it. The value Your Grace sets upon the attachment of me and my family to yourself and yours, is vastly above the merit of it; but were it ever so valuable, it is your due by the best title,—a constant series of friendship and obligations, begun and carried on, in the most generous and engaging manner, such as must make me and mine your perpetual debtors.

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* Of Cumberland.

" I return, inclosed, the three letters which Your Grace was so good as to communicate to me. The contents give me the greatest concern, and present to my view all the consequences which you so justly suggest.

" I thought our *taciturn friend*, for I presume he is so on this event, would have played all his dexterity and management, to have parried this blow, at least during the campaign. I foresee, new difficulties will arise to others, as to the part to be taken, in justifying or excusing the wrong measures, which will be objected, as having created the necessity for this resignation,* and at the same time, in keeping terms with the *late general* himself. As to the measures which are to follow, they will depend upon the events; but surely the people of England will hardly be satisfied with the present awkward disposition of the command. I see, by a letter, which my son received to day, that it is already the subject of joke and ridicule. No other vehicle can make all this go down, but another victory; and God grant we may have it, *within the empire*, before the campaign is over.

" As to affairs at home, there can be no doubt of union amongst those you describe. There must be real union, where there can be but one interest and one heart; and, I am confident, no jealousies, or disagreeable incidents, will be suffered to arise, to create contrary appearances, when the mind of every one of us will have constant inward satisfaction, and conviction of the most perfect and cordial cement. This is an evidence in the breast, which nothing can extinguish, and must clear up every thing amongst ourselves, which, if received from others, might be doubtful. As to *activity, and frequent consultation*, which Your Grace recommends, they are certainly right; and your humble servant will not fail to apply and improve the hint, so far, as the oar, to which he is at present chained, will admit.

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" In the various matter of this letter, I had almost forgot to throw out a conjecture that has occurred to my mind. Is it not probable, that the certainty and near approach of Stair's resignation, had some influence with lord C. in the sudden conclusion of your brother's affair, after so long a delay? He considered *that* as a stroke, in which he should want support. May it not help also to explain and apply that paragraph, in his letter to Your Grace, where he talks of his being likely to be ruined by his friends? Thus;—‘ *S.*[*] *is pushing me on one hand, and B. on the other, to do things disagreeable to the king; but I will shun both,*’ for our friend means nothing by being ruined, but being ruined at court.

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* Alluding to the resignation of lord Stair.

“ You are very good in taking so much notice of Joe.[†] I have heard nothing of him lately, but have writ to Huske by this post.

“ My son is infinitely indebted to Your Grace for your kind regards, which he will study to deserve. He, and every one in this family are faithful servants to you and Mr. Pelham, but particularly, my dear lord, he who can never cease to be, entirely yours,” &c.

In fact, it was to be expected, that a victory, gained in such circumstances, would prove to be merely the commencement of a new contest. Lord Carteret was too conscious of his superior favour with the king, and at the same time too high-spirited, to submit tamely to his defeat. So great, indeed, was his jealousy of the Pelhams, and his indignation at their resistance to his measures, that he had withheld all confidential information, over which he had any control, and had forborne to consult them, either on the negotiations, or on any of the proceedings of the campaign; and he still persisted in not communicating with them, even on the most important transactions. The duke of Newcastle repeatedly complains of this obstinate silence; and neither he, nor his adherents, scrupled to manifest the strongest displeasure at such contemptuous treatment.

In one of his letters to the chancellor, dated Oct. 1st, 1743, the duke observes, “ Your lordship will see, that these, and indeed all our accounts from abroad, are from private hands; and I can never write, or think, upon this obstinate and offensive silence, without surprise and resentment.” “ The long and obstinate silence of your brother Carteret,” says lord Hardwicke, in reply to the above, “ is most surprising and unaccountable; for my own part, I have been so much used to it, that I live here as a country gentleman, without expecting any lights from thence.”[‡]

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[*] S. means lord Stair, and B. lord Bath.

[†] Captain Joseph Yorke, his third son, afterwards lord Dover.

[‡] Memoirs of lord Walpole, vol. ii. p. 58.

CHAPTER II.

1743.

Overtures of the Opposition, for a Coalition with the Pelhams, declined—Renewed endeavours of Lord Carteret to strengthen his influence—Dissensions in the Cabinet after the return of the King.—The objections of the Duke of Newcastle and his party to the continuance of the Hanoverian troops in British pay, removed by Lord Orford and Mr. Pelham—Mr. Pelham appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer—Changes in the Treasury Board—Increasing odium against the King and the Hanoverians—Agitated state of the public mind—Resignations of the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Cobham, and Lord Gower; and appointment of Lord Cholmondeley to the post of Privy Seal.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Pelham became the prime minister, by his appointment to the post of first lord of the Treasury,* yet he had a difficult part to act, before he could acquire that power, which was requisite to constitute him an efficient servant of the Crown. He had to encounter the hostility of lord Carteret, exasperated by disappointment; while, from lord Bath and his adherents, at the Treasury board, he had reason to expect every species of opposition. Nor could he depend for support, even on others who were actually engaged in the service of government; for though earl Gower and lord Cobham had not been adverse to his elevation, yet they were anxious to render him subservient to their own views, and especially instrumental in effecting the immediate dismission of lord Carteret, and the abandonment of the continental measures attributed to that minister. Aware, also, that the duke of

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* Among the political effusions of the time, we find an epigram, containing an elegant and well-merited compliment to Mr. Pelham, on his elevation; and delicately conveying an equally just eulogium on the sovereign.

" When to the king the tidings Carteret bore,
" That Wilmington, good earl, was now no more,
" And a long list of nobles, old and new,
" Of knights and squires, presented to his view;
" Demanding low, to whom it pleased his Grace
" Of all the train, to give the late earl's place?
" 'To the most worthy,' the just monarch said,
" And straight to Pelham were the honours paid."

Newcastle participated in their sentiments, they hoped that, by his influence, Mr. Pelham might be induced to accept overtures for a coalition, on their own terms. In this emergency, the new minister might have drawn support from the members in opposition, all of whom manifested their respect for his character and principles; but such a resource was attended with insuperable difficulties. Mr. Pitt and his friends were indeed hostile to lord Carteret, and to Hanoverian measures; but they were also opposed to lord Cobham, for they recommended a vigorous prosecution of the war, by the employment of British troops in Flanders. With Mr. Pitt and Mr. Lyttleton, lord Chesterfield concurred. Mr. Dodington, no less conspicuous for versatility of character, than for shining talents, was anxious to enrol himself under Mr. Pelham; and few persons of weight, on the same side, could be considered as decidedly opposed to such a coalition, except Mr. Waller, and certain staunch adherents of his party.*

It was impossible that Mr. Pelham could adopt the chimerical schemes, and gratify the extravagant demands, of so heterogeneous a body, many of whom insisted, not only on his immediate separation from lord Carteret, but also on his total departure from the policy of his friend and patron, lord Orford.

Inadmissible as such overtures, however, were, the new minister too sensibly felt the delicacy of his situation, to offend any one by a peremptory repulse. In this predicament, he again consulted lord Orford, from whom he received the kind and judicious advice, contained in the following letter.

"Dear Sir, "*Houghton, Sept.* 18*th*, 1743.

"†To lay aside all preambles and unnecessary professions, I will only say, I doubt not in the least your making the old corps, and the Whig party, the foundation of your system. Upon that you must build, and make no use of other materials, farther than shall be necessary; and, for your comfort and encouragement, I can truly say, there is a perfect satisfaction in your promotion, wherever one could wish it, as far as can be learned from accounts scattered all over the nation.

"To enter into a discussion of all the present appearances, and the unpleasant prospect of future events, would be too voluminous a work; and, as I think a man's meaning is as fully conveyed by hints and suggestions, where we understand one another, as by long reasonings, I chuse rather to entertain you with heads of my thoughts, and general hints, than to enter into a long tedious detail.

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* Glover's Posthumous Memoirs.

† Pelham Papers.

"It appears by your account, the Treasury board is awkward and cold, and, as you say, lie by. That is lord Bath's plea, with whom they are connected, and the declaration of "*keep your places and your temper, and all will go well; we have power, and when we come home we will shew it,*" can be the language but of one man, and from abroad. Is he then so strictly engaged with Bath? Can he satisfy him, without undoing what cost him a month's labour in vain to prevent? Can he, in short, remove you, or put the other in your place? How, then, is this power to be shewn? Will he hope to keep you tied down to your present board? It cannot be. But, if they profess submission, it may probably be the first struggle. But then Carteret avowedly breaks with you.

"The next great question is, if there be this secret conjunction, is the prince of Wales in it? And how is this to be reconciled? Cobham, with the Pitts, Litteltons, &c., insists upon a total rout of Bath, &c. And the prince supports Bath. How far, then, will the Cobham squadron, who are to be gratified with a competency of Tories, extend? Oh, Mr. Pelham! there are so many inconsistencies arise in every view, that order can arise out of nothing but confusion. Cobham should be put upon an explanation of his strength and dependencies.

"But there is one thing appears very strong. Carteret writes to none of you, and upon such an event as lord Stair's quitting, says not a word. Lord Stair can have no imputation to lay upon any body, but the king, and, in form, upon Carteret; and upon such an event, no intimations are given to the king's ministers, to parry or soften the invidious insinuations that will be made. Can he be so drunk with wine and power (and the heat of one, I dare say, inflames the other), as to seek no resource upon such an event, and not to think of screening, or protecting the king? Hitherto, it is plain, he seeks no refuge with you.

"At the same time, this brings another great embarrassment upon you; what share Carteret will claim in filling up the vacancies, that are or shall be made. If you offer any scheme without a concert with him, that will be jealousy with a witness; and that, he has told you, he will not bear. But you must not open yourself until you see the king.

"As to foreign affairs, it is useless, and indeed impossible, to say any thing about them. The scene shifts so often, that no man can guess what will be the case, when the time comes to consider them. The victory of Dettingen, alone, was to carry us through all difficulties; and now, from some delays and disappointments, all is lost; but clouds may again disperse; storms in the air may vanish; and the scent lie again breast-high. Let us hope for better, and, although the weight from abroad is very heavy, I think we shall not sink there.

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"You have my thoughts as they occur; and, I am afraid, they will rather tend to puzzle the cause, than to clear it up; but, although the difficulties are more obvious than expedients, truth and resolution will carry you through. Your cause is the cause of your king and country, and that must be made to do.

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"The secrecy of a correspondence with Houghton, will become every day more necessary: for your sake and for mine, it must not be known, that I enter at all into your affairs. Lord Bath, from the moment he was disappointed, turned his eye upon me. He thinks he shall be stronger upon stirring old questions, and reuniting numbers personally against me, than in any other light. He will try to fling my weight into your scale, in order to sink it. I write not out of any apprehensions; but my indiscretion will be thought very great, if it should be known that I begin to provoke valour; and I am too free with some persons, if I was not safe in your hands.

"Mr. Tassel, the South Sea voyager, will deliver you this.

"My hearty and sincere compliments, and good wishes, attend you all.

"Surely you can convince Cobham, that his entering at all into Stair's complaints, must be so offensive to the king, as to make measures, with him, and for him, impracticable."

Although Mr. Pelham endeavoured to regulate his conduct according to this prudent advice, yet the discordant opinions, and jarring interests in the cabinet, became another source of embarrassment; and we find him again assisted by the counsels of his experienced and judicious adviser. In another letter, lord Orford points out the course, which, to him, appeared most eligible, for counteracting the intrigues of lord Carteret, and strongly enforces the necessity of address and management towards the king, in the discussion of those points, on which the royal partialities were most likely to be felt.

"Dear Sir, "*Houghton, Oct.* 20*th*, 1743.

"I never think of the present situation of public affairs, but I am full of wonder and concern; amazed at the conduct of the first agent, and deeply affected with the difficulties that surround you on all sides. I cannot conceive, what measures this bold adventurer forms to himself, to secure success in the king's business. To stick at nothing to gain the king, to indulge him in all his unhappy foibles, and not to see his way through a labyrinth of expéctations, which he must have raised, deserves no better title than infatuation; wherein, if he miscarries, his labour is all lost, and his credit must sink, with the disappointments he shall meet. What then must be his reasonings? He suffers not the king to doubt, but promises him success in all his undertakings. Upon what representations must these hopes be grounded? Why, that Mr. Pelham, in his station, must answer for the same majority in the House of Commons, that carried through the business last year; and he will answer for lord Bath and his dependents, if nothing is done to distaste or disoblige them. If this scheme proves impracticable, and the difficulties arise from among those who have hitherto agreed with you, his purpose, perhaps, is better answered: he must have recourse to such as will follow him. Lord Bath must be gratified; and if you and your friends will not, or cannot, support the king's measures, they must find and take such as will.

"In this way, I can account for lord Bath's seeming acquiescence, and for the present quiet, that you meet with from his creatures at the board, who must be told, 'have patience and all will go well.' And that 'all' can be nothing but this: 'we will recover the last defeat, and lord Bath shall, at the last, be at the head of the Treasury.' How then, must you combat him, in this order of battle? It may be impossible for you, if you are never so willing, to run all the lengths of foreign flattery, that he will lead you into; and your friends, if they are not satisfied with the administration, may be very difficult to be brought into what is expected. But then, on the other hand, it will be utterly impossible for him, to shew the king any method of bringing the Tories into that system, that must be the foundation of all his interest. The distinction, of Hanover and England, is too much relished by them, to imagine, that any consideration will bring them into the support of Hanoverian measures. They see how much private discontents and disaffection, have been improved by this unhappy turn; and the party will not part with the advantage, that they are sensible they have gained, by labouring this point; and the more it hurts and wounds the king, the more it will be pushed and insisted upon.

On the other hand, the Whigs may be sorry for what they will endeavour to soften and palliate; and every thinking man, that wishes the support of this establishment, will enter into the cause of the king; and now that he, and indeed he alone, is personally attacked, the Jacobite opposition from the Tories, will provoke the Whigs, and engage them to go farther than they would naturally be inclined to do. In this light, and it is a most true one, the king must, with tenderness and management, be shewn, what he may with reason depend upon, and what, he will be deceived and lost, if he places any confidence and reliance in. The king saw last year, what part the Whigs acted; and, I should hope, he may be convinced, that the Whig party will stand by him, as they have done, through his whole reign, if his majesty does not surrender himself into hands, that mean and wish nothing but his destruction, and want to be armed with his authority and power, only to nail up his cannon, and turn it against himself. Upon this ground, you will be able to contend with Carteret. He gains the king, by giving in to all his foreign views; and you shew the king, that what is reasonable and practicable, can only be obtained by the Whigs, and can never be hoped for by any assistance from the Tories. He promises, and you must perform.

"It is now time that I should enter into some particulars; but for that I want materials, not knowing what resolutions you are come into, if any; but, what I have formerly troubled you with, is all that I can say, in general, upon that head. I see your difficulties: great they are, but the consequences, on one side and the other, call upon you to struggle, and exert yourself to your utmost. Your honour is highly concerned; and the disgrace will not be little, that will attend your giving up so great a game, in which you are embarked. Your private interest, which I but barely hint to you, will greatly suffer; but, what is above all, and this I do not say out of form, I protest to God, I think the interest of the king and kingdom is more at stake than ever I remember it; for if the king will not support you, and the Whig party under you, there is nothing so fatal, that is not to be apprehended.

"This leads me to the most tender and delicate part of the whole; I mean your behaviour, and your manner of treating this subject with him. It is a great misfortune, that you have not time; for time and address have often carried things, that met at first onset, with great reluctance; and you must expect to meet the king instructed, and greatly prepared in favour of the points which Carteret has in view to drive. Address and management are the weapons you must fight and defend with: plain truths will not be relished at first, in opposition to prejudices, conceived and infused in favour of his own partialities; and you must dress up all you offer, with the appearance of no other view or tendency, but to promote his service in his own way, to the utmost of your power. And the more you can make any thing appear to be his own, and agreeable to his declarations and orders, given to you before he went, the better you will be heard: as, the power to treat with such persons, as should be necessary to carry on his service in your hands; the encouragement and hopes to be given to the Whigs, by you, as arising from himself. Hint, at first, the danger he will run, in deviating from his own rule; shew him the unavoidable necessity there will be, of dissolving this parliament, if he departs from the body of the Whigs; and let him see the consequences of going to a new election, in the height of the war, which will certainly end in a rank Tory parliament, that will at once put a stop to all the measures that are now in practice, and for ever defeat all his views and desires, which are made the pretences to him, of hazarding the change.

"You have an advantage in the king's aversion to Bath, and his utter contempt for those fellows, as he calls them, that depend upon him. Surely the Cobhams are not the authors, or patrons, of the Constitutional Journal! That is such express and confessed Jacobitism, that he must be gone as far as the late duke of Argyle* was, if they are in that scheme.

"I should think, good use might be made with the king, if he saw to what lengths they are come, and all personally upon him. Let Carteret prove, that he is not more directly attacked than ever; and let him shew, that this is not the part, the Tories are every where acting, to depreciate him, and alienate the affections of the nation, in the most odious manner.

"I am afraid, I have by this time tired you; and indeed, I am interrupted and called away; but I am so heartily and sincerely concerned, at the event of things, that I run, I know not where. The share you have, in this great event, is not the least part of my anxiety. I love you; I fear for you; but courage, dear Harry, and resolution will carry you through. My best respects to my lord duke. Adieu. God prosper you."

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* John Duke of Argyle, who died 3rd of October, a few days only before this letter was written, was suspected of carrying on, during the last two years of his life, a correspondence with the Pretender; and it appears by this letter, that lord Orford gave credit to these suspicions. At the same time, it must be admitted, that his lordship was much prejudiced against the noble duke, who had contributed to his fall.

The difficulties, anticipated from the conduct of the absent secretary, were soon obvious. Redoubling his efforts, to prepossess the royal mind against the Whigs, and to obviate the consequences to be apprehended from the appointment of Mr. Pelham, lord Carteret wrought, with considerable effect, on the partialities of the king; while, confident in his ability to bring in lord Bath, and obtain the co-operation of the Tories, he manifested a total alienation from his colleagues in the ministry.

Nor were the feelings of dissatisfaction and resentment, in the minds of the Pelhams, less unequivocally displayed. Indeed, the duke of Newcastle proposed to complain to his Majesty, on his return, of the unfounded prejudice, apparently fostered against himself and his friends; and to represent the utter impossibility of preserving harmony in the administration, so long as the obnoxious course of policy, adopted by lord Carteret, should be pursued. These representations he embodied in a memorial, which he submitted to the chancellor and his brother, accompanied with a view of his own conduct, in regard to foreign affairs, since the death of the emperor Charles VI.*

Although Mr. Pelham acquiesced in the opinions set forth in this memorial, he saw that all attempts to remove lord Carteret from the cabinet must be impracticable, while he retained so strong a hold on the royal favour. He was also apprehensive, that a remonstrance, couched in such strong language, would offend his Majesty, without producing any solid advantage; while the attempt, even if successful, would oblige him and his brother immediately to coalesce with the Opposition, on terms incompatible with their own professions and principles. He, therefore, prevailed on the duke to withhold this remonstrance, until the bias of the royal mind should be counteracted, by a sense of the services which they might be enabled to render.

At this moment, when the arrival of the king was hourly expected, Mr. Pelham experienced great embarrassment, from the national antipathy to the

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* In the Illustrative Correspondence, will be found this interesting representation of the political views of the Pelhams, which contains several important facts, hitherto unknown to the public. The Paper is dated, Oct. 24, 1743.

Hanoverian troops,* and from the consequent resolution of his brother, and many of his colleagues in office, to oppose their continuance in the British service.

Although the duke of Newcastle had previously advocated the employment of these troops, yet he had now imbibed the general feeling against them; and his views on this delicate subject, he thus discloses in a letter to the lord chancellor.

"My Dear Lord, "*Claremont, Nov. 7th,* 1743.

"I have had a great deal of discourse with my brother, since he has been in the country, the greatest part of which passed with great calmness and good humour, on both sides. The difficulties in forming any plan, or scheme, for going on with credit and reputation to ourselves, and with a prospect of success, were so great, that we were far from determining any thing in our minds. The fear of offending the king, by assigning the true cause of our present unhappy situation, or the ascribing the difficulties, in carrying on the war, to that which is certainly not the true cause, viz., the impracticability of the measure, were the chief points in which he differed. Upon the best consideration, I am at present inclined to think, that the wisest resolution we could come to, would be, to advise the king, not to demand the Hanover troops, this year, of the parliament. First, because I very much apprehend, it will be impossible to carry them. 2ndly. If they are carried, they will be of little or no use. 3rdly. It may be put upon the impracticability of their acting with the English, without entering into the causes of it, or determining which side was in the wrong. 4thly. It will be an entire victory over lord Carteret, and that on a point which will give us the greatest advantage, both in the nation, and with our own friends. 5thly, and lastly; It will open the best door, to a reconciliation with the present opposers, and enable us to insist upon better conditions for ourselves, and our friends; that is, not oblige us to consent to every thing they shall ask. Whereas, if we go on supporting lord Carteret, and his measures, we shall give him great advantage over us, dirty ourselves in his dirty work, of which he will have all the merit, and render ourselves unable, when, as they will, lord Carteret's schemes shall fail, to do any service to the king, or our country. In short, I think, at present, this is the only way, to regain the army and the nation to the king, and to preserve our own credit and reputation.

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* See the candid remarks of Mr. Yorke, on this subject, in the Introduction to his Parliamentary Journal, which is inserted in the Illustrative Correspondence.

"The only objection is, the visible difficulty there may be, in carrying on the war afterwards. That ought to be none, with those who are not for the war's being carried on; and should not have great weight, with those who may wish to carry it on, but may see no probable way of doing it. But even that may be to be avoided. Give the queen of Hungary a large subsidy in money, and take a body of Saxon troops, which are, or may be, ready, with the duke of Weissenfeld at the head of them, who is acknowledged the best general in Europe. Do this, and there will not be a power in Europe, or a man in England, who will not think, you are now in earnest to carry on the war, on a right foot, viz., for procuring a good peace; and you will meet with less obstruction in so doing, than if you continue a body of troops, whose views, in my conscience, and I believe in that of every one, who thinks coolly upon the question, have, at least, this summer, as the old England Journal says, directed our motions, and whose fears have checked our victories.

"This would make us men, and enable us to do what we pleased. Whereas, my brother's scheme, of declaring, that, without the Dutch, we could do nothing, and therefore, that we should demand to know positively of them, what they would do, is either little more than we have already done, by my last letter; or would be liable to such objection, that it may be evaded, or exposed, by my lord Carteret, in such a manner, as not in any way to produce the effect proposed.

"If you think there is any weight in what I have said, you will make your own use of it; in all events, I beg you would not let my brother know, that I have wrote, this day, to you. He will be with you this evening; I shall be in town, but will not interrupt your meeting with him. He is to see lord Gower to-morrow night, and I will then wait upon you; and, some day after that, I think, we three should meet, with lord Harrington, to adjust finally what to say, and do, upon the king's return. I have flung out to him, the command of the army. If the king and lord Carteret don't go abroad, I find Harrington would not dislike it.

"As to my own particular, I have little to add to what I said to you, the other night, which you was so good as to say, was entirely agreeable to your own opinion. You will find me very reasonable as to myself, if the measures are such, as I can with credit appear publicly and zealously for; but to think of going on, without either representing against, or by our measures, putting a stop to, the late Hanover partialities, is impossible."

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Such being the feelings of the duke of Newcastle, and many of his friends, on the point most interesting to the king, it is evident that Mr Pelham, while exposed to the machinations of his adversaries, and perplexed by the objections of his brother, had also cause to apprehend a strenuous opposition, from lord Cobham and his adherents, as well as from lord Gower and a powerful body of Tories, who had lately joined the supporters of administration. On the other hand, lord Carteret still laboured to prejudice the king against the Whigs, by representing them as decidedly hostile to his favourite system of foreign policy; while he pressed his Majesty to form a new administration, with the aid of lord Bath and the Tories; which must necessarily have led to a dissolution of the parliament.

Amidst the agitation produced by these political cabals, the king returned to England, on the 15th of November, and experienced striking proofs of the national discontent, arising from his supposed partialities to his electoral troops. In the address presented by the city of London, congratulating his Majesty on his safe return, on the birth of his royal grand-son, prince William Henry, and on the marriage of the princess Louisa with the prince royal of Denmark, not the least allusion was made, to the battle of Dettingen. The livery, also, chose Mr. Robert Westley for their lord mayor, in opposition to Sir George Champion, who was warmly supported by the Court.

Meanwhile, the struggle for pre-eminence, between the Pelhams and lord Carteret, rapidly advanced to a crisis; and the very first discussion in the cabinet, not only shewed the irritated feelings, but indicated the relative strength, of the contending parties. The lords justices in England had continued to withhold their assent to that article of the supplementary convention with Austria, which stipulated for the payment to the queen of Hungary, of a subsidy of £.300,000, "as long as the war should continue, *or the necessities of her affairs should require*;"[*] because the latter words were considered, as implying the continuance of the subsidy, to an indefinite period after the peace. Accordingly, this question gave rise to many long and vehement altercations. The lord chancellor having refused to sanction it, in the usual form, lord Carteret did not scruple to threaten, that the king would affix the great seal with his own hand. But, notwithstanding this menace, he found himself over-ruled by a considerable majority.* He was, therefore, obliged, however reluctant, to acquiesce in a modification, limiting the payment of the subsidy to the queen of Hungary, to the period of the war.

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[*] See Section 6th, page 76.

This victory, Mr. Pelham could not consider as complete, so long as he was held in suspense, on the point which was most likely to operate on the mind of the king, by the opposition of his brother and his friends, to the continuance of the Hanoverian troops in British pay. But here he was again aided by the advice and support of lord Orford, who was aware that the dismission of the Hanoverians would most acutely wound the feelings and honour of the sovereign, and that their place, as auxiliaries, could not be effectually supplied. He, therefore, spared no pains to remove the objections, entertained against them, by the duke of Newcastle, and other members of the ministry. He laboured, indeed, so successfully, as to extort from them, and from his own adherents, a resolution to brave the popular odium, and demand from parliament, a renewal of the grant, for the electoral troops.†

Thus, by the timely and effectual interposition of lord Orford, Mr. Pelham was enabled to counteract the prejudices against the Whigs, which lord Carteret had endeavoured to infuse into the mind of the king; and the development of his plans proved so satisfactory to his royal master, that his Majesty accepted the services of that party, as the best support of his government, and conferred on Mr. Pelham the office of chancellor of the Exchequer, in addition to his post at the head of the Treasury, with full power to make what changes he pleased, in that department. Still, this arrangement was so long delayed, that the parliament assembled, before Mr. Pelham was actually established in his new appointment. On the first day of the session, December 1st, his seat was declared vacated, by his acceptance of the post of first lord of the Treasury; on the 12th, the warrant appointing him chancellor of the Exchequer,‡ was issued; and, during the Christmas recess he was re-elected for the county of Sussex. To conciliate lord Bath, he persuaded the king to raise Mr. Sandys to the peerage, and make him cofferer of the household, and to confer on Sir John Rushout the treasurership of the navy. In the posts vacated* by these two adherents of lord Bath, Mr. Pelham placed Mr. Fox, his personal friend, and lord Middlesex, an adherent of the prince of Wales. That of paymaster of the forces, which became vacant on his own elevation, he obtained for his friend Mr. Winnington, a man of great experience in business, and a firm supporter of the Walpole party. Lord Carteret, foiled in all his projects, reluctantly acquiesced in these arrangements; and thus, to gratify the personal wishes of the king, as well as to prevent a dangerous revolution in the cabinet, the two parties consented to an amnesty.

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* This curious fact is taken from Mr. Yorke's Introduction to his Parliamentary Journal.

† See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 62.

‡ From the Records of the Office, by favour of Clayton Freeling, esq., private secretary to the late chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Robinson, now lord Goderich.

Though liberated from these shackles, which had impeded the exercise of his official functions, Mr. Pelham had still to encounter formidable difficulties in parliament, arising, not only from the relative situation of the king and ministry, but from the state of parties and the feelings of the nation.

The king was accused of preferring the interests of his electoral dominions, to those of the country, over which his family had been called to reign. The original cause of the war, which no one had denied to be strictly British, was entirely forgotten; and every measure, whether political or military, was invidiously imputed to the predominance of foreign predilections. Such, indeed, was the antipathy generated by these opinions, that at the convivial meetings of the disaffected, the common toast was "no Hanoverian king;" and this opprobrious expression was re-echoed to the populace, in the vulgar ballads of the day.

Divided as the ministers were, both by political and personal interest, neither concert nor confidence could exist among them; and the apparent unanimity which they manifested, was merely assumed, to prevent a schism in the government, and obviate the risk of a national convulsion.

The Opposition were fully prepared to avail themselves of the weakness, consequent on this disunion. They were not unacquainted with the concealed embarrassments, and real sentiments, of the Pelhams; and the general dislike of the nation to foreign connections, furnished them with a powerful weapon against lord Carteret, to whose advice and influence every obnoxious or unsuccessful act was ascribed. As a preparatory engine of attack, the press had been actively employed to stigmatise the conduct of the Hanoverian troops at the battle of Dettingen, as well as the imputed partiality of the sovereign to his electoral dominions;[*] and to charges of this nature, persons of the highest rank, both civil and military, had not scrupled to give countenance and currency.

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* On the 22nd of December, the seat of Mr. Sandys was declared vacated, by his elevation to the peerage.

The resignation of lord Stair had been followed by that of the duke of Marlborough, second in command, whose illustrious descent from the hero of Blenheim, rendered his retirement a subject of greater regret; and numbers of inferior station followed the example of such distinguished leaders. Lord Cobham, also, disappointed in his hope of forcing the Pelhams to adopt his sentiments on foreign and domestic policy, seized this opportunity to relinquish his connection with the government, and announced his purpose in a letter to the duke of Newcastle.

"My Lord, "*December 9th*, 1743.

"Give me leave to begin my letter, by appealing to the knowledge Your Grace has of me, from the several conversations we have had together, upon the state of affairs, both at home and abroad, as to the rightness of my intentions, at least, for his Majesty's service. Your Grace knows, that my opinion, from the time of sending out the English troops, and taking those of Hanover into our pay, has always rolled upon the extreme difficulty and hazard, of supporting the queen of Hungary by an English army, in Upper Germany, or of attacking France, in her almost impenetrable barriers of Alsace, Lorraine, or the Netherlands, without the concurrence of the Dutch, upon the foot of the last war. The first of these cases existed last year; and the last, in the natural course of events, must be the question for the ensuing campaign.

"My lord, I cannot say, as things are circumstanced, that it is fit for this country to engage in making conquests on the Continent. I mean upon France; for I know no other ground, where our army can set their feet, but on her territories, unless they will avowedly remain in a state of inaction. Things appearing to me in this light, I must give my opinion against all measures, which naturally lead us to take so dangerous a step, unsupported as we seem to be at present; and, as I have already felt severe marks of his Majesty's displeasure, for differing in opinion with his ministers, in parliament. I hope it will be construed an act of duty and respect to his Majesty, if I prevent any more of them, by desiring that your Grace will be pleased to lay my commission, of captain of the troop of horse grenadiers, at his Majesty's feet; and that you will do me the justice to assure his Majesty, that from the time I had the honour to vote, for placing the crown of these kingdoms, on the heads of his Majesty and his family, I have done every thing that, in my conscience, I thought would make it sit easy; and shall continue to do so, the little time I have to live. I am, my lord, with the greatest respect," &c.

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[*] We again refer the reader to Mr. Yorke's Introduction to his Parliamentary Journal.

The resignation of lord Cobham was followed by that of earl Gower, who relinquished the privy-seal on the same grounds of dissatisfaction.

Lord Bath, apprehending another repulse, resisted the persuasions of his friends to apply for the privy-seal; but ventured to recommend lord Carlisle, who was also supported by the influence of lord Carteret. Even this recommendation failed; and, as a proof of the increasing confidence of his Majesty, in the party of the Whigs, the office was, by the king's spontaneous direction, conferred on lord Cholmondeley, the son-in-law of the earl of Orford.

CHAPTER III.

1743—1744.

Meeting of Parliament—Speech from the Throne—Debates on the Address—Motion for the dismission of the Hanoverian Troops—Agitation of the Public mind—Opposition to the Grant, for the maintenance of the British troops on the Continent—Renewed discussion on the Hanoverian Auxiliaries, in the Committee of Supply—Debate on the Treaty of Worms, and on the Sardinian Subsidy—On the Army Extraordinaries.

PARLIAMENT was opened on the 1st of December, 1743, by a speech from the throne, which was framed with the utmost caution, to obviate any plausible topic of complaint, at the commencement of the session.

After modestly adverting to the success of his exertions for the queen of Hungary, without specifically mentioning the victory of Dettingen, the king expressed his exultation at the deliverance of her dominions from the enemy, and communicated the gratifying intelligence, that his army had been joined by a body of Dutch forces. He notified, in general terms, the conclusion of the Treaty of Worms, and anticipated the favourable result which it was calculated to produce, towards the restoration of public tranquillity. He then expatiated on the necessity of adopting vigorous measures; and called on parliament to assist him, with their zealous and effectual support.

In the House of Peers, the address was moved by lord Berkeley, and seconded by the earl of Holdernesse. Avoiding any specific mention of the battle of Dettingen, it conveyed the congratulations of the House, on his Majesty's happy return, after the dangers to which he had been exposed. A tribute of applause was offered, for the magnanimous and successful exertion of his power; and the Treaty of Worms was approved, as tending to cement the connection between England, Austria and Sardinia. The Peers farther assured his Majesty, of their cordial and zealous determination, to support his salutary designs, for the attainment of a general peace; and concluded with declaring their purpose, to promote domestic harmony, and to pursue such objects, as might effectually contribute to the honour and safety of his Majesty, the security and prosperity of the country, and the maintenance of the equilibrium and liberties of Europe.

To this address, no direct opposition was made; but it did not escape the sarcastic animadversion of lord Chesterfield. Treating the speech as the production of "the minister," he ironically expatiated on the harmony which existed in the cabinet, and professed to address himself, not to the ears, but to the discernment of the House. Of the successes, which had been announced, he tauntingly enquired, what proofs could be produced; what provinces or kingdoms had been conquered; what princes had sued for our friendship; and what price had they offered for its acquisition? He recommended a minute inquiry into the measures pursued by government, to be made, while the Green Bag should lie on the table. Distinguishing the behaviour, from the conduct, of the king, he characterized his behaviour as intrepid and full of dignity, and his conduct as directed by his minister, and unworthy of approbation. He censured the word "vigorous," both in the speech and the address, as implying a purposed extension of the war on the continent, and insinuated that England, from an auxiliary, would become a principal. He declared, that we had departed from the original ground of the contest, by relaxing in our hostilities against Spain, who still continued to harrass our trade. He deprecated a direct attack on France, as pregnant with danger, and highly detrimental to our commercial interests; particularly when the Dutch, notoriously lukewarm towards the allies, had testified their aversion to a war with that power, by the tardy junction of their forces, towards the close of the last campaign.

It is remarkable, that throughout the whole of his speech, lord Chesterfield avoided all topics tending to throw blame on the Pelhams, and confined his invective to lord Carteret, whom he styled *the minister*, and to whom he attributed every unpopular and disastrous measure.

Lord Carteret made a manly and animated reply. He declared that, for his own sake, he should be disposed to press for an inquiry, not doubting that he should approve himself to the discernment of their lordships, as well as to their ears; and that it would overwhelm those only with shame, who had inflamed the national discontent. He ridiculed the quibbling distinction between the behaviour, and conduct, of the king, and asserted that his Majesty's conduct was as judicious, as his behaviour was intrepid.

After exulting that he himself had been among the first to enforce the policy of supporting the House of Austria, when its dominions were exposed to invasion from numerous adversaries, he urged the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war against France, and vindicated the course which had been adopted. To the interference of England, he attributed the peace which Maria Theresa had made with Prussia, and other German states ; and asserted, that to British succours she owed the success of her arms ; while the same timely aid had compelled the French to evacuate the German provinces, and withdraw their shattered forces within the shelter of their own frontier.

In reference to the ironical compliment, which intimated divisions in the cabinet, he did not affect to deny, that some disagreement existed, which, however, had been maliciously exaggerated by the enemies of government, who were anxious to delude the nation into a belief, that its honour had been trampled on, and its wealth squandered. He hoped, that the discernment of their lordships would detect such gross calumnies, without requiring a formal confutation.

After laying down a distinction between disagreement and disunion, he observed, that if those, who are to act in conjunction, be united in the promotion of one general interest, a contrariety of opinion, as to the means, is of very subordinate import; the resolutions, when taken, must be considered as the act of the whole body ; in which, by the laws of society, all the individuals must acquiesce, whatever may be their own private notions. He represented the trivial disputes that had arisen, to be no farther injurious, than as tending to supply topics for calumny ; while they opened a new magazine of poison, for the disaffected to disperse throughout the nation, and added, that due care would be taken for their adjustment.

Lord Chesterfield, in a short reply, merely vindicated the distinction which he had drawn, between the behaviour and the conduct of the king ; and as no other peer took any share in the debate, the address was unanimously voted.*

In the address of the Commons, after congratulating his Majesty on the success of his arms, it was added, " that nothing could be more welcome to his faithful Commons, than to hear that he was joined by a body of the troops of the States General, whose interests, and those of this country, were inseparable." It was moved by Mr. Cooke, son of lord Lovel, and seconded by Mr. Yorke, the son of the chancellor ; and was expected to pass without a division. The members in Opposition were, however, eager to avail themselves of the state of public opinion, and adopted the unusual expedient, of proposing to pass a negative on the address, an indignity which had not been offered to the crown, since the celebrated negative to the address, in the last parliament summoned by James II.* The absence of Mr. Pelham, whose seat had been vacated by his promotion, encouraged the Opposition to make this insulting attack, as a decisive blow against lord Carteret.

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* Journals of the Lords. Hansard's Parliamentary History, and Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 102.

Mr. Pitt, who took the lead on this occasion, reviewed the conduct of government, both foreign and domestic, from the death of the emperor Charles VI, and indiscriminately censured all the measures that had been adopted. While he denied that any change of policy had taken place, since the dismission of Sir Robert Walpole, he asserted that our foreign relations had sustained a considerable change, though greatly to our disadvantage and dishonour. Adverting to the military operations of the campaign, he treated the battle of Dettingen as a fortunate escape, rather than as a victory: and, alluding to the diplomatic transactions, inveighed against the folly of approving the Treaty of Worms, without satisfactory information. He contended, that the British cabinet was entirely subservient to the interests of Hanover; and vehemently expatiated on the accusations propagated against the electoral troops. He stigmatized lord Carteret as *an execrable, a sole minister*, who seemed to have drunk of the potion, which poets had described, as causing men to forget their country. To the overbearing influence of that minister, he imputed all the unpopular and disastrous measures of government, since the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole. Like lord Chesterfield, however, he drew a marked distinction, between lord Carteret and the Pelhams, whom he slightly censured, as the subservient instruments of an obnoxious favourite. In answer to the assertion, that this proposal was unprecedented, he endeavoured to prove that it had been frequently the custom of antient parliaments, not to vote an address of thanks; and in reference to the danger of returning, or not returning, to that antient custom, upon this occasion, he said, "I think that the danger lies wholly upon the side of not returning. I have shewn that the measures we are now pursuing are fundamentally wrong, and that the longer we do pursue them, the heavier our misfortunes will be, unless some signal providence intervens. Experience,

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* Although no negative had ever been proposed to an address of thanks, since the Revolution, yet something of a similar nature occurred, in the first session of the parliament, which met in the beginning of December 1698; when the Commons returned no address of thanks to the speech of king William, but proceeded to consider the state of the nation, and voted for the reduction of the forces. Correspondence of the duke of Shrewsbury, part III, chap. viii. p. 267.

I am sure, will confirm what I say. By the intervention of Providence, we may, it is true, succeed in the most improbable schemes: but Providence seems to be against us, and for our punishment has suffered us to embark in projects that may undo us. The sooner, therefore, we repent, the better it will be for us; and unless repentance begin in this House, I shall expect it no where else, till dire experience shall have convinced us of our being in the wrong. For this reason, I hope, and wish, that we may now begin to put a stop to the farther prosecution of these destructive and dangerous measures, by refusing our approbation of them. If, then, we put a negative on this question, it may awaken our ministers out of their deceitful dream: if we agree to it, they will dream on, until they have dreamed Europe and themselves, as well as their country, into perdition. If they stop now, the nation may recover; but if, by such a flattering address, we encourage them to go on, it may soon become impossible, either for them or us to retreat. I shall, therefore, for the sake of Europe, as well as for that of my country, most heartily join in putting a negative on the motion."

The arguments of Mr. Pitt were re-echoed by the rest of the Opposition. The character and conduct of lord Carteret, as well as the general measures of government, were ably vindicated by Mr. Winnington, in a long and elaborate speech; but Mr. Fox was the first who ventured to reprobate the insult offered to the Crown. He expressed his surprise, that the smallest doubt should have arisen, whether any answer should be returned or not, to one of the most gracious speeches, ever uttered from the throne. He then proceeded to support the address, by defending the conduct of the war. He declared, that, without the aid of England, the territories of Austria would have been dismembered; while the preponderance of France would have rendered it doubtful, whether we should remain lords of the ocean, or sovereigns of the mere isle of Great Britain. "Surely," he concluded, "no gentleman who considers these consequences, will pretend to blame the measures which his Majesty is now pursuing; and if they are right, we should not discourage them, by a negative on this motion. Indeed, the refusal of our thanks would evince such a disrespect to our sovereign, as must necessarily suspend all correspondence between him and his parliament, thus impeding the operations of our government, and obliging his Majesty to think of ruling without a parliament. The consequences would be, domestic confusion, and a civil war. If, therefore, the question should be put (as I hope it will not), on the motion now before us, I shall consider that question to be, whether our present happy establishment is to be preserved or not; and upon such a question, I cannot suppose that any gentleman in this House will give a negative."

Sir John Hinde Cotton adopted the arguments of Mr. Pitt, in censuring the war; and in the same spirit of invective against lord Carteret, declared that the king had been impelled by the counsels of his ministers, to pursue, beyond his original intention, measures not warranted by the advice of parliament. He denied that the proposed negative would be an insult to the Crown; and observed, that he should be the last man to vote for refusing thanks for a speech, which the House did not approve, if he thought that such refusal would imply disrespect to the king. But the speech from the throne, being understood to be that of the minister, was fairly open to censure; and any insinuation to the contrary, would evince a real disrespect to his Majesty, by representing him as preferring the protection of ministers, to the satisfaction of his parliament, and his people. A late instance had proved, that the king would dismiss a minister, rather than incur the risk of offending, or of dismissing, his parliament. Adverting to the reign of James II, he remarked that in the year 1685, the House of Commons had refused their thanks for a royal speech; and that unfortunate prince, for this, among other reasons, prorogued the parliament. What was the consequence? He lost the Crown of these kingdoms, which, by the more constitutional expedient of dismissing his ministers, he might have preserved and transmitted to his posterity. The rash and foolish measure, which he chose to adopt, and with which we have been threatened, in the course of this debate, will, it is to be hoped, prove a warning to all his successors; and hence there is nothing to fear, and much to hope, from the determination to negative this motion; as the king will then instantly dismiss his ministers, a measure the most fortunate that can be adopted for the nation.

Mr. Sandys, who still retained his seat as chancellor of the Exchequer, strenuously vindicated the government; and, in reply to the remarks of the last speaker, declared, that its proceedings had been conformable to the addresses, and the advice of parliament. He accused Mr. Pitt of employing unparliamentary language, against so great a minister as lord Carteret, whose actions had not been examined, who was not present to defend himself, and whose integrity, and love of his country, were by all acknowledged to be commensurate with his great abilities.

In this debate, the violent and factious spirit which actuated the Opponents of government, defeated their own views; for all the members of the House, who were not actuated by party prejudice, joined the ministerial phalanx, to resist a negative, so contrary to the usages of parliament, so derogatory from the dignity of the Crown, and so pregnant with danger to the constitution. It was accordingly rejected, by 278 votes against 149, and the address was carried without a division.*

These general animadversions, on the conduct of the war, led to a formal motion against the Hanoverian troops, on the 6th of December, when Mr. Waller proposed an address, beseeching his Majesty to discontinue their service.

On this occasion, those auxiliaries were specifically charged with unwillingness to act against France, or the emperor; and with disobedience to the orders of the British general, even during the battle of Dettingen. Complaints were also made, that their staff was so constituted, as to enable Hanoverian officers to command British officers of the same rank, and that unjustifiable partiality had been manifested towards them, in the distribution of forage, quarters, and other accommodations. In this debate, all the principal speakers on either side, took an active share; and Mr. Pitt particularly distinguished himself, by the vehemence of his invective. He declared, that, in the operations of the campaign, the English commander was not consulted; that the sovereign was hemmed in by German officers, and by one English minister, without an English heart, who kept his Majesty in ignorance of the feelings of the British troops and people, exasperated almost to desperation.

These statements were confuted by several members, and especially by Mr. Murray, the solicitor-general, who argued on the folly of detaching from the public service, twenty-two thousand men,† in mere deference to popular clamour. He was ably seconded by several officers, who had been in the battle, and who bore ample testimony to the courage, discipline and conduct, of those auxiliaries. The motion was, therefore, negatived by 231 votes against 181. But the clamour of Opposition, produced a strong impression on the public mind,‡ and this impression was not suffered to subside; for, on the 9th of December, a similar motion was made in the

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* Journals of the House of Commons.—Yorke's Parliamentary Journal in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 135.

† Including six thousand Hessians.

‡ Journals of the Commons. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 138.

House of Lords, by the earl of Sandwich, who did not hesitate to inveigh against what he termed the *perfidy* of these obnoxious troops. "Suspicion," he said, "is now heightened into certainty; we no longer *believe*, but we *know* the public to be betrayed. Our countrymen are insulted by those who take our pay, who, perhaps, owe to our protection, their continuance as a distinct and unconquered people, and who are certainly indebted to our liberality, for their exemption from the misery and poverty, under which their ancestors languished."

In the discussion which ensued, the former complaints and censures were reiterated, and repelled, with all the eloquence, that distinguished the leaders of the contending parties. The chief defence of the government was undertaken by lord Carteret, who again vindicated his own measures, and, in an elaborate review of the operations during the campaign, refuted many of the charges, so confidently revived, against the Hanoverian troops. The lord chancellor, also, in a speech replete with argument, exposed the fallacy and injustice of the imputations, which had been so insidiously propagated; and, on this occasion, the prince of Wales himself appeared in the majority. The motion was negatived by 71 against 36; but the leading arguments in its favour, were embodied in a protest, signed by twenty-five peers.*

Hitherto, the Opposition had appeared unanimous in their attacks on the ministry; but the motives, which had inclined so many members of the party, to seek a coalition with the Pelhams, still continued to act, and produced disunion, both in their sentiments and conduct. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Lyttelton, in particular, were disposed to admit, that the honour and safety of the country, demanded the continuance of the British force in Flanders; and this opinion was held by other moderate members of the minority, among whom may be included Mr. Dodington.

On the other hand, lord Cobham and Mr. Waller, who had peremptorily rejected any coalition, except on their own terms, were determined to drive the Pelhams to extremities; and, if they could not separate them from lord Carteret, to involve them in his disgrace. This object they hoped to attain, by forcing the government to abandon the war on the continent. To procure the concurrence of Mr. Pitt and his friends, in a measure so inconsistent with their own views of policy, recourse was had to the qualified expedient of an address, beseeching his Majesty not to proceed in the war, without the immediate concurrence of the Dutch. Mr. Pitt acquiesced in this proposal, and even added, that, if the motion should be rejected, he would then join in opposing the grant for the continuance of the British, as well as of the Hanoverian troops, in Flanders.

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* Journals of the Lords.—Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 274.—Etough's Narrative, MS. p. 189.

Accordingly, on the 15th of December, an address was moved, in the House of Commons, by Mr. George Grenville,* praying his Majesty, "in consideration of the exhausted and impoverished state of the kingdom, not to engage this nation any farther, by acting as we had hitherto done, or by concerting farther measures, or entering into farther engagements, with other powers, without entering into an alliance with the States General, for supporting those engagements, upon the stipulated proportions of force and expense, as was done in the late war."

The solicitor-general, in the absence of Mr. Pelham, ably exposed this improper, and inaccurate manner of stating the question. "If the preamble" he exclaimed, "be true, which I by no means admit, where is the wisdom of exposing our inabilities to the whole world? Is this the method of inspiring our enemies with moderation, or of obtaining even a tolerable peace. I presume that no gentleman proposes an address, which he thinks ought not to pass; but if this be approved, I do not see how it will be possible for ministers to regulate their conduct by it, so indefinite and general are its terms. Do they mean, by advising the king, 'not to act as he has hitherto done,' that he should not drive the French out of Germany, or give them another defeat, if an opportunity occurs? Must he not detach such a power as Prussia from the French interest, if, unhappily for the common cause, that measure should again become necessary; or must he not keep the combined fleets of France and Spain, blocked up in Toulon, by continuing his fleets in the Mediterranean?" He farther urged, that the motion, as it was worded, restricted the king from entering into any engagement whatever, in which the Dutch did not concur. He represented the dishonour which would attach to the nation, if his Majesty's councils were to be made dependent on the *pensionary of Dort;* and observed, that though on one great object, the interests of England and Holland were united, yet on others they differed. Still, he added, supposing that the intent of the motion, were only to restrain the king, from taking farther measures, in support of the queen of Hungary, unless the States General would participate in the expense and risk, it would be indefensible on that more limited basis. The Dutch, as well as we, had guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction; and the non-performance of one contracting party, does not absolve the other from its engagements. But the States General, though tardy in their measures, sent a considerable body of auxiliaries, the last campaign; and, if we did not relax, their cooperation might be still more effective in the next; yet he thought it by no means advisable, to connect ourselves with them so closely, as to make it an invariable maxim, not to stir a step in support of our allies abroad, unless we could procure the suffrages of the provinces composing the Republic of Holland.

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* Journals of the Commons.—Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 384.

This manly and sensible expostulation was deeply felt; and a general murmur seemed to prevail against the degrading terms of the motion. Mr. Pitt, who had with reluctance approved it, adroitly acknowledged the impropriety of the preamble, which he said might be omitted, without prejudice to its object. He argued, that the most intimate connection with the Dutch, should be considered as the basis of our foreign policy, more especially in the present juncture. He said, "it would be happy for this country, if the sober maxims and well-weighed counsels of their government, had an influence upon ours, which, he insinuated, were directed by a desperate, rhodomontading minister. He declared that the address, if passed, would reduce us to a specific object, and restrain the headlong spirits in the cabinet, to a more moderate policy. Directing the last and keenest of his shafts, against lord Carteret, he adduced the parallel of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon,* and asserted, that the little finger of one man had for six months pressed heavier on the nation, than the loins of a ministry, which had continued for forty years.

Among other charges, which were raised against the obnoxious secretary of state, Mr. Dodington alleged that, of having endeavoured to make himself absolute in the closet, that he might afterwards make his master absolute in the kingdom.

During the debate, Pitt, with Lyttelton and Grenville, withdrew, and amended the original motion, by erasing from the preamble the obnoxious words, "the impoverished state of the kingdom." This alteration, which Sir William Yonge ludicrously called a second edition of the original motion, corrected and amended by the authors, failed of its purpose; and the address, so amended, was rejected, as tending to restrict the efforts of England, within the narrow limits of Dutch policy, and as equivalent to a declaration, that the queen of Hungary was to expect no farther assistance from us, which would, of course, precipitate her into the arms of France. On a division, the amendment was rejected by 209 votes against 132; and the sole result of this hasty and impolitic proposal was, to overwhelm the Opposition with ridicule, and increase their disunion.*

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* 1st Kings, xii. 10. 2nd Chron. x. 10.

Mr. Pitt, far from adhering to his compulsory engagement, now declared his resolution to support the grant for continuing the British troops in Flanders, and even canvassed his friends for their concurrence. Among those who joined him, were lord Chesterfield and Mr. Lyttelton. Indeed, the question was considered so important, that on the day preceding that which was fixed for its discussion, a general meeting of the party in opposition, was held at the Fountain Tavern, to deliberate on the course to be pursued. At this meeting, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Lyttelton, finding their opinions over-ruled, and being deserted by Mr. Dodington, reluctantly abandoned their intention of supporting the grant; but they determined not to speak on the question, and were, with difficulty persuaded, to assist their friends with their silent votes.†

Such was the divided state of opposition, when Mr. Pelham resumed his seat, after the recess. His first official act was, to communicate the king's ratification of the Treaty of Worms.

On the 11th of January, Mr. Winnington, as Paymaster of the forces, officially proposed, in the committee of supply, a grant for the maintenance of 21,358 British troops in Flanders. This motion was resisted by some of the violent members of Opposition, among whom Mr. George Grenville was the most conspicuous. His principal arguments were; First, That it would be more advantageous, to grant a subsidy to the empress queen, than to supply her with troops; because for £.1,200,000, she could bring into the field fifty-four thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse; on the contrary, we could only maintain, for the same sum, twenty-five thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. Secondly. That by forming an army in Flanders, even if not employed offensively, we might furnish the French with an excuse to attack the queen of Hungary in that country. He also insinuated, that the Dutch might admit that excuse, and considering the French as justified in invading the Austrian Netherlands, might not concur with us, in the vigorous prosecution of the war. He declared that, even now, they appeared resolved not to enter into any of the romantic schemes, which government seemed inclined to pursue. Lastly, That the German princes (alluding particularly to the king of Prussia), who were so jealous of the House of Austria, and so anxious to retain possession of those territories which they had wrested from her, would never quietly see the vast augmentation of her power, and the diminution of that of France.* In the debate which ensued, the topic of subserviency to Hanoverian politics was revived; the whole plan of the war condemned; and the ministry censured, for withholding information from the legislature, and for involving their transactions in mystery.

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* The account of this debate is taken from Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 384; and the motives, in which the proposal originated, from Glover's Posthumous Memoirs. The debate is not mentioned in any publication of the Debates, anterior to Hansard's Parliamentary History, in which Mr. Yorke's Journal is inserted.

† Glover's Posthumous Memoirs. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 389.

Mr. Pelham took his proper share in defending the measures of government. Respecting the object for which the British troops were to be continued in the Netherlands, he affirmed, that sufficient information had been communicated to the House; and, without expressing any sanguine expectations of success, he dwelt on the impolicy of withdrawing that force, from the theatre of war.

He then animadverted on the inconsistent conduct of those, who systematically objected to every proposal, for giving a vigorous support to the House of Austria. " Are not these," he said, " the very same gentlemen, who so bitterly censured our ministers, for not assisting the late emperor in 1734, when he was attacked by France, Spain, and Sardinia? Are not they the same, who so ardently concurred with all ranks and conditions of men, in supporting the queen of Hungary, when her dominions were invaded by the king of Prussia, alone? I own I am surprised at their present opposition to every measure, adopted by government, for affording her that assistance. When we consider our solemn engagements with the House of Austria, and reflect that our honour is concerned, in preventing Spain from making any conquests in Italy, surely no gentleman will declare, that we ought to withhold our aid from that magnanimous princess. If, then, that assistance be expedient, it should be given to the full extent of our ability; otherwise, we shall do her no service, but rather involve her in deeper embarrassments; and, when the queen of Hungary is compelled, by our ill-timed economy, to submit to the dictates of her enemies, we shall, after our enormous expenses, rouse the resentment of her conquerors, and draw down, upon our nation alone, their whole united force. We are, therefore, bound, both by honour and interest, to employ our most effectual exertions, in securing to her Majesty, a safe and honourable peace; not only without any farther dismemberment, but even with an increase of her dominions, if we can entertain any hopes of success. If such be our obligation, it is manifest that we ought to assist her, both with troops and money."

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* This speech has been falsely attributed to Mr. Pitt. See the note at the end of this debate.

To shew that the measure was sanctioned by precedent, he adverted to the policy of queen Elizabeth, who supplied the Dutch, and Henry IV. of France, with forces, as well as with subsidies. Both those powers, he observed, might have obtained soldiers from Germany; consequently, had money been considered equally advantageous, she would not have sent troops; but that wise princess judged differently, and was always more forward to assist her allies with soldiers, than with subsidies. He forbore to adduce other instances; since it was well known, that in all our continental wars, this policy had been pursued; and the troops, furnished to our allies, always gained renown to their country, by their valour, which, while it animated their friends, spread terror among their foes, and thus proved more effectual, than if we had sent them double the sum we might have engaged to pay, for the maintenance of those troops.

As a farther argument against the recal of the British troops, he alluded to the conduct of the Dutch. "Do they disarm?" he continued, "do they not maintain, undiminished, the contingent of last year? Have they not consented to the bill of extraordinaries, for keeping on foot the additional contingent, of twenty thousand men, until next May? They now wait the issue of our deliberations, and evince a disposition to follow our example; and shall that example be the rejection of this motion? Shall we," he emphatically exclaimed, "recall our troops from the continent, when all Europe is in arms? Are not all the powers, without exception, augmenting their forces? Therefore, whether peace or war be our object, I do not hesitate to assert, that a resolution of the House of Commons to disarm, will be the inevitable ruin of both." He concluded by enforcing his former argument, that our best exertions should be employed, to render our assistance to the queen of Hungary effectual. "We must supply her," he said, "with troops as well as with money; and, as the maintenance of our army on the continent, may prevail with some of the European powers, to declare in her favour, and prevent others from declaring against her, I must approve the proposition of my honourable friend, which, I should hope, will also obtain the approbation of this House."*

On this question, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Lyttelton, conformably with their previous declaration, merely gave their silent votes.† After a long and vehement speech from Mr. Waller, against the motion, lord Percival, who was influenced in favour of government, by his attachment to the prince of Wales, advocated the employment of a British force in Flanders; entered into a minute inquiry relative to the Hanoverian troops; and justified the engagement with the king, as elector, for their services, on the principle of economy, as well as on the general ground of good policy. He concluded by declaring, that as he had hitherto concurred, so he should continue to concur, with ministers, in this and every other vote and measure, that might tend to the vigorous prosecution of this just and necessary war. In consequence of the diversity of sentiment, displayed by the members of opposition, the question was carried by 277 against 165;‡ and, on the 12th, the report was brought up, and the grant voted without a division.

The opponents of government reserved their principal strength, until the discussion on the motion, for taking the Hanoverian troops into British pay; and, such was the interest excited by this question, that it occasioned the attendance of no less than five hundred members. Indeed, the general impression was, that the ministry would either be defeated, or gain their point by so weak a majority, that they would be discouraged from carrying the measure into effect.

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* Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 416. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 393.

† The anonymous author of the Life of Lord Chatham [Vol. i. p. 183], has erroneously attributed to Mr. Pitt, a speech in this debate, which was delivered by Mr. George Grenville. He was misled by the London Magazine for 1744, p. 383; where it is assigned to Mr. Pitt, under the name of *Julius Florus*. Debrett has fallen into the same error, which is properly corrected by Hansard, on the authority of Mr. Yorke, who was present, and affirms that Mr. Pitt did not speak. Glover, also, in his Posthumous Memoirs, makes the same observation. The author of the new Life of Lord Chatham, the Rev. Francis Thackeray, who gives the speech from the London Magazine, also ascribes it to Mr. Pitt, and erroneously states the debate to have occurred on the 17th of January, 1744. Vol. i. p. 123. 4to. Edit.

‡ Journals of the House of Commons. Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 388. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 393. Glover's Memoirs.

This important debate took place on the 19th of January, when Sir William Yonge, the secretary at war, made his expected motion for the grant of £.393,773, to maintain the sixteen thousand Hanoverians, in British pay, during the ensuing year. All the leading arguments on the question were now recapitulated and enforced, with unabated zeal and address. New facts were also adduced, in evidence of the supposed predilections of the king, and the misbehaviour of "the obnoxious troops." Among the most violent opponents of the grant, was Mr. Stanley, who even charged his Majesty, by name, with having shewn a notorious partiality for the Hanoverians. This unparliamentary language occasioned such disorder, that the House, according to the account given by Mr. Yorke, resembled a tumultuous Polish diet. Mr. Stanley was called to order, even by Mr. George Grenville; and the Speaker with difficulty calmed the tempest, by the interposition of his authority.

The motion was particularly supported by Mr. Walpole, in a speech which produced a considerable effect, not only from the direct force of the reasoning, but from the weight which his opinion carried, with the party of his brother. He enlarged on the impossibility of hiring troops in time, from other princes; and on the consequences which the rejection of the Hanoverians would have upon our own allies, especially on the Dutch. He thought that such a precipitate step, at this juncture, would go near to dissolve the alliance, as it would be indicative of a want of union and mutual confidence, between the king and his parliament. He mentioned all the countries, which might be supposed in a condition to supply us with men, as Denmark, Saxony, Cologne, and the Swiss; and shewed that very strong objections might be urged against all of them. He touched upon what he considered as the real ground of clamour against these troops, namely, the king's personal behaviour; of which, he said, if the ministers would represent the consequences, truly and plainly, in a certain place, a remedy for it might be found, as easy, as holding different language and manner, at levee or a drawing-room. He said, if, for want of sufficient strength abroad, the queen of Hungary was oppressed by France, and obliged to make a separate peace, England would be left alone, exposed to the resentment of that formidable power, whose views we had thwarted; and we might see the war transferred, from the continent, to this island.

Mr. Pitt exercised his unrivalled skill, in rousing the passions of the assembly. He expatiated, with all the force of language, on the indignities offered to the British troops; exaggerated petty incidents and casual occurrences, into instances of a studied preference of the Hanoverians; and contemptuously asked, "whether other soldiers were not to be procured in Germany, that great market of men?" In the heat of debate, he even asserted that the public welfare demanded the separation of Hanover from England. Again directing the force of his eloquence to its former object, he called lord Carteret a *Hanover-troop-minister;* stigmatized those who supported his measures, as his party and place men, by whose means he had conquered the cabinet; and, in a transport of indignation, wished he was then present, that he might himself arraign him face to face, in the language which his conduct merited.* He likewise artfully appealed to the Pelhams, whom he termed the amiable part of the administration; deplored their fatal connection with the obnoxious minister; and lamented that they should have submitted to support an odious measure, calculated only to injure themselves, and to advance the power of another in the closet.

Mr. Pelham spoke with less vehemence than some of the more ardent orators, but with that candour and good sense for which he was uniformly distinguished. He contended, that the measure itself being British, the consequences would shew, that as the quarrel concerned England alone, and not Hanover, so the interests of England would alone be consulted in the conduct of the war, or in the conclusion of peace. In reference to his supposed subserviency in the cabinet, he observed, that although nothing would be so dishonourable in a minister, as to flatter the private views of his master, at the expense of the nation; yet those who were so far influenced by popular discontent, as to vote against a measure, fundamentally right, acted, if not as dishonest, at least as contemptible a part.

The question was carried in the committee, by a majority of forty-five, the votes being 271 against 226.†

When the report was brought up, the debate was vehemently renewed.

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* Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 465.

† Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 463. The division on the subject having taken place in the committee, the Journals of the House contain no reference to it; but Mr. Yorke has given it in his Parliamentary Journal, in which he says that there were 500 members present, and that when the division took place, only 3 members withdrew, there being 271 Ayes, and 226 Noes.

On this occasion, the solicitor-general particularly distinguished himself. He reprobated, with becoming warmth, the assertion of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Lyttelton, in the previous discussion, that the question under consideration was a competition between England and Hanover, and that consequently the two dominions ought to be separated. He argued, that though the king and parliament should be inclined to this measure, the diet of the empire might be unwilling to give their consent; and he contended, that the king, as elector of Hanover, was not concerned in the quarrel, which solely regarded the interests of Great Britain. He then justly observed, "Would you, if the dominions were not connected, dismiss in effect twenty-two thousand men, without knowing where to replace them, which nobody has yet pretended to say? The only argument I have heard, that concludes against the question, is, that the force we have already on the continent, is sufficient without them. I can by no means think so, from the great preparations now making by France, who seems disposed to take an active part in Italy, on the Rhine, and in the Netherlands, whenever she sees an opportunity. Let us not, therefore," he emphatically concluded, "refuse to take that benefit from Hanover, which we should be glad to receive, were it under another prince."

Mr. Pitt, not discouraged, proceeded to adduce a still more direct charge of cowardice against the Hanoverians, and concluded with declaring, that "to pass this vote, would be to erect a triumphal arch to Hanover, on the military honour and independence of Great Britain." When his accusation of the electoral troops was contradicted by general Onslow, who fought at Dettingen, he avowed his readiness to prove it, on evidence, at the bar, if the House would consent to an adjournment.

The hint was seized by his party, and an adjournment was immediately moved by Mr. Dodington, and seconded by Sir John Hynde Cotton.

So unexpected a proposal called up Mr. Pelham, who expressed his disapprobation with more than usual energy.

"I did not," he said, "intend speaking on the main question to day; but am drawn up, by the importance of this new motion. I want words and art, both to disguise, and to declare my meaning. I will, therefore, use the expression of a noble person,* in another place, who has all the correctness which I want, and shall speak, not to your ears, but to your discernment."

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* Lord Chesterfield.

Alluding to the intended insult to the king, he continued, "Though it is generally true in this House, that ministers are responsible, yet this is a question of that peculiar kind, that it can point only in *one* place. It is, to consider into *whose* conduct, *whose* partiality, *whose* weakness, we are to inquire.

"The question of the supply has been sufficiently discussed; and several members have been induced, by the arguments used in the debate, to vote for it. I appeal to the breasts of gentlemen, whether a question of so much importance was ever debated in parliament, on which less ministerial influence had been used. I will observe this maxim invariably; and, I will add, *from very high authority*, in relation to the attendance of the Hanoverian guards upon the king, at Aschaffenburg, that they complained of their long duty there as a grievance, and by no means considered it as a privilege. No man was more concerned at general Clayton's death* than myself, for I knew him intimately. I have heard, that he could never extend an equal front to the French. Is it prudent to inquire into all these things? No man can say, with certainty, what may transpire. Perhaps some troops, to whom every body wishes well, may appear to have been guilty of negligence, of misconduct, over which I wish to draw a veil. For my own part, I will always oppose any step, that may lead the House into a train of dangerous proceedings, and debase the dignity of the Crown, or of him who wears it. I have served the king, ever since I was capable of serving; have learned my duty to this royal family, ever since I was capable of speaking; and, though I doubt not that inquiry would clear up matters, and develop them, as every honest man believes and wishes, yet what an extensive precedent will you have left for succeeding generations!"

The imprudent bravado of opposition essentially injured their cause; for, the moderate and independent members revolted at a proposal, so fully calculated to insult the Crown, and dreaded the discredit, which, by a series of complaints and recriminations, might rebound even on the British troops. Many, who came prejudiced against the Hanoverians, were thus induced to support the ministry; and even Mr. Pitt disapproved the use which had been made of his own declaration. The motion for adjournment to the 28th, was therefore negatived, by 266 against 178; and the Opposition, conscious, too late, of their imprudence, did not even venture to divide the House on the main question.*

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* He alludes to an imputation cast on the Austrians and Hanoverians, for not supporting the first line of infantry, with sufficient promptitude, when attacked in flank by the enemy, on the side towards the river. It was at this period of the conflict, that general Clayton, who commanded the first line, fell.

The strength of the two parties was again tried, on the 27th of January, when the question of supply came before the House of Lords. On that occasion, an address was again moved by lord Sandwich, which differed from that proposed on the 16th, only in a concluding paragraph, declaring the service of the Hanoverian troops, "to be prejudicial to the public cause, inconsistent with the interest of his Majesty, and dangerous to the tranquillity and welfare of the country." It is needless to recapitulate the arguments used on either side; but we may observe, that lord Chesterfield even surpassed Mr. Pitt, in the bitterness of his invective against the Hanoverians, and in the insulting tone of his language toward the sovereign. The debate was adjourned to the 31st; and, towards its close, the duke of Newcastle addressed the House, in a speech, in which he recommended the continuance of the electoral troops in British pay, as one of the best expedients, in support of the queen of Hungary; though, at the same time, he expressed his confident hope, that precautions had been taken, to obviate the ill effects derived from the imputed preference to those troops, and from the consequent jealousy, excited in the British army.

The motion was negatived, by 86 votes gainst 41;† but the leading objections to the measure, and the principal charges against the Hanoverian troops, were again recorded in a protest, signed by twenty-five peers, which concluded with an acrimonious invective against the predominance of Hanoverian counsels. Great Britain was invidiously represented as a mere province, under a foreign state; and a mortifying contrast was exhibited, of the effects of her influence, when she acted for herself, as in the war of the Spanish Succession, with those which it now produced, when she but nominally took the lead, in measures, of which an inferior German principality was the real director and mover.‡

Another topic of reproach, eagerly seized by the Opposition, was the celebrated Treaty of Worms, and the Explanatory Convention with Austria, which has been already noticed.* Considered as the work of lord Carteret, it bore the unpopularity attached to his name; and the transfer of Finale, from Genoa to the king of Sardinia was particularly stigmatized, as an infraction of public faith, most injurious to the honour of England. Rumours of the Explanatory Convention had already become current; and the adversaries of lord Carteret knew, that the article which stipulated for the payment of a subsidy of £.300,000 to the queen of Hungary, as long as the war should continue, or the necessity of her affairs should require, had been decidedly disapproved by a majority in the cabinet, and subsequently modified at their representation.

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* Journals of the Commons. Mr. Yorke, in his Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 473, makes the Ayes 148, which, however, may be an error in the transcriber.

† Journals of the Lords. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 552.

‡ Journals of the Lords, Jan. 29th, 1743. Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 631.

Allusions to this subject had been made, in the debate on the address, as well as in subsequent discussions; and no opportunity had been omitted, to influence the public feeling, and anticipate the judgment of the legislature. On the 25th of January, while the question relative to the Hanoverian troops agitated the country, lord Chesterfield moved an address to his Majesty, praying for the communication of all separate articles, declarations, or conventions, relative, or subsequent, to the Treaty of Worms. In opposing this motion, lord Carteret argued, that the cessions promised to the king of Sardinia, were necessary to secure his co-operation, and comprised even fewer advantages, than those which had been offered to him by France. He added, that the king of Sardinia would have instantly concluded a treaty with France, if his terms had not been unconditionally accepted.† To justify the proposed cession of Finale, he questioned the title, by which the Republic of Genoa held that territory; and asserted, that the claims of the king of Sardinia derived indisputable validity from the House of Caretti, from whom the marquisate had been usurped. The duke of Newcastle, and his adherents, supported lord Carteret on this occasion; and the question, after a short debate, was decided in the negative, without a division.‡

On the same day, a similar motion was made in the House of Commons, by Mr. Waller. No distinct account of the debate has been preserved; but we learn from Mr. Yorke's Journal, that Mr. Pitt availed himself of this opportunity, to renew his attacks on lord Carteret. Alluding to the Explanatory Convention with Austria, which had caused such a feud in the cabinet, he exclaimed, "I only wanted the sight of a convention, tacked to this treaty, which that audacious hand had signed, to furnish matter for immediate impeachment." He then commended the conduct of the chancellor, in refusing to give it the sanction of the great seal, by which act, he would have subjected himself to a parliamentary inquiry. The motion, however, was lost on a division, of 207 against 149.*

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* See section vi, p. 76, and chap. ii, p. 109.

† This fact is confirmed in a letter from the duke of Newcastle to lord Orford, dated Sept. 16th, 1743, see chap. i. p. 96, and see also Introduction, sect. vi. p. 76.

‡ Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 504.

Not discouraged by this failure, the Opposition raised another charge against the obnoxious Treaty of Worms. When the Sardinian subsidy came into consideration, in the committee of supply, on the 1st of February, a motion was made, for the production of all papers relative to the Treaty of Worms, and to the defensive league with Prussia, in 1742. This motion being superseded, Mr. Pelham moved a resolution, in conformity with the order of the day, "That a sum not exceeding £.200,000, be granted to his Majesty, to make good his engagements with the king of Sardinia, pursuant to treaty." The last expression, "pursuant to treaty," was instantly denounced by the Opposition, as implying a parliamentary approbation of the Treaty of Worms, which had not been examined, and which they could prove to be deserving of censure. They did not, however, divide the House; but when the report of the committee was presented, the discussion was renewed, by a motion on the part of Opposition, for the introduction of several amendments in the original motion, to the following effect: "That a sum not exceeding £.200,000 be granted to his Majesty, *towards enabling his Majesty to perform such engagements with other powers, as his Majesty judges necessary, for the support of the House of Austria, and for restoring the balance of power in Europe.*" In justification of these amendments, the members of Opposition observed, that as they deemed the king of Sardinia an useful ally, they did not object to the subsidy, provided it were granted, like that in the last session, as a free-will offering of the British nation. But they could by no means consent to give it, on the footing of the treaty; for, it was their opinion, that the eighth article engaged England to pay to that prince a very large sum, for too indefinite a time, expressed also in terms never before employed in treaties of subsidy, namely, "as long as the war, or the necessity should last." Who could tell how long he would interpret that necessity to continue? And they presumed, not only that he would make himself judge of the necessity, but that when once the House of Commons had granted the money, in pursuance of the treaty, they would be deprived of the opportunity of debating annually, how far it was proper to vote it, for the current year, and must continue to grant it, right or wrong, till the end of the war. They also repeated their apprehensions, that the question, if attentively considered, carried with it an indirect approbation of every part of the treaty, to which the words, "of enabling the king to make good his engagements in pursuance of it," might be referred. Thus Parliament, without entering into a mature examination of the affair, would be understood to give a sanction to the extraordinary article about Finale, which was, if it had a meaning, the highest injustice, and if it had none, the grossest absurdity, and by which the nation would be placed under the unreasonable necessity, of not accepting peace or truce, till the king of Sardinia's acquisitions were confirmed to him by the enemy.

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* Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 473. Journals of the Commons.

To obviate these arguments, the ministerial party intreated the House, to consider the consequences of acceding to the amendments. In the first place, it would be, as far as in them lay, advising the king to break the treaty, though it was never customary for them to take such a step, until after a mature and solemn inquiry. 2ndly. The king of Sardinia would look upon himself, as reduced to the same uncertainty as before. It was also urged, that the House of Commons might grant him the money this year; and, though the circumstances of affairs were just the same, refuse it him the next. How, it was asked, would he relish this, after he had in person repelled the united attacks of France and Spain, and was preparing to resist the greater efforts, which those two powers, incensed to the last degree at his joining with us, yet willing to gain him at any price, were preparing against him? Certainly, he must resent this usage, as a breach of faith on our part, when he had acted in pursuance of a treaty, which, he had every reason to conclude, was equally binding upon all the contracting parties.

In contradiction to the first amendment proposed, the friends of government moved, that the words, "to make good," should stand part of the original resolution; and this motion was carried in the affirmative by 167 against 125. All the other amendments were negatived, and the original resolution was adopted.*

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* Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard's Parl Hist. vol. xiii. p. 636. Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 636.

On the same day, the second reading of the resolution, granting the subsidy of £.300,000 to the queen of Hungary, was moved, notwithstanding the violent invectives against this grant, and although insinuations had been thrown out, during the discussion of the Sardinian subsidy, that this sum was intended, principally, as a compensation to the queen of Hungary, for her cessions to that monarch. But, as the obnoxious words, "as long as the necessity of her affairs should require," had been expunged from the Explanatory Convention with Austria, it passed without debate or division, and was afterwards finally granted.

Other important debates occurred, on. the grants proposed for the army extraordinaries. The first item which provoked a discussion, was the payment of £.40,000 to the duke of Aremberg, to enable him to put the Austrian troops, under his command, in motion, in the year 1742; the allowance of that sum being questioned, as exceeding the grant appropriated by parliament, in aid of the queen of Hungary. Mr. Lyttelton argued, that the payment would be a dangerous misapplication of the public money, in violation of the rights of parliament; and after complaining of the insult offered to the House, by the delay of the communication, he stigmatized the procedure, as an exertion of prerogative, no less obnoxious, than the arbitrary levy of ship-money, in the reign of Charles I.

Mr. George Grenville, in the same strain of censure, complimented the late ministry at the expense of the present, whom he charged with still greater disregard for the rights of the House, than their immediate predecessors. He hinted also, that a schism existed in the cabinet; and declared, that one part of the ministry endeavoured to make their court, by insidiously favouring the extravagant and unjustifiable schemes of the other. But the person, who most vehemently reproached the Pelhams, with subserviency to lord Carteret, was Mr. Pitt. Abandoning his former distinction, between what he called the amiable and the odious party in the cabinet, he involved the whole in the same censure, and bitterly complained, that the country was now domineered by a prerogative administration. In support of this charge, he commented with great severity, on the abruptness of the late prorogation of parliament, before the secret committee had finished their report; on the silence of the Crown respecting an address for the communication of the Dutch papers; on the employment of the Hanoverian troops; and on the present arbitrary liquidation of the £.40,000.

The ministerial party defended the payment of this sum, on the general principle of expediency; and argued, that the doctrine maintained by the Opposition was indefensible, since public business could in no way be conducted, if the previous consent of parliament were requisite for every grant, however necessary. They contended also, that the right of parliament was recognized, in the very reference now made to its decision; and adduced, among other precedents, a similar payment of £.40,000 to the duke of Savoy, by lord Godolphin, as minister of queen Anne.

Mr. Pelham, in particular, ably vindicated his own conduct, and that of the administration. The king having engaged in the war, with the cordial consent of his parliament and people, to maintain the national welfare, he argued, that every proper measure should be adopted, for bringing the contest to a speedy and prosperous issue. He also, with great dignity, repelled the imputation of ministerial subserviency. "Contention for power," he declared, "is my mortal aversion; and it is equally detested, by those with whom I am connected. While we continue in office, we have no other object in view, but to manifest our zeal for the promotion of his Majesty's service, in the way that shall be most for his advantage, and for the ease and benefit of the nation." He concluded, by adroitly censuring the conduct of the more violent party in Opposition. "If those," said he, "who were desirous of preserving peace, had not been overpowered by popular clamour, and driven into a war, by the very men, who are now anxious to shackle the operations of government, the country would not, at this period, have been exposed to so much danger, or surrounded with so many difficulties."

The previous question, which had been moved by Mr. Pelham, was carried by 232 against 144.*

Employing another stratagem of parliamentary tactics, the Opposition now laboured to retard the consideration of the whole question, relative to the army extraordinaries. They were again defeated; and, notwithstanding their protests against undue precipitancy, in so momentous a proceeding, the whole grant, amounting to £.524,000, received the sanction of the committee, on the same evening, without even the formality of a division.

Renewing their attack, on the following day, when the report was brought up, they scrutinized all the items, as obscure and unintelligible; and laboured with great perseverance, to fix on the administration, a charge of neglect and extravagance, in which they were again unsuccessful.*

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* Journals of the Commons, Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 677.

On the 10th of April, the question relating to the £.40,000 was revived by Mr. Lyttelton, and warmly discussed by both parties, on the same general principles. The purpose of the Opposition, as on the former occasion, was to pass a vote of censure on the grant, as a dangerous misapplication of the public money, and as an infringement of the rights of parliament.

On this occasion, Mr. Pelham distinguished himself, by the mode in which he stated the question, and by the arguments with which he justified the grant.

"The charge now made," he observed, "is criminal in the highest degree, and therefore should, by no means, be entertained, without strong and indisputable proof. I will venture to affirm, that in every year of the last war, proceedings equally irregular took place, and passed without censure. For my own part, I think that the warrant of the commander-in-chief, is sufficient authority for me to act upon; and I appeal to the House, whether those who direct the army, are not better judges of the necessity of the case, than those who manage the finances." Resuming his former train of argument, he continued, "Although parliament did not specifically pass any vote for this service, yet the expense was incurred, in pursuing the great object, recommended by both Houses to the throne, and in doing that, which, if neglected, would have arrested in its progress the arduous work, which has already involved this country in so much expense. This payment was necessary to put the Austrians in motion; and it is quite irrelevant to inquire, whether the object, for which it was first paid, was or was not kept in view, when the last payment was made. The important question is, whether without it they could or could not have marched." He produced precedents from the Auditor's office, to shew that the allowance from the Treasury was correct in point of form, provided the grant was justifiable; and skilfully turned against the Opposition, an argument used by them on former occasions, when they contended, that, instead of proposing votes of credit, the ministry should make the requisite disbursements, and trust to the wisdom of parliament, for indemnification. "Conscious of my own good intentions," he concluded, "I sit down, as contented as ever I did in my life; and, let this question be determined how it may, I shall cheerfully submit to the judgment of my country." This candid speech produced a due effect; and, instead of passing the proposed vote of censure, the House, by a majority of 259 against 145, approved an amendment, declaring the grant to be "necessary, for putting the Austrian troops in motion, and of great consequence to the common cause."*

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* Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 680.

These repeated failures of Opposition, proved the increasing popularity of Mr. Pelham; and the triumphant majority, in favour of this amendment to their motion, convinced them, that such attacks tended only to lower them in public estimation. They therefore abstained from introducing many questions, which they still held in reserve; and made no farther attempt to embarrass, by vexatious inquiries, the financial department of administration.

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* Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard's History, vol. xiii. p. 698.

CHAPTER IV.

1744.

Failure of the attempt of the French to invade England—Message to Parliament—Debate on the subject—On the arrest of Lord Barrymore—On the bill for the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Mutual Declaration of War between England and France—King's Speech on the occasion—Debate on the Bill, for attaching the penalties of High Treason, to a correspondence with the Pretender, or his Family. Increasing influence of Mr. Pelham—Votes for the Service of the Year—Proposed Tax on Sugar—Judicious conduct of Mr. Pelham, in the discussion of that question—Commercial and Financial regulations—Close of the Session.

DURING the discussions relative to measures of finance and of foreign policy, other subjects of high import occupied the attention of parliament.

The contest, in which England and France had originally engaged as auxiliaries, now assumed a character likely to place them in direct hostility with each other. The unpopularity of the king, the odium excited among his British subjects against the Hanoverians, and the angry disputes in parliament, had been construed by the French court into symptoms of general disaffection, highly favourable to the execution of a project for restoring the Pretender, which might at all events involve the existing government in the greatest embarrassment. The scheme was zealously promoted by the Jacobites, who, consulting their hopes, rather than their judgment, described the country as ripe for revolt, and as fully prepared to espouse the cause of the Stuarts.

Actuated by these motives, the French government equipped a fleet at Brest, collected numerous transports in the harbours of the channel, and assembled an army of fifteen thousand men, in the adjacent provinces, which was to be placed under the command of Marshal Saxe. As the age and infirmities of the Pretender, precluded him from taking a personal share in the enterprise, the invitation was transferred to his eldest son, Charles Edward, whose youthful ardour and prepossessing manners, apparently qualified him to act a brilliant and important part, towards the recovery of his forfeited inheritance. That prince, having travelled in the utmost secrecy from Italy, was graciously, though privately welcomed at Paris, by the king, and afterwards departed, incognito, for the army assembled on the coast. In coöperation with the meditated descent, the Brest squadron, amounting to twenty sail of the line, besides frigates, passed up the channel, early in February, to the surprise and alarm of the English nation.

As soon as the movements of the enemy were known, defensive measures were adopted; troops were dispatched, by forced marches, to different points of the southern coast; and application was made to the Dutch government, requiring the six thousand auxiliaries, which were stipulated by treaty, to be sent to the aid of England, in case of an invasion.* Such was the spirit of loyalty excited throughout the nation, that persons of all ranks hastened to offer their services; and, among the foremost, were lord Stair, and the duke of Marlborough, the first of whom was immediately appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in England. Sir John Norris was intrusted with the command of a considerable fleet, which had assembled at Spithead; and, sailing to the Downs, was joined by another squadron from Chatham.

In the mean time, the French fleet proceeded up the channel; and perceiving no appearance of an opposing force, anchored off Dungeness, to cover the debarkation of the troops. Eight thousand men were already on board; and Marshal Saxe, with the young Pretender, had approached within view of the English coast, when a sudden storm damaged some of the ships of war, dispersed the transports, drove many on shore, and thus prevented the intended descent.

This providential delay afforded time for the British admiral to approach the threatened point. Tiding round the South Foreland, on the 23rd of February, he drew near the French fleet, which being of inferior force, and much damaged by the storm, seemed to be reduced to a condition, in which defence was hopeless, and escape difficult. Considering the state of the tide, however, and the approach of night, Sir John Norris, with the hesitation natural to advanced age, deferred the attack, until the ensuing morning. At day-break, he perceived his error; for the hostile fleet, having weighed anchor during the night, was in full flight homewards, under a strong gale; and, after a fruitless chase, the British admiral returned to the Downs, if not with disgrace, at least without honour.

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* It was stipulated in the perpetual league between England and Holland, and confirmed by the treaties of 1716, and 1728, that the States General should send six thousand troops to Great Britain, whenever she was attacked.

This sudden enterprise of the enemy, though frustrated before the British nation was well aware of the danger, produced a deep impression, and excited much serious discussion in parliament.

On the 15th of February, a message from the king was communicated to both Houses, announcing the receipt of undoubted intelligence, that the eldest son of the Pretender had arrived in France, where preparations, concerted with disaffected persons in England, were in progress for the invasion of this kingdom; and that the attempt was to be aided by the French squadron, which had been cruizing for some days in the channel. The message concluded with the usual request for assistance and support.

In times of extreme danger, the solemn appeal of the sovereign has generally called forth an unanimous determination to rally round the throne; but, such was the state of parties, at this period, that the royal message was converted by the Opposition, into a theme of captious complaint.

Among the Peers, indeed, no dissentient voice was heard, except that of lord Chesterfield; and even his resistance was so far discountenanced by his friends, that a loyal address, moved by the duke of Marlborough, was voted almost by acclamation. It conveyed the strongest assurances of assistance, for defeating so insolent and desperate an attempt, to invade this kingdom, in concert with disaffected persons here; and of a zealous determination to preserve his Majesty's person and government, and to defend the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom.*

In the Commons, a similar address being moved by the marquis of Hartington, the spirit of opposition was manifested, in an amendment, proposed by Mr. Waller, for inserting an additional clause, "to assure his Majesty, that this House will enter into a serious consideration of the disposition and state of the naval force of this kingdom, as also of the times of fitting out, and sailing, of the French fleet." This amendment was supported, by the most ardent speakers in Opposition. Sir James Dashwood, in particular, drew a parallel between the existing circumstances of the country, and those which occasioned the Revolution of 1688, in order to convey a reproach on the character and conduct of the king. "It was no wonder," he observed, "that the people were then unwilling to support the government, when a weak narrow-minded prince occupied the throne, when a great part of the nation was proscribed, and driven into disaffection, and when daily encroachments were made on the constitution." Enforcing these indecorous allusions by a citation from Livy, he commended the Roman people, for refusing to march against foreign invaders, before they had destroyed the decemvirate.

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* Journals of the Lords.

Mr. Pitt defended the amendment, as consistent with the unquestionable privilege of the House, to offer their opinion and advice to the Crown; though he declared, that if it were negatived, he would still cordially vote for the address. He objected to the word "disaffected," adopted from the royal message, as imprudent, and calculated to encourage the enemy, if true; and, if false, as unworthy of the dignity of the Crown, which was the fountain of truth.

The servants and friends of government, exerted themselves with great force and effect. Mr. Pelham judiciously endeavoured to soothe the Opposition, by deprecating the indulgence of party-feelings, in the performance of a simple act of duty to the throne; and explained the term disaffected, as applying only to a few desperate individuals, and not to whole bodies of men. Notwithstanding this appeal to their good sense, the point was pressed to a division; and in a House of 410 members, 123 were found in the factious minority. After this struggle, the Opposition did not venture to resist a proposal, for concurring in the address of the Lords, which had been sent down during the debate.*

The members of Opposition, however, still affected to throw doubt on the intended invasion; and, with a view to weaken the effect of the advice, communicated to government, lord Barrington on the 20th moved an address to his Majesty, praying for an account of all the intelligence that had been received, concerning the fitting-out and sailing of any of the French fleets, since the 10th of April preceding. He was supported by Dodington and Waller. Mr. Pelham, in opposing the motion, strenuously contended for the truth of the intelligence, and asserted that the danger was far from having subsided. He therefore deemed it unadvisable to demand communications, which would only tend to disclose the channels of our secret correspondence, and compromise the persons from whom important information was obtained. The event, he added, would prove that the alarm was well-founded; and he could confidently declare, that the ministers, who recommended the royal message, would, at the proper season, fully justify their conduct. This absurd and factious motion was therefore negatived, by 234 against 141.*

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* Journal of the Lords and Commons. Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 645.

On the 24th of February, the duke of Newcastle communicated to the Peers, the papers to which his Majesty had alluded, in his message of the 15th. These contained extracts from his Grace's correspondence with the English chargé d'affaires at Paris, and the information on oath, of captain Alexander Ridley, master of one of his Majesty's packet boats at Dover, that the French fleet had sailed from Rochefort, towards the English coast. In consequence of this communication, a loyal address of thanks, joined with assurances of support, was unanimously voted.†

Even in the Commons, when, by the command of his Majesty, Mr. Pelham submitted copies of those papers to the consideration of the House, they excited no animadversion, except from admiral Vernon and Sir John Philips. Mr. Pitt took the more liberal and manly course, of declaring that every precaution ought to be adopted, without yielding to any needless fear of the enemy; and that if confidence were ever to be reposed in ministers, it must be at a crisis like the present.‡

Mr. Pelham, congratulating himself on such support, agreed with Mr. Pitt, in pronouncing any minister as criminal, who should advise the king to exercise the royal functions, otherwise than for the necessary defence of the nation. Adverting to the perfidy of France, in espousing the cause of a vagabond prince, whom we had so often renounced, he expressed his hope, that even the adherents, whom that adventurer might expect to find here, would at last be reclaimed, if not by reason, and the mildness of the government, yet by their own experience of the ill fortune that attended all enterprises in his behalf. He trusted, however, that the insolent designs of France would rouse the spirit of the nation, and that, under Divine Providence, the gallant efforts of our fleets and armies would overwhelm them with confusion and disgrace.

The customary vote of thanks was then passed, with the single opposition of Sir John Philips; but it was remarked by an attentive observer, that if the Tories offered no objection to the assurances of support and attachment to the

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* Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 651.

† Journals of the Lords.

‡ Yorke's Parliamentary Journal in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 666.

Crown, they did not hesitate to treat the dangers of the country with indifference and ridicule.*

In conjunction with the Jacobites, however, the Tories ventured to disclose their real sentiments, on questions in which the safety of the country was less directly concerned. Colonel Cecil, long known as the chief agent of the Jacobite correspondence, had been arrested during the first alarm of invasion; and on his person were found papers implicating lord Barrymore, whose exertions in the cause of the Stuarts, had formerly led to his detention. As this nobleman was a member of the Lower House, the usual notice of his arrest was given by Mr. Pelham, on the 28th, and an address of thanks moved, approving the measure, and praying that his Majesty would cause him to be detained and secured.

This motion was strenuously opposed by Sir Watkin Lewes, Sir John Hinde Cotton, Sir John Philips, and other violent members of the party; but the more liberal part of the Opposition, especially Mr. Pitt, again vindicated the conduct of government, and the address passed without a division.

On the same day, a bill was introduced by the attorney-general, for suspending the Habeas Corpus act, during two months, that the Crown might be invested with powers, adequate to so perilous an emergency. The motion was ably seconded by the solicitor-general, who commended the liberality of government, in limiting the suspension to so short a period, that no unnecessary restraint might be imposed, on the liberties of the subject.

This remark elicited from Mr. George Grenville, a speech of unusual asperity. He declaimed on the danger of submitting the national freedom to an incensed mal-administration, on every pretended necessity; and argued, that the alarm of invasion was raised, on the mere hearsay of the master of a packet-boat. "France," he added, "intends to terrify, not to invade us; and shall a petty suspicion of ministers induce us to suspend the palladium of our liberties, even for a single day? This bill is proposed, merely to maintain the credit of that seemingly groundless clause, in his Majesty's message, which relates to a concert with the disaffected. If this bill should pass, I can only imitate that senator of Denmark,† who, on the surrender of her liberties, prayed that his royal master might be blest with moderation, in exercising the unlimited power placed in his hands."

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* Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 666.

† Alluding to the Revolution effected by Frederick III, in 1660, when the crown of Denmark

In reply to this invective, Mr. Pelham denied that the apprehensions of danger had been founded on hearsay evidence. "On the contrary," he added, "concurrent advices prove, that France designs an invasion of this country, and these advices are confirmed, by the vague answer given to the inquiry, made by our minister at that court, relative to her hostile preparations. It may be alleged, that ministers were slow in adopting this measure; but the delay is, at least, a proof of the pressing reasons, which have now compelled them to bring it forward. In limiting the suspension, they evince their reluctance to excite jealousy in the people; but, on the other hand, their conduct would be inexcusable, if, from dread of temporary clamour, they should neglect so necessary a precaution, until dangers pressed on all sides."

On the following day, when the bill was read a second time, lord Barrington moved, that it should be committed, at the expiration of a week. This stratagem was ill received; for even Waller absented himself, and Pitt and Lyttelton contemptuously quitted the House, while lord Barrington was speaking. The motion was rejected by 181 against 83; and the bill encountered no farther obstruction; for, in its progress through the House of Peers, even lord Chesterfield admitted, that there was no disposition to oppose it, and applauded the limitation of the enactment, to so short a period.*

The proclamation of hostilities against France, on the 31st of March, in consequence of a declaration of war, issued on the 20th, by France against England, created still less diversity of opinion.

On the 3rd of April, the king went in state to the House of Peers, and communicated to parliament his motives for having recourse to arms, in a speech, remarkable for that candour and moderation, which distinguished the policy of Mr. Pelham.

After announcing that the preparations for invasion, so long carried on by France, had at length been followed by a declaration of war, his Majesty observed, that the affectionate zeal of parliament, and the well-approved loyalty of all his subjects, served as safeguards against the designs of his enemies, while they afforded him the fairest prospect of success in the war. Conscious of the rectitude of his measures, for preserving the liberties of Europe, and protecting the interests of his people, he had resented the injuries offered to him, by declaring war against the French king; and had

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was declared absolute. For an account of this Revolution, see my Travels in Poland, Denmark, &c. book ix. chap. 2.

* Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 671.

called upon his allies, especially the States General, to fulfil their engagements, on this important occasion. He thanked the Commons for the large supplies, granted on terms so advantageous to the public, even amidst the agitation caused by the menace of invasion; and expressed his conviction, that the same zeal would be shewn, in providing all farther means, for supporting the honour of his Crown, and maintaining the security of his people. He concluded with a spirited appeal, to both branches of the legislature.

"My lords and gentlemen; in so just a cause, I rely on the divine protection, and on your vigorous and effectual assistance. Let the enemies of our peace, who have long aspired at the universal monarchy of Europe, and envied the liberty and flourishing condition of my kingdoms in particular, see that Great Britain, in conjunction with her allies, is able to withstand and defeat their destructive projects. I will do my part; I have no interest at heart but yours; and in that common interest let us all unite."

This speech was answered by loyal addresses, unanimously voted in both Houses. But in the Commons, the Opposition described their concurrence, as a necessary expression of loyalty, reserving their right of inquiry into the management of the national strength and finances, the cause of the war, and the mode in which it was conducted. Some, who could discern no weightier objection, applauded the omission of the word "disaffected" in the present speech; some still treated the alarm of invasion as imaginary; while others even blamed the application for the Dutch troops, as indicating a distrust of the national force.

Mr. Pitt again seemed anxious to conciliate Mr. Pelham, by reprobating the insolent language of the French declaration; while he doomed lord Carteret to perdition, as the author of measures, which had produced a war so desperate.

An examination of the laws against treasonable correspondence having been instituted, in consequence of the recent attempt at invasion, the existing provisions were found so imperfect, that no punishment could be legally inflicted, for such a correspondence, with the sons or descendants of the Pretender. Accordingly, a bill was introduced, to remedy the defect, by Mr. Fazakerley, an eminent lawyer, and one of the leaders of the Opposition. No material discussion occurred in the Commons; but when the bill was introduced into the Upper House, on the 27th of April, two clauses were proposed by the lord chancellor, as amendments; one, to attaint the sons of the Pretender, in case they should attempt to land, and the other, to extend the attainder and corruption of blood, to the children of those who should be convicted under the act.

The first of these clauses was unanimously agreed to; but the second was most strenuously resisted by the duke of Bedford, lord Chesterfield, and others, as tending to impose a cruel punishment on children, for the offences of their parents. It was, however, defended with great ability, by the lord chancellor, lord Bathurst, the bishop of Oxford, lord Carteret, and the duke of Newcastle, who contended, that it was no less just than necessary, and would most effectually deter the parents themselves from acts of rebellion. The bill, with these amendments, was returned, on the 3rd of May, to the Commons, and submitted to the consideration of the House, by the attorney-general. The first clause was agreed to; but the second gave rise to an animated discussion, in the course of which, Mr. Fazakerley denounced it, as one of the most pernicious and unconstitutional provisions ever devised. His opinion was warmly supported by Mr. Pitt, lord Strange, and the earl of Egmont. Mr. Pelham took no share in the debate, but supported the motion with all his influence; and it was finally carried by 185 against 106.

The topics discussed during this session, created an alarming ferment in the country; and nothing but the talents and influence of the minister of finance, could have balanced the odium incurred by lord Carteret, or mitigated the discontent, created by the foreign partialities imputed to the king.

In commencing his financial career, Mr. Pelham encountered peculiar difficulties. From the accession of George I., to the end of 1739, the annual supplies, exclusive of the civil list, and interest on the national debt, did not, on an average, exceed three millions; in 1740, the first year of the Spanish war, they increased to five millions; and at the end of 1743, advanced to £.6,283,537, in consequence of the continental war. At this period, the national debt was £.51,040,347, exclusive of the unfunded debt, and the interest £.1,972,745. The extension of hostilities into Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, occasioned a considerable increase of the annual expenditure; and the new minister had not only to provide for a larger supply, than had been raised at any one time, during a period of thirty years, but to calculate on the demand for still ampler resources, as a necessary consequence of the progress of war on the continent.

In developing his financial measures, and explaining their scope and tendency, Mr. Pelham, in the opinion, even of his opponents, successfully emulated the perspicuity, order, and accuracy, which had been so much admired, in the statements of his friend and predecessor, Sir Robert Walpole.

His different proposals encountered little opposition; and his financial expedients for the year were readily sanctioned, except in one trifling instance, to which we particularly advert, as a proof of his discretion, in evading the snares of his opponents.

Lord Carteret, indignant at the mortifications which he had endured from the Pelhams, was anxious for an opportunity to create embarrassments in the department of the Treasury.* He calculated on being supported in the Lower House, by the friends of lord Bath, and on the advantages arising from the influence of the prince of Wales, whose hostility to the two brothers, had not been diminished, by the admission of some of his adherents into office. The opportunity, so long coveted, at length presented itself.

Among the Ways and Means, Mr. Pelham, on the 13th of February, proposed a tax of 2*s.* 6*d.* per hundred-weight on sugar, to provide eighty thousand pounds interest, on a loan of £.1,800,000 at three per cent. Against this impost, many plausible objections were offered, by persons interested in the West India trade, whose influence in the House of Commons was very considerable. It was observed, that the duty imposed, the preceding year, on molasses, had proved so detrimental, that several planters had emigrated to the Dutch colonies. Attempts were also made to prove, that the duty on molasses, and that now proposed, would add twenty eight per cent to the existing taxes; and, that though the retailers in this country would gain by raising the price, the planters would materially suffer.

For these reasons, Sir John Barnard proposed to raise the required sum, by appropriating the surplus of the gin duty, and by laying an additional tax on other spirituous liquors. After a vehement debate, Mr. Pelham could obtain only a majority of twenty-three in favour of his motion; nor, to use the words of Mr. Yorke, a friend and contemporary of the minister, "was the smallness of that majority a matter of surprise, to those who considered how many were, directly or indirectly, interested in the sugar trade." The friends of lord Sandys, the late chancellor of the Exchequer, did not evince any cordial disposition towards the proposed tax; but Mr. Pelham behaved with great candour, and declared, that it had been in agitation for some time, before he had the honour of presiding in the Treasury.

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* The conduct of lord Carteret is particularly noticed, in the Parliamentary Journal of Mr. Yorke, whose testimony cannot be questioned. See Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 655.

In a subsequent stage, the bill excited still stronger opposition. Lord Limerick moved that it should be recommitted, in order to substitute a tax of one penny per yard on foreign linens. This suggestion was calculated to gain the members interested in the Scottish and Irish manufactures, while it was likely to inflict a serious injury on the linen trade of Austria.

Mr. Pelham observed, that a tax on linen would not only provoke retaliation, on some vulnerable branches of our trade, but obstruct an advantageous treaty of commerce, then pending, with the queen of Hungary, who had engaged to concede various privileges to British subjects, provided no higher rates should be imposed, on the linens procured from her hereditary countries. The House of Austria, however, was too unpopular, to give due weight to such an argument; and on a division, Mr. Pelham was still more feebly supported than before, the vote for re-committal being carried against him, by 176 against 168.

Defeated in his own project, he adopted that of Sir John Barnard, as least exceptionable, in a conjuncture requiring peculiar dispatch. He stated the annual surplus of the gin duty at £.70,000, and hoped, that in the ensuing year, it would attain the amount required for the interest on the loan; but if there should be any deficiency, it might be supplied from the sinking fund. He avowed his readiness to adopt any suggestion, consistent with his duty, for producing union among the people; but earnestly deprecated the delay of a single hour, in settling a fund for the money to be raised, at a time when the country was threatened with an invasion in support of the Pretender.

Lord Limerick again enforced his own motion, and was supported by Mr. Pitt, as well as by Mr. Hume Campbell, who, however, expressed his readiness to acquiesce in the plan of Mr. Pelham, provided an inquiry were subsequently instituted, concerning the linen trade.

In agreeing to this condition, Mr. Pelham said: "At present I am by no means convinced that it would be proper to impose a duty on linen; but I shall be glad to have cause for altering my opinion; for, if I occupy this station another year, I shall thus be assured of an unexceptionable fund; and if not (which may perhaps be the case), it will in every situation be a gratification for me, to find the royal service facilitated." The proposal of the minister being warmly promoted by Sir John Barnard, and others of the mercantile interest, the Opposition were deterred from risking a division, on the appropriation of the surplus produce of the duty on gin; and thus the candour of Mr. Pelham contributed to raise him, both in the estimation of the country, and in the confidence of parliament.*

The financial arrangements for the year are briefly exhibited in the following table.†

SUPPLY.

Navy—Charge of 40,000 seamen, and 11,550 marines, freight of transports, victualling, &c.	£.2,521,086
Army—Charge of 19,028 men for home service, and 21,358 for Flanders. Ordnance, garrisons in the Plantations, in Gibraltar, and Minorca, &c. including £.524,023 for extraordinary charges in Flanders, unprovided for	2,531,357
Charge of 5,513 horse, and 10,755 foot, Hanoverians	393,773
Subsidy to the queen of Hungary	300,000
——— king of Sardinia	200,000
Vote of Credit for the payment of certain subsidies and other charges, on treaties made, or to be made, with his Majesty's allies, and other expenses for the service of the war, upon account	191,426
For maintaining the Forts on the coast of Africa	20,000
For Westminster Bridge	25,000
Repairing the churches of St. Peter and St. John, Westminster	8,000
Marriage portion of the princess of Denmark	40,000
Making good deficiencies, interest, &c.	256,244
	£.6,486,886

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land Tax of 4*s.* in the pound, deducting interest	£.1,970,598
Malt Tax, deducting interest	622,803
Advanced by the East India Company, interest payable from the surplus duties on low wines, &c.	1,000,000
Contribution, for the purchase of Annuities, interest payable from the surplus of the duties on gin and other spirituous liquors	1,200,000
Lottery, interest payable also from the surplus duties on gin and other spirituous liquors	600,000
From the Sinking Fund	1,000,000
Produce of the coinage, and imprest duty	36,000
	6,429,401
Balance	57,485
	£.6,486,886

If to this sum we add the civil list £.800,000, the surplus of the permanent taxes, transferred to the sinking fund, and £.1,972,745, the interest of the national debt, which was increased to £.51,043,347, we shall find that the supply raised within the year, amounted to nearly ten millions, which at this time was regarded as so large an amount, that Smollett calls it "a sum almost incredible, considering how much the kingdom had been already drained of its treasure." It is also highly creditable to the financial skill of Mr. Pelham, that he was able to provide for such extraordinaries, without imposing a single additional tax.

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* For an account of these two debates, see Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal in Hansard, vol. xiii. pp. 640, and 655. Journals of the Commons.

† From Postlethwayte's History of the Public Revenue.

In adverting to the subordinate regulations of the session, we assign the first place, to a bill for circumscribing the exclusive privileges of the Turkey Company, and opening the Levant trade to enterprising merchants of every description. The object of the measure was, to regain the national ascendancy over the French; and it was brought forward by Mr. Winnington, at the instance of numerous clothiers and manufacturers, whose interests were suffering, by the decline of British commerce in the Mediterranean. The preparatory discussions occupied so long a period, that the bill did not pass the House of Commons, until the beginning of May. In the Peers it encountered numerous opponents, at the head of whom was the duke of Bedford; and, being but faintly supported by the friends of government, it was thrown out by a motion for adjournment. It was, however, too consonant with the commercial policy of Mr. Pelham, to be easily abandoned; and we shall find, that it was subsequently passed, under his auspices.

Other laws were enacted, for preventing frauds in the introduction of foreign linens, and fraudulent applications for bounties, on exporting those of home manufacture. The cultivation of sugar in the American plantations, was encouraged by an act, permitting the exportation of it, direct, to foreign parts. The navigation act was modified, with respect to the importation of certain goods, the property of foreigners, in British ships, during the war. The police of the country was ameliorated, by improvements in the laws relating to vagabonds; and the parochial management of the poor was regulated, by compelling overseers to give public notice of rates, and by remedying some defects, in the celebrated act of the 43rd of Elizabeth, for the maintenance of paupers.

The session was closed on the 12th of May, by the king in person. After thanking both Houses for their zeal and affection, he observed, that the ambitious designs of France were manifested, by her warlike preparations on the side of the Netherlands. He then announced his determination to join with his allies, in disappointing these hostile designs, and exulted in the assurances he had received, of the cordial co-operation of the Dutch. After acknowledging the promptitude, with which the supplies had been granted, he concluded, by exhorting the members of both houses, to be vigilant in preserving the peace and good order of the kingdom, and to cultivate and encourage, among the people, a more than ordinary zeal for the maintenance and defence of our holy religion, and excellent constitution.

CHAPTER V.

1744.

Continuance of the feud in the Cabinet, and increasing animosity between Lord Carteret and the Pelhams—Negotiations with the Dutch, and preparations for the campaign—Progress of the French in the Netherlands, counteracted by the invasion of Alsace under Prince Charles—Inefficient operations of the Allies—Illness of the King of France at Metz — The King of Prussia renews hostilities against the Queen of Hungary, enters Bohemia, makes himself master of Prague, and threatens Vienna—Maria Theresa retires into Hungary—Prince Charles withdraws from Alsace, and hastens to the defence of Austria—The empire subjected to the control of France and Prussia—Unfavourable aspect of affairs in Italy—The war unpopular in England—The Pelhams renew their attempts against Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville—Means by which they obliged the King to dismiss his favourite minister—Arrangements for the New Administration—Lord Harrington appointed Secretary of State.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Pelham exercised the office of prime minister, his authority could not be considered otherwise than as precarious, while lord Carteret possessed, in a superior degree, the favour of the king. It was evident that another crisis was approaching, which would decide, to what hand the helm of government should finally be consigned.

The question concerning the electoral troops, had been compromised; but a new dispute arose, respecting the part which the Dutch might be expected to take, on the declaration of war against England, by France. With the caution ever inherent in their councils, and now augmented by the anxieties arising from their financial distress, the States deliberated how they might avoid embarking in the war, as principals, though they complied with the demand of succours to resist the invasion of England, and not only furnished subsidies, but sent auxiliaries to the armies of the queen of Hungary, in Germany, and in the Netherlands. The voice of the English people, however, loudly claimed the direct cooperation of the Dutch; and this principle was advocated by the Pelhams. But the king and lord Carteret were apprehensive, that it might lead to a counter-demand on his Majesty, as elector of Hanover, to engage likewise as a principal in the war. The Pelhams at length, so far prevailed, as to obtain the permission of the king, for an explicit overture to the Republic, without the previous consent of lord Carteret.

The means by which they accomplished this strongly contested measure, are detailed in a letter from the duke of Newcastle, to the Chancellor.

"My Dear Lord, "*Newcastle House, May* 17*th*, 1744.

"I did not think of troubling you with a letter; and should not have done it, if it were not to send you some news, that, I am persuaded, will be agreeable to you. Notwithstanding the altercations that happened in our last meeting, before you went out of town, upon the subject of the papers that I had prepared, I have at last settled it, with some variations, upon the plan of the first draught; and I have also prepared the draught of an answer to be returned in writing, to M. Boetslaar,* which is formed entirely upon that paper, and which my lord Harrington and my brother, entirely approve. The purport of it is, 'to express to M. Boetslaar, the king's satisfaction at his mission, and attention to his representations; that his Majesty had ordered to be put into writing a sketch of the conditions, upon which he thought a peace might be made, and also a plan for carrying on the war, which now seems unavoidable.'

"What relates to the conditions of peace, is comprised in the eight articles, as they stood in the first draught, which your lordship has seen, 'that if these terms could be now obtained, the king would be disposed to agree to them. And if, hereafter, better conditions could be procured, his Majesty would always concert with the Republic, when, and in what manner, to put an end to the war. That, at present, it is absolutely necessary to settle the measures for carrying it on; that he (Boetslaar) cannot be ignorant of the efforts his Majesty is making this year, at an immense expense, for subsidies, fleets, and troops, in different parts; that the motions of the enemy make it necessary to provide, in all events, for the defence of the Low Countries. That the king thinks a commander-in-chief should be appointed over the whole army, and therefore has renewed his instances at the court of Vienna, that prince Charles may take that command. That the whole army should be blended into one mass, and an impartial roll of duty established. That his Majesty gave orders for the army to advance towards the frontiers, but if the operations of the enemy made that unadvisable, his Majesty, however, thought, as great an army as possible should be got together. That, as it is inferior to the enemy in number, the first consideration must be to augment it. That the king sees no way of doing that immediately, but by the States sending as great a part of the second corps of twenty thousand men, proposed to be kept within the dominions of the Republic, as can possibly be spared, to reinforce the army in Flanders, which the king hoped they would do, without loss of time. That his Majesty has it at present under consideration, in what manner he may be able to send a farther succour into the Low Countries. That his Majesty thinks, the queen of Hungary's whole army, under Traun, should march down the Rhine, and try to make a powerful diversion, by penetrating by the Moselle, or the Saar, into the French territory. That the king had ordered a proposal for making a descent on the French coast (viz. lord Stair's project) to be delivered to M. Boetslaar, for the consideration of the Dutch ministers; and, if they shall approve it, and agree that the six thousand Dutch troops now in England shall be employed in it, his Majesty will give orders for carrying it into execution. If not, the king will consent that those troops should immediately leave England (which Boetslaar has had orders to demand in form), and be sent to reinforce the army in Flanders. That the king thought, a treaty should be made between his Majesty, the queen of Hungary, the king of Sardinia, and the States General, to which any other powers might accede, declaring the causes and views of the war, and ascertaining the contingents to be furnished by each of the contracting powers. That M. Boetslaar is desired to communicate these his Majesty's sentiments, to such of the Dutch ministers, whose prudence and secrecy he can depend upon; but that great care should be taken, that they may not transpire.'

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* Dutch Envoy.

"This is the substance of the paper, as it now stands; and I hope, and believe, it will have your lordship's approbation. But, what will both surprise and please you, is to follow. I had yesterday an opportunity of seeing the king alone, when I took an occasion from the last Dutch letters, which are extremely bad (the Pensionary having expressed to Mr. Trevor, the utmost uneasiness and apprehension for the immediate danger of Flanders, and seeming to lay the whole blame upon us, for want of concert, and of a plan), to talk very fully to his Majesty; which I did, upon the principles, and, as well as I could remember, in the very words, of the paper, that had been settled amongst us. The king was pleased entirely to approve of the whole, without making the least objection, except what related to the garrison duty, for which some expedient must be found.

His Majesty directed me to let him have in writing, the heads of what I had opened to him; ordered me to take care that M. Boetslaar should be called to a conference, upon the foot I had proposed; and, upon the whole, expressed a great satisfaction in what I had laid before him. I have not yet talked to my lord Carteret upon this subject, but will do it to-day, and before I conclude this letter, will let you know, what shall have passed between us.

"I saw my lord Carteret this day at court. I acquainted him with what had passed with the king; he took it patiently, and seemed to acquiesce. I spoke to him in all our names, and told him, we had reduced our thoughts into writing, to avoid heats and altercations in discourse. We are to meet to-night at lord Harrington's, where I am to produce the paper, which is now singly confined to the answer which is to be given to M. Boetslaar, as above. Thus, this great affair seems to be going on glibly, if acquiescence is what we desire; and I must say to you, who are always good to me, that considering every thing that has passed, I think I have some merit in having brought it thus far; and thus far, so successfully.

"The French have, probably, long before this, laid siege to Menin. The Pensionary is in great pain about many of their towns in Flanders.

"I am just going to lord Harrington's; and am," &c.

This victory over lord Carteret increased his animosity; and frequent altercations arose between the two noble secretaries of state. On these occasions, the duke of Newcastle earnestly appealed to his friends, especially the lord chancellor, respecting the necessity of ejecting their rival. Lord Carteret was even once provoked to offer to the Pelhams, the alternative of taking upon themselves the whole conduct of foreign affairs, or of submitting to his control. Addressing both the brothers, he said, "Things cannot go on as they are; they must be brought to some decision. I will not submit to be overruled, and out-voted, on every point, by four to one. If you will take the government you may; if you cannot, or will not, there must be some direction, and I will do it." Resuming the subject next day, he observed, "There is anarchy in Holland, and anarchy at home. The first may be removed by a Stadtholder; but to remove the latter, things must be brought to an immediate decision."*

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* Memoirs of lord Walpole, vol. ii. chap. 26. Letter from the duke of Newcastle to lord Hardwicke, dated June 6th, 1744, *ibid.*

On another point the Pelhams were equally successful, though contrary to the wishes of the king. Remembering the advantages, enjoyed by their rival, from his personal attendance abroad, they opposed the royal wish, to pass the ensuing summer at Hanover; and, as the recent danger gave weight to their representations, his Majesty, though with much reluctance, relinquished his intention of going to the continent.

The defeat of the French invasion, and the confident anticipation of a successful campaign, from the immense preparations which were making in the spring, appeared to strengthen the influence of lord Carteret, and to justify his views in the prosecution of the war; while, on the other hand, the Pelhams were equally discouraged from risking any direct attempt to remove him.

In the middle of May, the allied forces took the field, in the vicinity of Asche; the Austrians, commanded by the duke of Aremberg, the British and Hanoverians, by marshal Wade, and the Dutch, by count Nassau; and sanguine hopes were entertained, that they would be sufficiently strong to resist the force collecting under marshal Saxe. But these hopes were disappointed. The army, which ought to have consisted of seventy-six thousand men, did not exceed fifty thousand, in consequence of the imperfect state of the Austrian and Dutch contingents. It was also greatly deficient in appointments, and its operations were paralyzed by the dissensions of the three commanders. On the other hand, the French could number 121,000 effective men,* including garrisons; and they brought into action no less than eighty thousand, well provided with artillery, and placed under the sole direction of an experienced and enterprising general. Marshal Saxe took the field at an early period; and the troops were animated by the presence of the king of France himself.

Weakly opposed by an adversary, inferior in numbers, and divided in counsels, the French general reduced Courtray, Menin, Ypres, Fort Knock, and Furnes, in less than six weeks, and spread the utmost alarm into Holland. But in the beginning of July, his efforts were checked by the sudden irruption of the Austrians into Alsace, under prince Charles of Lorraine.

Great preparations having been made, in all the Austrian dominions, during the winter and spring, for another invasion of France, we find, that in the month of May, prince Charles had collected a numerous army at Heilbronn on the Neckar; and, in the beginning of June, he was encamped at Ladenberg in the vicinity of Manheim. On the 1st of July, he suddenly departed from that place; and, by a skilful manœuvre, passed the Rhine above Philipsburg, in the very face of the enemy, with the greater part of his army, while another corps, under count Nadasti, crossed it at Weissenau, near Mentz. The two corps uniting, forced the lines of Spire, Germersheim, and Lauterberg; and occupied Haguenau and Saverne. Then, leaving the enemy in the rear, prince Charles, at the head of sixty thousand men, advanced farther into Alsace, compelling an inferior French army, led by the prince of Coigny, to retire under the walls of Strasburg. He next secured the passes of Lorraine, and pushing detachments as far as the Saar, and even to Luneville, prepared to carry his arms into the very heart of France.

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* In the London Magazine, the muster roll is stated at 130,000 men; in the field 121,000 effective men. See London Magazine for May, 1744.

To avert the threatened danger, the French king proceeded in person towards Alsace; and numerous reinforcements were sent to the prince of Coigny, by marshal Saxe, who was thus compelled to act on the defensive, his army being reduced to forty-five thousand men.

This was the moment for the allies to undertake some decisive achievement; as their forces had been increased, by the accession of Dutch and English troops, to sixty-five thousand men. Councils of war were summoned, and plans transmitted to the cabinet of England, for their approbation. Among other schemes, that of lord Stair was revived, for the siege of Dunkirk, and for the immediate invasion of France, on that side; but this appeared so chimerical, that the three generals, who differed almost on every other point, rejected it without hesitation. The next proposal, that of the duke of Aremberg, was, to send twenty thousand men, to enter France on the side of the Moselle, and make a diversion in favour of prince Charles, leaving a force, sufficient to act on the defensive, in Flanders; but this, being opposed by marshal Wade, and the Hanoverian and Dutch generals, was likewise abandoned. Another project, which obtained their concurrent approbation, was, to besiege Maubeuge, then weakly garrisoned; but this design was suspended, by the refusal of the Dutch to pay any part of the expense, attending the operation.*

The allied generals finally agreed, after much altercation, to attack the army of Marshal Saxe, which, though strongly covered in front by Courtray and the Lys, and on the right and in rear by the Heule, was yet open between Menin and Ypres. Accordingly, the whole army marched through Oudenarde to Tournay; and afterwards penetrated, by the causeway of Tournay, and other roads, to the plains of Lisle. There, however, they paused, and encamping in the vicinity of that fortress, reaped no other advantage from their movement, than that of levying a few contributions on the French territory.*

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* For an account of these dissensions and projects, the reader is referred to a curious letter, from the lord Chancellor to the duke of Newcastle, dated August 16, 1744, in the Illust. Corres.

In the midst of these vacillating proceedings, the king of France was seized, on the 8th of August, at Metz, with a dangerous disorder. In a few days he was reduced to an extremity, which spread general consternation, and increased the peril to which his kingdom was exposed, by the irruption of the Austrians. While the allied generals were holding councils of war, on the means of profiting by this critical event, and were animated with the hopes of greater successes, from the rapid progress of prince Charles of Lorraine; the sudden resumption of hostilities, by the king of Prussia, changed the fate of the war, and compelled them to relinquish all offensive operations in the Netherlands.

Alarmed for the safety of Silesia and Glatz, amidst these successes of the Austrian arms, Frederic had secretly taken measures with the court of Versailles and the emperor, for restoring the balance between the contending parties, and for averting the danger, with which France was menaced. Profiting, therefore, by the weak state of the forces in the hereditary dominions of the queen of Hungary, he issued a manifesto, in which he declared that he took arms, only to restore to the German empire its liberty, to the Emperor his dignity, and to Europe repose.†

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* Their inactivity was thus justly and severely ridiculed, by a pasquinade in the French Journals:—"On the 30th of July they (the allied forces) encamped within four or five miles of Lisle; on the 31st they lost a Scotch volunteer before it, and had a captain wounded and taken prisoner. They looked also for a field of battle, but by good providence no enemy was near. On the 1st instant they were put in fear, but, as it happened, danger was at a distance; on the 2nd they slept sound; on the 3rd the right wing foraged; on the 4th the whole army was reviewed; on the 5th they rested; on the 6th the left wing foraged; on the 7th did nothing; on the 8th relieved the free companies of Austrians at Lanoy, and received a trumpet from count Saxe, about the exchange of prisoners; on the 9th sent him back again; on the 10th the Hanoverians foraged, and had a gun fired at them from Lisle; on the 11th the Britons foraged, and had no gun fired at them; and the captain that was taken at Lisle, being exchanged, returned."—*Gent. Mag. for Aug.* 1744, vol. xiv.

† His manifesto, or declaration of war, is dated Berlin, Aug. 10, N. S., and his proclamation to his troops, Aug. 25, N. S. Memoirs of the House of Austria, chap. cv

Having detached an army of twenty-two thousand men into Moravia, to prevent the march of reinforcements from Hungary, he invaded Bohemia, with a force of sixty thousand men; reduced Prague on the 16th of September; and, after successively subduing Tabor, Budweis, and other principal fortresses, over-ran the whole kingdom, to the eastward of the Moldau. He then declared his resolution to join the French and Bavarians, and, with their united forces, to march to the reduction of Vienna, and the conquest of Austria.

This irruption into Bohemia, was followed by a similar invasion of Bavaria. The imperial troops, under Marshal Seckendorf, being separated from the French army, drew toward the sources of the Danube; and, after taking Donauwert, crossed that river at Leck, and with little difficulty recovered the greater part of the electoral dominions. On the 22nd of October, the emperor entered Munich in triumph, and being joined by a corps of ten thousand French, under count Segur, drove the Austrian army beyond the frontiers.*

In consequence of these disastrous events, Maria Theresa again retired into Hungary, to rouse her faithful subjects, in the defence of her capital, and the contiguous dominions. The movements of the king of Prussia, immediately caused the retreat of prince Charles from France, in the midst of his career of conquest. Towards the beginning of September, he recrossed the Rhine, in the very face of the enemy, and hastened, by rapid marches, through the heart of Germany, to the preservation of the Austrian monarchy. By his sudden retreat, the Brisgau was left at the mercy of France; and, before the close of the campaign, the conquest of the Austrian territory, in the circle of Suabia, was consolidated by the capture of Friedberg. By the return of their detachments from Alsace, the French acquired such a superiority in the Netherlands, that the allies, relinquishing all farther operations, retreated from the environs of Lisle,† to their strong position in the vicinity of the Scheldt, and soon afterwards withdrew into winter quarters.

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* Histoire de Mon Tems, ch. ix. Annales de Marie Thérèse. History of the House of Austria, chap. cv.

† We here submit to the reader a burlesque of the attempt against Lisle, in a farce, which was performed by a company of comedians from Paris. This and the former pasquinade were industriously published, in some of our English Journals, and helped to expose the conduct of lord Carteret, who had the principal management of the war. These people perform a humorous play, where Harlequin in scene 1, represents an English officer, whom Scaramouch asks, whither he is going? "To the siege of Lisle (answers he), which we shall take in five days." *Scar.*—"You have not a sufficient force." *Harl.*—"Don't mind that—one Englishman

Similar reverses befel the allied arms in Italy. Early in April, Don Philip, leaving a strong force to protect his recent conquest of Savoy, over-ran the county of Nice, with a French and Spanish army, and secured its principal fortresses. He then led his troops through the valley of Chateau Dauphin; carried its strong castle by assault; took Démont by storm, on the 17th of August; and, advancing towards Piedmont, laid siege to Coni, the outwork of Turin. On the 24th of September, the king of Sardinia hastening to its relief, was defeated with great slaughter; and, leaving the place to its fate, retired to defend his capital. Fortunately, the lateness of the season prevented the invasion of Piedmont; and, soon afterwards, the hostile army raised the siege of Coni, and repassed the Alps. Relieved from immediate danger, the king of Sardinia renewed his complaints against the queen of Hungary, for not fulfilling the treaty of Worms; and, under the pretext of asking advice, insinuated to the king of England his fears, that necessity would compel him to accept the overtures of France for an accommodation. It was, therefore, to be apprehended, that such a defection would be instantly followed by the loss of all the Austrian dominions in Lombardy.

In the east of Italy, the Austrians under prince Lobcowitz, who had succeeded general Traun in the command, drove the Spaniards from their strong position at Rimini, and followed them as far as Fronto, the boundary of the kingdom of Naples, with the most elevated hopes of ulterior success. But in this imminent crisis, the king of Naples broke his neutrality, and joined the Spaniards with his troops. The Austrians were now reduced to the defensive; and, after a gallant but unsuccessful engagement at Velletri,

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will beat five French. Huzza, boys." *Scar.*—"But where is your artillery?" *Harl.*—"Odd so! *(scratching his head)*, we have forgot it.—Let me think—it is at Ostend, or Antwerp, if it has escaped the late storm."—In the succeeding scenes, Harlequin appears, with the loss of both arms and one leg, but declares that he is still rising to preferment. Scaramouch asks him, in scene 4, what are you now? *Harl.*—"I have the pleasure to see myself a lieutenant-general—but must lament one thing; the French dogs whom we have beaten, have run away with all our horses." *Scar.*—"Very strange, indeed; supply yourselves from the Dutch and Hanoverians, for they dare not use them." In the last scene, Harlequin comes in without a head. *Scar.*—"What do you call yourself now, Monsieur?" *Harl.*—"I am general of the ——." (probably the British.) *Scar.*—"Indeed, Monsieur Harlequin, you have two wooden arms and one wooden leg; but you must have another qualification yet, that is, a wooden head."

retreated before a superior force, and with difficulty effected their march to the confines of the Milanese.

These disasters spread the utmost consternation in England, increased the unpopularity of lord Carteret, and encouraged the Pelhams to renew their efforts for his removal. The measures, progressively adopted for this purpose, are detailed in the letters, which passed between the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, and the lord Chancellor. In this correspondence, also, their embarrassed situation, the displeasure of the king, the melancholy state of foreign affairs, their opposition to his Majesty's continental policy, and their union for the great object in view, are strikingly displayed.

Lord Chancellor Hardwicke to the Duke of Newcastle.

"My Dear Lord, "*Powis House, Sunday Night, Aug.* 5-16, 1744.

"Though nothing very particular passed in my audience to-day, yet I would not go out of town, without acquainting your Grace with it. My first business was to ask leave to go out of town, which the king received with great civility, expressed some concern for my health, &c. I then told him, that I hoped he would, in the mean time, receive some good news from his army in Flanders, whose situation I was glad was so much changed for the better. His Majesty said "Yes, he believed they were thirty thousand men stronger than mareschal de Saxe; and, at least, they would live upon the enemy's country, and save some expense to the nation." I said "that was very necessary; but hoped such a superior force would procure still more advantageous consequences." His Majesty replied, "that was uncertain; and the great danger *now* was from the king of Prussia." I said, that I could not but hope, from his former conduct, that he would encamp and decamp, march and countermarch; but that it would be a good while before he would venture to commit any active hostility against the queen of Hungary, or her allies; and that he would be afraid to forfeit his guaranties for Silesia. To this the king said, "He does not value that of a farthing. Notwithstanding his secrecy, I know his design; he will march part of his army towards Prague, and another part into Bavaria. I wish Saxony could be assisted with a sum of money." To this I answered, "The king of Poland is already engaged to the queen of Hungary, by treaties just made; and is so essentially interested, both as king and elector, to prevent the king of Prussia from aggrandising himself on that side, that he can want no temptation, to induce him to do all he is able, to hinder it." The king replied, "All that is true, but he has no money; and what can he do without that?" I said, "He is a Prince of greater power, and riches too, than many others, that ask subsidies; and has hitherto been able to keep up an army of thirty thousand men." The king replied, "But he can't put them in motion, without a supply of money: they are maintained for little in their own country, in time of peace." Upon this, I took the liberty to say farther, that the large *additional subsidy*, which his Majesty had already granted to the queen of Hungary, was an *additional* reason against the practicability of this Saxon demand, and, I hoped, would enable the queen to do a great deal herself. The king made no reply, but pulled some papers out of his pocket; so I made my bow.

"I was willing to let your Grace know these circumstances, as probably something farther will be said about this affair, in the course of this week. I purpose to set out for Wimpole early to-morrow, and return on Friday evening; but, before that time, it will be impossible for me to finish my business, so that I cannot come back until then. After my return, I intend to stay till about the Thursday following."

The Duke of Newcastle to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.

"My Dear Lord, "*Whitehall, August* 8-19, 1744.

"Nothing but the utmost necessity should make me interrupt you in your retreat, or endeavour to bring you to town, a day sooner than you intended. But, I am persuaded, the critical situation of things, and your goodness and friendship to me, will not only engage you to excuse the trouble I give you, but to comply with my request. This morning, an express arrived from lord Hyndford, with the king of Prussia's printed manifesto, and declaration of hostilities, though not of war, against the queen of Hungary; and of his resolution to assist the emperor, as an auxiliary, as the Dutch do the queen of Hungary. He is marched with fifty thousand men into Bohemia, directly to Prague. He has applied to the court of Dresden, for their consent to pass through Saxony; which the regency have refused, under pretence, that they cannot do it, without the king's orders, who is at Warsaw. But the king has a letter from his electoral minister at Dresden, with an account, that the duke of Weissenfeld is assembling all the Saxon troops ;. and has declared, he will oppose their passage : and they reckon, they have thirty or forty thousand men in Saxony. But the king has told us to-day, that the king of Poland cannot put them into a condition to act without money, and that is the great point to be considered : to which my lord Carteret has appointed a meeting at my lord Harrington's, to-morrow, at seven o'clock in the evening.

"The king is at present very low, and consequently very complaisant ; confines all he says, to the present question, and the necessity of stopping the king of Prussia, which, he represents, can only be done by enabling the Saxons to oppose his passage, or to act against him. I was in, with my brother secretary, who scarce said a word till the king had done, and then expatiated upon the necessity of the measure, and the great and immediate consequences of it. I said little, as there was to be a meeting. I asked what condition the Saxons were in, to oppose the passage, when the king of Prussia's army might probably be at Dresden ;—thought the queen of Hungary, by the large subsidy lately given her, should, herself, do something to enable the Saxons ——* ; and concluded, that this was a measure in which the Dutch were as much, or more interested, than we : for, if prince Charles should be obliged to repass the Rhine, for the defence of the queen of Hungary's hereditary dominions (as has been suggested), Flanders and the interests of Holland, would be the first exposed ; which the king in some measure admitted ; and lord Carteret said, 'But something, however, must be proposed to Holland.'

"My brother had a longer audience, and entered more fully into the matter with the king ; shewed a disposition to do what should be necessary for the support of the common cause ; insisted upon the necessity of having the concurrence of Holland, that it might appear to be a British measure ; had several flings at lord Carteret's conduct and manner, without naming him ; to which the king replied, that all that might be true, but did not relate to the present question, which was the necessity of the thing.

"Upon the whole, my brother told him, that we would seriously consider it amongst ourselves ; and that the king's servants must tell him what they would, and would not do. And the discourse ended by the king's desiring my brother to support, in our conference, what he desired, and asked. Lord Harrington seems rather disposed, I think, upon proper conditions and stipulations, to come into the thing; especially if the Dutch will concur.

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* Something omitted, probably *to act* ; or the word *enable* may mean to strengthen.

"I think this is a point, which deserves the utmost consideration, and is attended with great difficulty; and therefore, I not only beg, and insist with your lordship, that you would come immediately to town, that we may have your opinion upon this point; but, as I find that my lord Harrington and my brother are of opinion, that we must now (and perhaps to-morrow) determine our resolution upon the great point, which has been so long depending, and which I think now is the only point which is worth giving an opinion about, (for, upon that depend all the rest), I have ventured to order a set of horses to be at the post-house at Ware, this night. My lord Harrington, and my brother, will dine with me at Newcastle House to-morrow; and we hope your lordship will be so good as to be there, without fail, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, that we may consult amongst ourselves, what is to be done, before we meet lord Carteret in the evening.

"My dear Lord; all considerations, public and private, make this the most critical conjuncture and question; and, therefore, I hope you will not refuse me to come to town; for, believe me in this, as in every thing, but more particularly in this, your opinion will have the greatest weight with me.

"P. S. I will send a messenger, to meet your lordship to-morrow at Ware, with the letters received to-day, if I can get them from lord Carteret."

Extract of a Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pelham.

"Dear Brother, "*August 25th*, 1744.

"I have reserved to the last, that which is the most disagreeable; I mean the present temper and behaviour of the king. His difficulties with regard to the engaging the elector of Saxony, are, in some measure, got over; and he knows what his servants will, and what they cannot do; so that he has nothing farther to expect from them. This has produced all the resentment that can be shewn, by manner, by looks, by harsh expressions, to those, and to me in particular, who, he thinks, have obstructed his views, and are actuated by principles, different from what is most agreeable to him; and that, in the presence of the person, who equally recommends himself, by the success, or the miscarriage of the measures, which the king wishes.

"The affair of the king of Prussia, though very falsely, is undoubtedly represented, to have been occasioned by the king's not entering into the separate negotiation last year, at Hanau*, which, you know, is laid to our charge;—the inaction of the army, and the disagreement of the generals, to the king's having been forced to stay at home;—and, perhaps, even the motions of the king of Prussia, to the miscarriage of the Saxon treaty. In short, whatever may be the causes, the king is now in more apparent ill-humour, after the things are partly over, than he was during the time of our opposition to the things that lord Carteret proposed. And, I think, I can see, by the air of the court and the courtiers, a greater shyness towards us, or at least towards me, than I have ever yet observed. I shall not be at all surprised, if you, or any of the rest of our friends, should find things otherwise. That, I take to be the play of our master; but he will soon see, that that will not succeed. Upon the whole, I am of opinion, that he thinks, at present, that he has nothing more to hope from us, and nothing to fear; that we will go on with his favourite lord Carteret, and he will use us accordingly.

"In this situation of things, I dare say you will not be surprised, at my repeating again, what I have often mentioned, that if any joint resolution can be taken by all our friends, to shew the king that he must chuse between the different parties in his administration, I shall leave the time of doing it to them; provided, that, in all events, it be some time before the meeting of the parliament. But, if nothing of that kind can be agreed upon, I must, and am determined to let the king know, that my having had the misfortune to differ, in some points, from lord Carteret, had, I found, made me so disagreeable to his Majesty, that, out of duty to him, and regard to myself, I must desire his leave to resign my employment; for, indeed, no man can bear long, what I go through every day, in our joint audiences in the closet."

Reply of Mr. Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle.

"DEAR BROTHER, "*Arlington Street, Sunday Night, Aug.* 26, 1744.

"I received both your letters, one at Tunbridge, and the other here. I am sorry to find you are so uneasy with the king's personal behaviour, and beg leave to assure you, that whatever you think proper to do, I shall join in, with great ease and satisfaction. My own opinion, you know, is, and always was, to take hold of some public measure, to bring about what you so much desire, on a private account; for I own to you, I am quite tired with the whole affair; no private comfort, nor no public end to be obtained, by going on; and by what I hear, likely to be dipped still farther in the mud, without any possibility of getting out with honour.

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* Alluding to the convention, arranged at Hanau with the emperor, which was rejected by the ministers in England.

"I was at court to-day, and designed to have gone in, to the king, after the drawing-room was over; but, as lord Carteret went in, and as I saw nothing particular in his Majesty's countenance to make me over forward, I chose to put it off till to-morrow. I write to you, as I am afraid I shall not see you, till after I have been with the king, to let you know my thoughts, and which, if I have an opportunity, I am resolved to tell the king.

"Prince Charles has repassed the Rhine, and is gone with his whole army into Bohemia. This may be bad for the king of Prussia, but it leaves us at the mercy of the French; and shews plainly, that, without some stipulation, by way of treaty, and with the Dutch being parties, we can have no certainty as to the operations of the present war: £.150,000 is given in order to keep the prince in Alsace; and he is gone, before the court of Vienna can receive the money, though not before we have paid it. The same will be the case, with every sum of money we advance. The allies will take it, and then act as suits their own convenience and security. I hear Boetzlaar is very angry; but, as I don't speak French, I avoided having any converse with him. Lord Carteret desires we may have a meeting to-morrow in the evening, which case is very proper. I am ready to come, and will speak my mind very freely. The duke of Grafton desires you will dine with him, which I hope you will do; for otherwise, we shall have no opportunity of talking with one another, before the meeting. I find general Brown is a great favourite, and we are to be kept up with the hopes of success, in Germany and Flanders, from the advantageous skirmish he has had in Italy.

"I don't know, whether there is any thing in what I say. It makes great impression upon me, having persuaded myself that nothing can induce the parliament to go on with these great expenses, except they see beforehand, some well-concerted plan, in which the Dutch are equally concerned with ourselves, and by which, even the queen of Hungary shall be obliged to consider the interest of her allies, as well as the security of her own particular country. I am sorry lord chancellor is not here, but am sure he will agree with you, and your affectionate brother."

From the Duke of Newcastle, to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.

"My Dear Lord, "*Newcastle House, August* 28*th*, 1744.

"I will begin with desiring, that you will not be surprised with the arrival of this messenger, which is by no means to fetch you up to town, though I am afraid the contents of the dispatches that he brings, will not be very agreeable to you. I should sooner have returned your lordship my thanks, for your very kind letter, which I received in Sussex, with the clearest account of your deliberations and resolutions, that ever I read, but that I did not return to town till Thursday, and waited for two Dutch posts, which did not come in till Sunday.

"I send your lordship, by this messenger, all the material letters that are come in, since you left London. You will see by Mr. Trevor's, that all things, in the main, go well in Holland: that they are hitherto rather animated, by the king of Prussia's motions, to take more vigorous measures, than discouraged or frightened: that there is a great disposition to join in the Saxon treaty, and that upon reasonable terms: that they will send ministers to Russia, and the several courts of the empire, to act in concert with ours: that they have furnished, though I am afraid it will come too late, the necessary artillery, &c. demanded of them for a siege. But you will see, on the other side, a very great alloy; that the Prussian artillery has been suffered to pass under the bridge of Dresden unmolested, and, as the king of Prussia says, *de bonne grace:* that prince Charles has repassed the Rhine with his whole army, with no loss, as you see is reported by the Austrians, though the contrary is strongly asserted by the French. This passage of the Prussian artillery, and repassing the Rhine by prince Charles's army, for the preventing of which we have not only stipulated, but have actually given £.150,000, will not fail to have the worst effect imaginable. The French will soon become superior again in Flanders, by detachments, which they will not fail immediately to send thither; and Ossorio apprehends, that they will also send a number of troops into Italy; both which, I am afraid, they may do, and still have a very considerable army in Germany, under marshal Seckendorf.

"Lord Carteret, count Fleming, and Monsieur Busch, the electoral minister at Dresden, flatter us with the hopes of great assistance from the Saxons, the Poles, and the Russians. Schaub* has drawn the project of a quadruple alliance between the king, the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the States General. I suppose some alterations will be made in it; and it will be sent to the pensionary on Friday. As to Italy, prince Lobeowitz has certainly obtained a considerable advantage at Velletri, and Don Carlos himself had a narrow escape;† but Ossorio thinks, that, Démont being now taken, and Coni invested, which will probably be taken also, he shall soon have orders to lay his Majesty's case before the king, and to ask his Majesty's advice what to do; which is, in other words, to say he shall be obliged to submit.

"Thus you see, my dear Lord, by having no fixed scheme, by living upon events, and by flattering ourselves every day with success, upon every new object, and lastly, by the perfidiousness of the king of Prussia, we are got into such a dilemma, that God knows how we shall be able to get out of it. If affairs abroad are in a bad situation, those at home are not at all in a better. I had occasion to write to my brother, who did not come to town, by some days, so soon as I did; and I send your lordship the remarks which I had made, and sent to him, of the disposition of things at court, upon my return from Sussex, and a very judicious letter, which I received from my brother, in answer to mine.

"I conclude, lord Harrington told your lordship, that his Majesty was pleased to express himself to him, upon the subject of his old servants, pretty much in the same manner he had done to me, some weeks before. Every day produces some new disagreeable incident in the closet. His Majesty was, this day, pleased to say, that prince Charles's repassing the Rhine was a great thing for Germany and the empire; to which I could not forbear replying, 'But what is it, Sir, for Flanders?' My dear Lord, you know my opinion, which, I flatter myself, does not differ much from yours, which makes me like it the better.

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* Sir Luke Schaub, formerly British minister at Paris, and subsequently employed at Vienna. See an account of him, in the Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chap. iii. et seq.

† The affair at Velletri, which is here mentioned, was a mere attempt of count Browne, the Austrian general, to seize the person of the king of Naples, whose head-quarters were in that town; but the enterprise failed, the king escaped to the camp, and no consequences ensued. Hist. of the House of Austria, vol. iv. chap. cv.

"I trouble you also with some intercepted letters, and with some printed remarks upon the king of Prussia's manifesto, which, you will see, are adopted by the court of Cassel. It is there laid down, that the breaking-off of the Treaty at Hanau, is the occasion of the king of Prussia's motions; that the treaty with the emperor was approved, and agreed to, by lord Carteret, and rejected by the Regency here. This, I think, will naturally bring that transaction before parliament; and consequently, if nothing else does, produce a breach in the administration; for as what we did, will, I am persuaded, when known, be approved by every Englishman, we shall not, I hope, be backward in our own justification.

"I hope you will not be displeased at my having thus sent you all the material letters that are come in. It is highly necessary for the public, for ourselves, and especially for myself, to keep your lordship particularly informed of every thing. Nobody makes so good use of their information; and nobody's opinion has so much weight with every body, and especially with myself, as yours. I faithfully promised you not to bring you up to town, unless there was an absolute necessity: I will strictly keep my word. Things must now run on their course for some time, and I do not think you need be under any apprehension of being sent for soon. I heartily wish you all imaginable diversion and health in your retreat. The country, which must be always agreeable to you, would be more so, if you could imagine, how much the contrary this town and this court are at present. I beg my compliments to my lady Hardwicke, and Mr. Yorke, if he is with you. You may keep the messenger, till you have gone through these voluminous dispatches."

Lord Chancellor Hardwicke to the Duke of Newcastle.

"My Dear Lord, "*Wrest, August 30th*, 1744.

"Your Grace's obliging letter falls upon most important points, the state of affairs, both foreign and domestic. As to the former, your summary and remarks upon them are so just, that I am as incapable of disagreeing to any part of them, as I am of adding to them. Prince Charles's being obliged to retire out of Alsace, and to repass the Rhine, seems to me so fatal an event, that I am not convinced of any resource to retrieve it. What can the court of Vienna do with our last treaty, sent over to them concerning the £.150,000? The end of it is made to be, the keeping that army entire in

Alsace. That *entire army* is already retreated from thence. This makes me conjecture, that they will give some new turn to it at Vienna, and so this second treaty must be cancelled, and a third substituted in its room. Neither does it occur to me, what that new turn can be, regarding the cause of England, or the common cause in general, otherwise than as the particular interests of the queen of Hungary make a material part of it. But this may be thought only form. As to the substance, the symptoms in Saxony are to me very unpromising. The passage of the artillery, even through the king of Poland's capital, permitted without difficulty, and that after the assurances from Busch, and the letter which your Grace has seen from count Bruhl, looks like a change of disposition there, since the first impression made. Won't they take your £.50,000; make a shew of some motions with their troops; create delays between Dresden and Warsaw, and the occupations of the diet of Grodno; and so spend the campaign in doing nothing, whilst the king of Prussia goes on?

"As to Russia, you see what Asseburg says to Alt; and I own I don't yet see any prospect from that side. If no material assistance should come from either of these quarters, France may certainly make great detachments to Flanders, and become much superior to the allies there. This, in my weak opinion, makes the siege of Maubeuge, or of any other place, that can hold out some time, the worst measure of all; for, before such a siege can be over, those detachments will arrive, and then you will probably be obliged to raise it with loss. Besides, I find the design against Maubeuge has so much transpired, that the next news I expect to hear, is, that count Saxe has thrown into it a strong garrison. This makes me imagine that some *coup de main,* or sudden stroke, to be executed quickly, and at once, before those reinforcements can arrive, is, as circumstances are now altered, the only game we have to play; but against that, all our generals, discordant as they are, do agree.

"Upon this my reflections are melancholy, and I fear the case is brought nearly to what I always apprehended, and said, that if the king of Prussia would dare to take this wicked part, there would be no remedy, without some powerful assistance from Russia. One hundred and twenty thousand men thrown into the adverse scale, are not to be balanced, merely by dividing and playing over the same force you had before; and it is but the same force, unless what you are told of the queen's new troops from Hungary and those parts, has more of reality and solidity in it, than I fear it has.

"I am sure, that, without such an alliance as your Grace and Mr. Pelham do both very wisely mention, nothing material can be done. The plan of that is so plainly chalked out, in your letters, that I won't repeat it. If that could be attained on proper terms, and those terms *boná fide* pursued, we might perhaps struggle on; for, I am as unwilling to submit to France, as any man; and if either we, or the Dutch, propose a pacification to that power, at present, it must end in such an one as she will give, and what a terrible one will that be?

"To talk of count Browne's skirmish, is the old play, mere rant and talking off from the point. It may be an affair of some éclat for a general, but not the dust of the balance to the common cause. As to the king of Sardinia, the surrender of Démont, almost without a siege, surprises me. I wonder, Monsieur Ossorio can talk seriously about his master's asking the king's advice. What can that advice be, but insisting that he should adhere to his engagements, after all the cessions that have been made to him, and after all the money and all the support he has had from England? If he, and the court of Vienna, have differed about their operations, or if he has lost troops and advantages, by pretending to defend every little pass, and thereby really defending nothing, is that a reason for his departing, after all this, from his most solemn engagements, unless he has had some management of that kind, a good while; of which, however, I am unwilling to suspect him.

"As to the state of affairs at home, particularly at court, I can add nothing to what your Grace and Mr. Pelham have said upon it. Your Grace knows my opinion fully on that subject, both in general, and with regard to your own particular. For you I feel, as much as you can do for yourself, and I am ready to take any part, which not only the public service, but my obligations, friendship, and attachment to your Grace, can demand. I observe, the old difference of opinion still subsists, whether to lay hold of some public measure, or of considerations which may be thought of a more particular and personal nature. The discourse now raised, about the breaking off the Treaty of Hanau, and its supposed consequences, and the laying that at the door of the Regency here, may possibly give rise to what you wish, and lay the more weight on what is *now* said of that affair; because I have observed, that lord Carteret has twice of late put us in mind, though without any grounds, that, at that time, he could have had the emperor for three hundred thousand crowns, if we had not prevented it. I remember so well the progress and circumstances of that affair, so far as it was *partially* disclosed to us; and I think, what we did in it, and the opinion we gave upon it, proceeded on such strong and solid reasons; that, I am confident, it will stand the test of any examination, and justify us, and condemn the authors of the negotiation, in the opinion of the world. It looks by one of Haslang's letters, as if the king of Prussia was at work, to put the opposition upon this scent (I mean in his own way), and that may probably bring it into parliament, at least in their debates.

"I have troubled your Grace a great while, and I doubt to very little purpose; but it is some satisfaction to open my mind to you, and to evince the truth of the assertion, with which Mr. Pelham concludes his letter, *that you may be sure I shall always agree with you both.* I am," &c.

Mortified by such unequivocal proofs of the royal displeasure, and aware that their rival had succeeded in throwing on them the blame of these miscarriages, the Pelhams became doubly anxious for his removal. They found considerable difficulty, in persuading their friends to adopt the alternative of a general resignation; and much hesitation prevailed, whether they should commence their attack, by objecting to the war itself, or by censuring the mode in which it had been prosecuted.

A new appeal to the chancellor was deemed requisite; and in a letter dated September 14th, we find the duke of Newcastle again pressing the point, and lamenting the indecision of his associates.

"My Dear Lord, "*Newcastle House, Sept.* 14*th*, 1744.

"I trouble your lordship with another cargo of letters, in which you will receive all that is material, since I wrote last, and by which you will see the present situation of our affairs. I am sorry to say, that they are far from growing better, The Saxons, indeed, will march twenty thousand men, to join Bathiani, by the end of this month; and I hope prince Charles's army will have joined them by that time. This last will have been much diminished, by thirty thousand men left in Bavaria; but they reckon, that, all together, they shall make an army of eighty thousand men against the king of Prussia, besides the corps of *Insurgentes* in Hungary. Lord Tyrawley's* letters are very good; but I must acquaint you in confidence, that the Saxon minister at Moscow writes hither, that chancellor Bestuchef, upon whom is our whole dependence, told him, that he could not answer for his mistress;[*] that her hatred was so great against the queen of Hungary, that she talked of making a vow never to assist her; and that it was possible, that she might have been previously informed of the designs of the king of Prussia, by the means of the princess of Zerbst, Lestock, and other people, that are about her. This circumstance takes away much of the satisfaction, that lord Tyrawley's letters would otherwise give. Whilst the affairs of the north are in this situation, things go very ill in Holland; for, though there are very good things in Mr. Trevor's letters, as for example, the making *cause commune, no management for France, totis viribus, &c. yet when it comes to the point, they absolutely renounce the precedents of former wars,* as to their proportion, either in troops or subsidies; and particularly declare, that they cannot, and will not contribute, more than one-fourth part of the subsidy to the elector of Saxony. If that is so, that treaty must necessarily fall to the ground, and every thing else with it.

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* Envoy to Russia.

" The news from Turin is not better. The necessities and demands of the king of Sardinia, are as great and as pressing as the others. God knows what we can do in these circumstances! That must be the consideration of next week. I hope you will, in some measure, have formed your opinion, upon the knowledge you have of our interior, and upon what I now send you, with regard to affairs abroad.

" You know the great regard I always have for your opinion; and I hope you will give me leave to come on Monday night, to Powis House, to confer with you, before we meet our other friends.[†] My opinion is always the same, that the only means to act effectually for the public, and honourably for ourselves, is to remove the cause and the author of all these misfortunes, or to continue no longer ourselves; since we should, in some measure, be answerable for the general conduct of the ministry, though we should not be in a condition to direct affairs. In the first case, we should carry on the war, or put an end to it, as we should think best; in the other, we should be answerable for nothing. This way of thinking is not agreeable to the sentiments of our friends. They would like better to put it on measures. If by that, they mean the conduct of the war, I agree with them.

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[*] This opinion of Bestuchef is contrary to fact.

[†] Although this latter part is printed in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, we deemed it necessary to insert it here, that we might not break the connection.

If they mean the war itself, I think that it is neither honourable nor just for us, who have all concurred in the measure, and some of whom are still of opinion, that if rightly conducted, it would have ended well. But that which I most fear, is, that this difference of opinion, this uneasiness, in, this indecision with regard to going out, will draw us on, this session, as it did the last, blaming, cavilling, but still going on, and awkwardly supporting. To prevent which, I depend upon your friendship, and weight, in our deliberations."

The requisite arrangements being thus concerted, between the two brothers and the chancellor, the long-meditated attack was commenced. At the desire of the duke of Newcastle, the lord chancellor drew up the sketch of a Remonstrance to the king, against the foreign administration of lord Carteret, which, when prepared, was sent to the duke for examination, with the following note.

"My Dear Lord, " *Powis House, Sept.* 20*th*, 1744.

"I have the honour to send your Grace, inclosed, the fruits of my yesterday's retirement. You will find them very unripe, and of a bad taste. I am sensible the paper is too long, contains both too much and too little, and must have many things pared off, others polished, and the whole made fitter for the condition of Majesty, and of ourselves. But I chose to put down the whole of my way of thinking upon the subject, as far as it goes, and have no fondness for any one word of it.

"I will put off my going to Wrest, till Saturday morning, that I may be at your Grace's service all this day and to-morrow; though I don't imagine such a paper can be fully settled, to the satisfaction of so many persons, within that time. I propose to be in town again, upon next Tuesday fortnight.

"Whilst I was writing this, Mr. Stone's letter came in, about a full power for Mr. Villette. If it has been agreed upon, to give such a guaranty for the dominions of the king of Sardinia, and the great duke, I shall make no objection to it; but if it is not already promised, it is taking a new engagement upon ourselves, at least as to Tuscany, at a time, when it seems to be the opinion of many of us, to avoid dipping this country farther. I submit it to your Grace, and am," &c.

The draught of the Remonstrance, prepared by the lord chancellor, was warmly approved by the duke of Newcastle, and recommended to the consideration of his political associates, in a circular bearing the same date.

"*Newcastle House, Sept.* 20*th*, 1744.

"The paper, which my lord Chancellor has been so good as to prepare, at the request of his friends, is the clearest and finest deduction, that can be made, founded upon facts and experience; it states the just objections to the present conduct, and plainly points out the remedies to be pursued. And if it could be hoped, that reason, set in the strongest light, would prevail, this paper alone would, and ought to determine his Majesty's future conduct, as to his measures and his ministers.

"But, as we cannot flatter ourselves with that expectation, it is apprehended, that it will be necessary, upon these principles, to speak a little more resolutely and categorically, and that his Majesty should be acquainted, that, without such an alteration of measures, as is proposed in my lord Chancellor's paper, which cannot be depended upon, without some alterations in his administration, we, one part of it at present, cannot in duty to him, or in justice to our country and ourselves, venture to undertake the support of his affairs, in the next session of parliament.

"As a measure of this consequence, cannot possibly be determined in a day or two; and as it might not be amiss to have the opinion and concurrence of the rest of our friends in the cabinet council upon it; it is humbly submitted, whether the execution of it may not be postponed until my lord Chancellor's return to town; and, in the mean time, this great foundation, now laid by him, be considered and digested, so that it may be finally settled and executed, soon after my lord Chancellor's return."

Above a month was employed, in settling all the preliminary points; and, at the end of October, the following Memorial, which had been enlarged and amended in the interval, was completed by the chancellor.

MEMORIAL.*

"The transactions and events of the current year, and the near approach of the meeting of parliament, have induced several of the king's servants, out of duty to his Majesty, and concern for their country, seriously to consider the present critical situation of affairs, and the principles and methods, whereby, in their humble apprehension, his Majesty's service may be carried on and supported, in the next session.

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* The head prefixed to this memorial, in the handwriting of the duke of Newcastle, was, "Copy of a Paper presented to the King, by the Duke of Newcastle, in the name of those Lords of the Cabinet Council, who insisted on the dismission of Earl Granville, in November 1744."

"The great change, which has lately happened in the posture of affairs abroad, makes it necessary to look back to the principal foundations, upon which it was thought, that measures of vigour and force, might reasonably be pursued by Great Britain, for the defence of the House of Austria, and the maintenance of the balance of Europe, with any probability of success.

"Two points were generally allowed to be essential. 1st. That the king of Prussia should be detached from the system, in which he was then unhappily engaged, and a reconciliation be effectuated between him and the queen of Hungary. 2ndly. That the States General should be prevailed upon, to execute the engagements of their treaties, and to make *cause commune* with Great Britain.

"Of both these being attained, strong expectations were given.

"The first appeared to be absolutely requisite, on account of the great power of the king of Prussia in Germany, and the numerous armies he has on foot, which, when joined with France, and her other allies, against the queen of Hungary, amounted to such a formidable strength, as was judged almost impossible to be balanced. Therefore, if this weight could not be added to the scale of the House of Austria, it was laid down, as indispensably necessary to be taken out of the opposite scale; and this prince, at least, to be made neuter on any terms. This was thought to have been effected, under his Majesty's mediation and influence, by the Treaty of Breslau, and the good effects of it were felt in the campaign of 1743.

"But, notwithstanding the great cessions and advantages gained by the king of Prussia, and the obligations he had laid himself under, to remain entirely neuter, he has now thought fit to break through them all, to take new engagements with the emperor and France, to invade the queen of Hungary's hereditary dominions, with one hundred thousand men at least; and Prague has been taken, in a few days after he sate down before it. In these new engagements, other considerable powers of the empire have joined, particularly the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse Cassel, one of the chief Protestant princes, and more nearly attached to his Majesty than any other. By these operations, prince Charles has been obliged to retire out of Alsace; the impression is taken off from France, on that side; and that crown left at liberty, to employ its numerous forces in other enterprises, and to regain its superiority over the allied army in Flanders.

"The neutrality of Prussia, having been thus put an end to, contrary to all good faith, the whole force of that crown is now to be ranged against the queen of Hungary and her allies; and thus, one of the principal foundations, on which Great Britain proceeded, in the measures above mentioned, is totally subverted, with the melancholy addition of the defection of Hesse Cassel.

"It comes now to be considered, what resources may be found, and what can be substituted in the place of it.

"The two powers thought of, are Russia and Saxony. As to Russia, though his Majesty received an answer from the Czarina, that the twelve thousand men, stipulated by the treaty of 1742, should, pursuant to the king's requisition, be furnished, and the troops lately come from Sweden are particularly destined for it; yet reasons are alleged to shew, that from the advanced season of the year, this succour cannot be expected until the next campaign, when, possibly, it may be so late, as to be of little or no use. It may also be very doubtful, whether these twelve thousand men, when furnished, will be permitted to act beyond the terms of that treaty, which is merely a defensive alliance; and if we consider the temper and inclination of the Czarina, and the great influence the known partizans of France and Prussia have over her, it is to be feared, no certain dependence can be had, upon any timely or adequate assistance from thence.

"As to Saxony, that prince is strongly engaged, by treaty, to the queen of Hungary; and, besides, greatly interested to prevent the aggrandisement of Prussia on that side; but his strength is by no means a balance for Prussia; nor will he be induced, nor perhaps be fully able, to exert it, even for his own interest, without a subsidy, which is now under consideration, and will create a new burthen, more or less. The whole succour, which he has stipulated to furnish the queen of Hungary, is twenty thousand men. It is humbly submitted, whether, considering the forces which prince Charles has left in Bavaria, that number, though it has marched, and shall have joined the Austrians, will make prince Charles's army a match, in all events, for the king of Prussia. And, as to any farther succours to be expected from Saxony, or Poland, they seem too precarious to be relied on, considering the difficulties that have arisen, and must arise, between the courts of Vienna and Dresden, in adjusting the shares of acquisitions, to be stipulated in favour of the elector of Saxony, in order to procure those farther succours; the necessitous condition of that court, which it may be very difficult to satisfy; the fears and apprehensions they will have, of the power of the king of Prussia, greatly augmented by his late successes, and the numerous armies he has now in the field; the intrigues of France and Prussia, in the republic of Poland; and the present connexion of Saxony with Spain, by the medium of Naples.*

"The grand foundation, upon which the measures of Great Britain were supposed to be grounded, was, that the States General would be prevailed upon, to perform the engagements of their treaties, and to make *cause commune* with Great Britain. It is admitted, that since the year 1742, Holland has taken several material steps, but by very slow degrees, generally falling short in point of force, always in point of time; and, as that Republic has never entered into any treaty, for regulating and adjusting the proportions of forces, by sea and land, and the proportions of expense, his Majesty was not possessed of the proper solid foundation, to insist upon particular stated contingents from her. Notwithstanding this, Great Britain has had forty thousand men in the field, in its own pay, vast fleets at sea, and, this year, pays subsidies, to the amount of near £.700,000, to different princes, in support of the common cause.

"In the month of March last, France declared war against his Majesty and the queen of Hungary, upon which event all the obligations of our treaties existed, and it became a *casus fœderis*, beyond dispute. Some of his Majesty's servants were then of opinion, that a minister of rank and confidence should have immediately been sent, from the presence of the king, to the States, fully to explain his Majesty's views, to know what might, ultimately, be depended upon from them, to insist upon their declaring war, and to negotiate such a treaty with them, as that before described. They were induced to be of that opinion, by reasons which appeared to them to have weight; but the proposition was laid aside.

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* Charles, king of Naples, afterwards Charles III., king of Spain, married Maria Amelia, daughter of Augustus III., king of Poland and elector of Saxony.

"When such of the king's servants, as were for this measure, found that it would not take place, they humbly proposed, that a paper should be delivered to M. Boetzlaar, to be, by him, transmitted, in great confidence, to the Pensionary, containing his Majesty's thoughts upon the representation made by that minister, as to the terms and conditions, which might be accepted for a general pacification; and, if that could not be brought about, as to the measures to be pursued for carrying on the war, by forming an immediate concert and plan for that purpose, amongst the allies; and, also, by entering into a treaty, for fixing the several contingents and proportions, to be respectively furnished. Though this last measure was agreed to, and such a paper delivered to M. Boetzlaar, so long ago as May last, little or no notice has been taken of it since, and things have gone on pretty much in the same train as before, except that Holland had sent, late in the summer, some more troops to the army in Flanders, and thirteen or fourteen ships, to join our fleet, which still falls short of their contingent. But, though the Republic has been attacked by France, in her barrier, several of her barrier towns taken, all her *tentatives* to an accommodation rejected, and the time, limited for good offices, now long since expired, she has not yet shewn any disposition to declare war against France.

"It must be observed, that there is no other ally, except Holland, that does not actually receive subsidies from Great Britain; so that in respect of those allies, Great Britain bears the burthen; and, upon sending over the six thousand men from hence to Flanders, this summer, even Holland insisted, and prevailed, that we should defray the additional pay, and extraordinaries, of that corps of her own native troops.

"Other great inconveniencies have actually arisen, and been felt, for want of such a treaty with Holland and the rest of our allies, as is before mentioned, and was proposed, in the paper delivered to M. Boetzlaar, in May last. Without it, we have no ground to stand upon, no rule to go by, for concerting with them a plan of operations beforehand; nor, in fact, have we any such plan, though so great an army has been maintained in Flanders. Whenever any particular enterprise or operation has been proposed, as a siege, &c., the question about the proportions of expense, not having been previously fixed by treaty, has arisen, and by means of the tendency of that dispute, and the indecision of that point, it has been brought to this dilemma; that either the opportunity must be lost, or else Great Britain must, in every instance, take the whole burthen upon herself.

"Besides these particulars, his Majesty can never, in this precarious state, be at a certainty, what number of troops shall be kept employed by any of the allies, in any service, or on any side of Europe; but they are always liable to be weakened, or withdrawn, to defend, or serve the particular interest of that power, to whom they belong, without having sufficient regard to the general interest of the common cause. From hence great risks and mischief may arise, as has happened lately, in the case of prince Charles's army, though the conduct of Prussia might make that step unavoidable. Prince Lobcowitz's expedition against Naples, considering the season of the year in which it was undertaken, may, not improperly, be taken notice of, as another instance of the same nature, to which the distressed situation of the king of Sardinia is principally owing. These are only a specimen of the manifold inconveniences which have occurred, and will perpetually occur, from the want of such a treaty, adjusting the proportions of forces and expense, on which a properly concerted plan might be founded. The farther ill consequences, that will follow from Holland's not declaring war against France, are too obvious to need an enumeration. Till that is done, they, who are the antient natural allies and friends of Great Britain, are not embarked with her on the same bottom; they stand upon a different foot, and may be loose, and withdraw themselves, when they please; and these, with other reasons, make it highly improbable, that France will ever be so ill advised, as first to declare war against the Republic.

"The ill consequences arising from commercial considerations, concern this country in particular, and will, probably, in a short time, raise great uneasiness here.

"But all these reasons, for pressing Holland to declare war, and to enter into such a treaty with Great Britain, as has been already described, are greatly strengthened by the conduct of Prussia; especially if no timely assistance can be depended upon from Russia, and if the suggestion abovementioned, concerning Saxony, has any ground; for, in that case, whence can any counterpoise possibly arise against Prussia, but from new engagements with Holland, and a much stronger part being taken by that Republic, than she has hitherto taken? It is not to be denied, that Holland is greatly burthened with debts and taxes; and such allegations have been made, and will, no doubt, be repeated. But that is equally the misfortune of England, and, therefore, can be no reason for throwing a disproportioned share of the burthen from the shoulders of the one, upon those of the other.

"Things appearing in this light, to such of the king's servants, as are described, in the beginning of this paper, they beg leave, with the utmost deference and submission, to lay the following opinion before his Majesty, viz.:

"1st. That it is advisable to insist, absolutely, with the States General, upon the performance of the Treaty of 1678, and that they should, forthwith, declare war against France. 2ndly, That a treaty should be entered into, between his Majesty, the Republic, and the other allies, stipulating to carry on the war, *totis viribus*, and regulating the proportions of forces, by sea and land; the chief command of the allied army; and the proportions of expense to be borne by each power, both as to subsidies and operations. Experience seems to have shewn, that without this, a confederate war cannot be carried on. 3rdly, That, upon both these proposals, the Republic should give his Majesty categorical answers. 4thly, That a minister of great rank and ability should, without delay, be sent from hence to the Hague, to insist upon, and settle these important points; and that the States should be pressed to appoint a Committee of Secrecy, to negotiate and concert the articles of such a treaty, agreeably to the forms of their constitution, which has been frequently done, in cases of great moment; and that the minister, to be sent from his Majesty, should give the ministers of Holland plainly to understand, that, however desirous his Majesty and the British nation may be, to support their engagements with their allies, and the interest of the common cause, by exerting their utmost force, in pursuance of measures of vigour, for that purpose, yet, unless the Republic will perform her engagements, by immediately declaring war, and agreeing, by proper stipulations, to bear an adequate proportion of the necessary expenses for the support of the war, it will be impossible for Great Britain, to take upon herself so great a share of the expense and burthen, particularly upon the continent, as in that case would be necessary, for carrying it on, with any probability of success.

"If the States General will comply with these just demands, some solid system may be formed, plans for another campaign may be concerted, and operations may be executed in time; and the Parliament would see some encouragement to provide sufficient supplies for another year, notwithstanding the misfortunes of this campaign, on the one hand, and the inactivity of it on the other. But if such a system cannot be formed, it would be want of duty to his Majesty, not to lay before him, with all humility, the consequences which, it is apprehended, will result from thence.

"1st. All the discontentedness, confusion, and other inconveniences, which have been, already, so unfortunately experienced, will still subsist. 2ndly, The demands upon Great Britain, and the burthens upon it, will go on increasing to such a degree, as, it is to be feared, will wear out the good disposition of the parliament, exceed the possibility of finding funds to support them, or the abilities of the people, already greatly impoverished in the country, to bear them. 3rdly, From hence, such difficulties must arise to his Majesty's government, as every good servant and subject of the Crown, would labour to avoid.

"In this plan, one objection naturally occurs. France has declared war against Great Britain, and she must defend herself. This is undeniably true; and, when the unavoidable necessity shall arise, Great Britain will always defend his Majesty, his family, and herself, at the expense of the last shilling of her treasure, and the last drop of her blood. But it is apprehended, that before that last extremity comes upon her, all other measures should be tried; and, if a general war cannot be made, upon a practicable foot; if our first and principal allies will not join with us in such a war; it is submitted, whether it may not be advisable, forthwith, to propose to Holland to concert methods, without loss of time, and act in conjunction with Great Britain, to bring about a general pacification. But if no prospect should appear, of effectuating such a pacification, upon reasonable terms, before it shall become necessary to bring before the parliament, the consideration of any extraordinary supplies, it will then become the duty of every faithful servant of the crown, to think of some other system of supporting the war, for the defence and security of Great Britain.

"His Majesty's great wisdom and superior lights, will combine all these considerations together, and form the best judgment upon the whole."*

This Memorial was formally delivered by the duke of Newcastle, in person, to the king, November 1st, 1744, in the name of the lord chancellor, Mr. Pelham, lord Harrington, and himself, and with the approbation of several other members of the cabinet. In a few hours it was calmly returned by his Majesty, without the slightest observation. But, on the following day, the remonstrance was enforced by Mr. Pelham, with equal firmness and judgment. The king, however, still appeared gloomy and reserved, and unwilling to sacrifice his favourite minister. The effect of these representations is thus described, by the duke of Newcastle, in a letter to the Chancellor.

"*Newcastle House, Nov. 3rd*, 1744.

"My brother will acquaint you with what passed yesterday in the closet, where he supported our paper, with all the firmness and judgment imaginable. The effect produced, was sullenness, ill-humour, fear, a disposition to acquiesce, if it could be done with lord Granville's† approbation, for that is the whole. This appeared plainly, by the king's looks and discourse to lord Granville and me together. He addressed himself to lord G.:—'It is time to think of a speech. We must speak plainly, and lay the whole before the Parliament.' Lord G.:—'Two days will do that.' 'No, my lord, this speech may require much alteration; we can add good news, if it comes, at any time, but we must ask the support of the Parliament.' The king went on :—'My lord, you should write to Holland; we must know what the Dutch would do.' 'Sire, I have done it already: if it is right to insist on declaring war, I believe your Majesty must write another letter yourself.' I said little, got out of the closet as soon as I could, but, you may imagine, approved certain parts of his Majesty's discourse.

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* This copy of the Memorial is taken from the draught, in the Newcastle Papers, and thus indorsed by the duke of Newcastle himself:

"*Newcastle House, Nov. 1st*, 1744.

"This paper was this day delivered by me to the king, at half an hour past two in the afternoon, in the name of my lord chancellor, my lord Harrington, my brother, and myself. I, at the same time, acquainted his Majesty, that the duke of Dorset, the duke of Grafton, the duke of Richmond, the duke of Devonshire, the duke of Montagu, the duke of Argyle, and the earl of Pembroke, had been acquainted with the contents of the paper, and concurred with us in opinion, as to the subject matter of it. His Majesty did not read it in my presence, but was pleased to send it back, between three and four o'clock the same afternoon."

† By the death of his mother, on the 18th of October, lord Carteret had succeeded to the title of earl Granville.

"He afterwards sent for lord G. alone; he stayed about five minutes, said nothing to us afterwards, of what had passed. The audience was so short, I suppose the fact only was told, probably with assurances of his support, and recommending management, and some compliance, to lord Granville. I conclude, this day the scheme of conduct will be settled between the king and lord Granville, which will, I believe, be what I always foresaw, a seeming acquiescence, depending upon lord Granville's *sçavoir* to defeat it afterwards, and draw us on. This is what I most dread, and I own I think nothing will prevent it but a concert *entamé*, in a proper manner, directly with lord Chesterfield. I have now delivered the paper, in the manner you all like; my brother has well supported it; you will be so good as to do it to-morrow or Monday, and I beg you will explain it to the king. But firmness is beyond all argument. Lord Harrington must soon follow, and, I think, the duke of Dorset, and the duke of Argyle: the first, I am persuaded, will. I wish you would let me know by a line, on Monday morning, what has passed, that I may hold the same language with the king."*

The chancellor was not tardy in complying with the request; and, in an audience of the king, expressed, in firm, but respectful language, the united resolution of himself and his colleagues, to resign, unless his Majesty acceded to their demands. This remonstrance had no greater effect, than those of the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham: the king evincing equal reluctance to the dismissal of lord Granville, and to a change in the continental policy. His Majesty frequently replied to the chancellor, with great dignity, "You would persuade me to abandon my allies; but that shall never be the reproach of my reign, as it was of queen Anne's, and I will suffer any extremities rather than consent."*

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* This letter is inserted in the Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chap. xxvi. 8vo. edit.; in which it is erroneously stated, that the Memorial for lord Granville's dismission, was presented by the chancellor, on the 31st of October.

Such, in fact, were the resistance of the king, and the hesitation even of their own party, that the movers of the measure seemed almost reduced to despair; and the duke of Newcastle, in another note to the chancellor, thus expresses his apprehensions, accompanied by the hope, that his noble friend would extricate them from their difficulties.

" *Newcastle House, Nov.* 10*th*, 1744.

" By what the king said to your lordship, and by lord Granville's looks afterwards, I should fancy the thing is over; and that they will take their resolution this day or to-morrow. Perhaps lord Granville may desire to be president, with a garter. I own, I do not quite see the necessity of flinging him into a rage of opposition, if we could, without it, find means of satisfying lord Orford, and a certain number of his friends; for, without this last, we have no ground to stand on, and shall, I fear, be obliged to shew, in a few months, that we have not strength to support the king's affairs, though he should put them into our hands. My dear Lord, perhaps nobody, but you, can carry us through; and you can."

In this delicate situation of affairs, the king directed the Pelhams to draw up a sketch of the intended speech to parliament, that he might form a proper judgment of the measures, likely to be recommended by them, and ascertain whether he could adopt the language, which they might be disposed to suggest. The object of this command was evidently to gain time, or to find a pretext for inducing them to support his favourite schemes. A draught of the speech having been presented by the chancellor, the king, on the 23rd of November, produced a transcript, in his own hand, with several alterations, doubtless suggested by lord Granville; and, in particular, an assurance, that he would agree to no peace, *until all his allies were satisfied.* This clause was, of course, strenuously opposed by the Pelhams; and it was, not without great and undisguised reluctance on the part of the king, reduced to the simple avowal, that his Majesty would not abandon his allies.

Lord Granville, foreseeing the storm, had not neglected to take precautions for resisting its force. Confident in the protection of the king, he hoped to defeat his opponents, if he could form an efficient administration without them. By the intervention of the prince of Wales, he made overtures to the Opposition, promising a general admission of all parties into power, and a dissolution of parliament; but he found himself anticipated by his adversaries, who had already made similar proposals, in conformity with the hints, contained in the letter from the duke of Newcastle to the lord Chancellor, dated Nov. 3, recommending a negotiation to be opened, through lord Chesterfield.

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* Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chap. xxvi.

The desire, evinced by several in the minority, to coalesce with the Pelhams, greatly facilitated the removal of lord Granville, and obviated the principal impediments to a farther union of parties. The divisions, still prevailing among them, afforded an essential advantage in the negotiation; for, while some proposed to stipulate for the repeal of the Septennial Act, the introduction of an efficient place-bill into the House of Commons, and the adoption of a new system of foreign policy, others were eager to unite with the Pelhams, without express conditions. Unable to agree on the mode and terms of the negotiation, the whole body appointed a junta, consisting of the duke of Bedford, lords Chesterfield, Gower, and Cobham, Pitt, Lyttelton, Waller, Dodington, and Sir John Hinde Cotton, to devise the requisite arrangements. Unanimity among them being found unattainable, the question was put to the vote; when the duke of Bedford, lords Chesterfield, and Gower, with Pitt and Lyttelton, having concurred in a determination to join the Pelhams, without stipulation, the others were obliged to acquiesce.* Lord Cobham was afterwards gained, by a promise, on the part of the duke of Newcastle, that the interests of Hanover should be rendered subordinate to those of England, and that he and his friends should be considered, in the distribution of power.

The prince of Wales was also conciliated, by the prospect of a farther admission of his adherents into administration. Even the "stubborn patriotism," as Glover calls it, of Waller, was mollified by the promise of a lucrative post; while Dodington and Sir John Hinde Cotton were alike unwilling to remain separated from their friends, in unavailing opposition. Conformably with these private arrangements, the members of the minority rejected the overtures of lord Granville, and declared that they would accept no terms while he remained in office.

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* These facts are principally taken from the Posthumous Memoirs of Glover, who received them from lord Cobham.

Thus disappointed, lord Granville, as his last resource, solicited the influence of lord Orford, who was supposed, at this period, to be displeased with the duke of Newcastle. At his instance, the king summoned lord Cholmondeley into the closet, and ordered him to request the attendance of his father-in-law, a few days before the meeting of parliament, with a view of profiting by his advice, in this critical state of affairs. It was confidently hoped, that this appeal might produce happy consequences; and that lord Orford would not venture to offend the king, by a direct refusal to support his favourite minister.

The veteran statesman, however, was too well acquainted with the condition of parties, to believe that lord Granville could maintain his ground, and too sincere in his friendship, to act contrary to the interests of Mr. Pelham. Accordingly, in his reply to lord Cholmondeley,* he declined entering into any consultation, before the meeting of parliament; and, at the same time, frankly avowed his readiness to obey the royal commands, by repairing to London. Yet he did not scruple to express his disapprobation of the system of foreign politics, and forbore to give any encouragement whatever, to the hopes of lord Granville. But, such was the reliance still placed on his aid, that another royal message was dispatched, to hasten his departure from Houghton.

Meanwhile, the Pelhams importuned the king for an immediate decision, as the time fixed for the meeting of parliament would allow no farther delay. But his Majesty, anxious to resist these compulsory demands, made another effort to protract the fall of lord Granville. He sent colonel Selwyn† to meet lord Orford, who had commenced his journey from Houghton, on the 19th of November; and again condescended to solicit his immediate advice and assistance. In reply to this solicitation, his lordship frankly and strenuously recommended his Majesty, to comply with the wishes of the majority in the cabinet; and the king, finding all parties united against his favourite minister, reluctantly followed the advice. Accordingly, on the 23rd of November, his Majesty announced his resolution to the chancellor, that lord Granville should resign.

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* Letter from lord Orford to lord Cholmondeley, in the Original Correspondence.—See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. iv. p. 395.

† This mission of colonel Selwyn is mentioned in lord Orford's 'Memoires of the last Ten Years of the Reign of George II.'—See vol. i. p. 149.

On the following day, the seals of the Secretary of State were transferred from lord Granville to lord Harrington,* who was approved by the king, and strongly recommended by his brother ministers. This arrangement, therefore, was finally settled, only three days before the meeting of parliament, and affords a striking proof of the difficulty, with which the royal acquiescence was extorted.

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* Gazette.

CHAPTER VI.

1744—1745.

Opening of the Session—Arrangements for the formation of the Broad Bottom Ministry —Objections of the King to Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pitt—Embarrassment of the Pelhams—Declarations conveyed to the Allies, on the change of Ministry—Fruitless attempt to engage the Dutch as principals in the war.—Arrangements and negotiations with the Republic—Favourable aspect of military affairs—Expulsion of the Prussians from Bohemia—Quadruple alliance of England, Holland, Austria, and the king of Poland, as Elector of Saxony—Death of the emperor Charles VII. Parliamentary proceedings after the recess—Discussion on the grant for the British troops to be employed in Flanders—Subsidiary engagements with foreign powers—Debates on the motion for a subsidy of £.500,000 to the queen of Hungary—On the vote of credit for £.500,000—On the proposal for annual parliaments, and for taxing places and pensions—Opposition of Mr. Pelham to the repeal of the act, vesting in the aldermen of London, a negativeon the proceedings of the Common Council—Successful operations of the British fleet in the Mediterranean—Parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of admirals Matthews and Lestock—Supplies—Laws for the encouragement and protection of agriculture and trade—Bills for promoting the discovery of a North-west passage, and for the improvement of naval discipline—Close of the session—The King, as Elector of Hanover, engages as a principal in the war—Death of lord Orford—Its effects on the situation of Mr. Pelham.

ON the 27th of November, Parliament assembled, and a speech, as suggested by the Pelhams, was delivered from the throne.

After a brief review of the state of foreign affairs, and an encomium on the firmness and constancy of his allies, the king lamented the events of the preceding summer; and pressed the necessity of adopting speedy measures, to prevent the ill consequences that were likely to ensue. He, however, testified his satisfaction, that the vast designs of his enemies had partially failed, and his hope, that they would ultimately be defeated, by the united efforts of Great Britain and her allies. Avowing his intention never to abandon those allies, he farther announced his determination to prosecute the war, with their assistance, in the manner most conducive to a safe and honourable peace, and most likely to give perfect security to the religion, liberties, and commerce, of his subjects. He concluded by adverting to the representations he had made, especially to the States General, for fixing the proportions of troops and expense, to be contributed by each of the confederate powers.

This speech was received with unequivocal approbation, and addresses were voted in both Houses, without a division.

In expressing their concern at the disadvantageous issue of the campaign, the peers testified their surprise, that *some* powers (obviously meaning Prussia), should have taken a part so contrary to their true interests. They exulted in his Majesty's magnanimous resolution to prosecute the war, and in the constancy and firmness of the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia. They announced their approbation of the precautions taken for frustrating the designs of France on Italy, and for maintaining the British interests in the Mediterranean. They rejoiced in his Majesty's determination, to pursue the course most conducive to an honourable peace, and applauded his intention not to abandon his allies. After acknowledging in warm terms, the sound policy of defining the proportions of aid, to be furnished by each of the allied powers, they expressed their gratitude for this gracious communication of his Majesty's views, and their readiness to support him, in the prosecution of measures, so necessary for the interest of Great Britain at this critical juncture. The Commons, on their part, adopted the general outline of this address; but omitted the allusion to Prussia, which was deemed, by several of the ministers, and by Mr. Pelham in particular, to be impolitic, in reference to a power, so formidable as an enemy, and so useful as an ally.*

Indeed, the general feeling towards the excluded secretary was decidedly unfavourable; all parties seemed to rejoice in his disgrace; and Mr. Pelham encountered little opposition in parliament, while the new arrangements were in progress; for, the only public question, which, during the space of a month, occasioned any debate, was that relating to the land-tax of four shillings in the pound, introduced among the Ways and Means.

On the 5th of December, when this impost was brought forward, Mr. Archer proposed to supersede it, by doubling the tax levied on places and pensions. The arguments used in favour of this amendment were, that the burthens on land, and those on places and pensions, should be equalized; and the act of Charles II. imposing a duty of one shilling in the pound on land, two on places, and three on pensions, was cited as a precedent. Complaints were also made of the amount of fees and salaries; the improper motives from which places and pensions were conferred; the corrupt influence which they afforded to a minister; and the spirit of avarice or luxury, which they engendered in great families. It was farther urged, that the allurement of lucrative offices, was not requisite to engage men of wealth in the public service, since the patriotic ambition of such persons, if not checked, would alone ensure their gratuitous exertions; that those only who were unable to support themselves, should be intitled to support from government; and that, under these regulations, a sufficient number of efficient individuals, for the service of the state, would always be found. To deter the servants of the Crown from combating this visionary theory, it was invidiously remarked, that from reasons of decency, no placemen should speak or vote on this question, because they must be considered as actuated by personal and private interest.

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* Journals of the Lords and Commons.

The chief speakers who supported Mr. Archer, were Vyner, Fazakerley, and Southwell. They were opposed by Sir William Yonge, Winnington, and Scrope; but the principal arguments against the proposal, were comprised in a speech by Mr. Pelham, alike remarkable for sound sense, knowledge of human nature, and practical notions of government.

He began by observing, that the spirit of reformation, which had so often manifested itself in the House of Commons, required to be rigorously controlled, lest it should excite, in the other branches of the legislature, and among the people, a desire to reduce that House to its antient functions, which were merely assent or dissent to bills passed elsewhere, without any attempt at amendment, except by petition to the sovereign, for redress of what might be construed into a grievance. "We should, therefore," he continued, "for our own sakes, as well as for the sake of the constitution, take care to set bounds to that spirit of reformation, which now seems to be flowing in upon us; and the proposition before us, I regard as one of the most dangerous productions of that spirit, especially considering the doctrines it promulgates. By one of the doctrines, I myself," he emphatically added, "should be excluded from speaking or voting upon this occasion, or indeed upon any question of a public nature; for no question could be brought before the House, in which the servants of the Crown might not be supposed to have some temporal interest; and if the principle of excluding them were admitted, no placeman having a seat, could speak or vote on private bills. But this doctrine," he added, "has never yet been admitted, and I hope never will. A gentleman who has a place in the government, and a seat in the House, serves the Crown in the executive, and his country in the legislative part of the government. These two capacities are distinct; but were never yet thought to be incompatible. On such a principle, we should exclude the king from any share in the legislature, because he enjoys the supreme executive power; for, to this absurd conclusion we are led, by supposing it inconsistent for any gentleman to have a share in the executive, and at the same time in the legislative part of our government. Therefore I must deem myself as capable of judging impartially on this, or any other question, as if I had no place under government; for, if I did not, I am sure I should accept no place, as long as I had the honour of a seat in this assembly."

He noticed another doctrine, involved in this proposition, as still more extraordinary. It had been asserted, he said, that no man ought to have pecuniary reward from the public, unless he needs it for his support; and that men of fortune ought not to be attracted to the public service, by lucrative motives; because, if the expense is to be the same, it is indifferent whether the service be rendered by men of fortune, or men of no fortune. "I have always heard it admitted, that our liberties can never be in danger, so long as they are entrusted to men of family and fortune; and the reason is obvious, as well as unanswerable. The security of property must always depend upon the preservation of liberty. Under a despotic government there is neither property nor liberty; for every man's estate, as well as his life, depends on the caprice of an arbitrary sovereign. Has not, then, a man of fortune more reason to avoid such a melancholy predicament, than a man of no estate? Has it not always been, with great reason urged, that our liberties are in no danger from our standing army, because it is commanded by men of the best families and fortunes? Will you then agree to a regulation, that would exclude them all from our army and navy? But it is alleged, that if all lucrative motives were removed, men of fortune would, from other motives, take the trouble of having a share in our government, and even expose themselves to the danger of fighting our battles, both by land and sea. This might be supposed in a Platonic republic, but I have good reasons for concluding that it could not be expected in this or any other country. Besides, it would be unjust; for if a rich man renders any service to the public, he has certainly as good a right to a reward, as if he were poor; and to deny him that right would be an act of injustice. In a country where the people are poor, they can give no pecuniary rewards; they can give nothing but honour and esteem. But in a country like this, where the people are rich, they can give, and ought to give pecuniary rewards, as well as honour and public esteem; and these they ought to give, without distinction, to the rich, as well as poor; for otherwise the rich, I am afraid, would spend their estates in ease and quiet, and leave the business of the commonwealth to be performed, and its battles to be fought, by those who had no other subsistence, than what was allowed by the public for their services. This, in my opinion, would be attended with many dangerous consequences. I shall mention only two: the danger of having the counsels, and even the armies or squadrons of the commonwealth, betrayed to the enemy, and the danger of having the public treasure wasted or plundered.

" When a public counsellor, or officer, has a large landed estate, it is a pledge to the public, of fidelity as well as of honesty; as such a man is not surely so liable to be bribed by foreign courts, as one of no fortune. Were he to betray the counsels, the armies, or the squadrons, of his country, he must leave his country; he could not afterwards expect to live securely in it; but he cannot carry his landed estate along with him, and he must be largely bribed by the enemy, to enable him to live with equal splendour in their country. Whereas, to a man of no fortune, all countries are alike; and a certain establishment in an enemy's country, might be a greater temptation, than a precarious post in the service of his own.

" With regard to the public treasure, how could it be secured, if no man of fortune would accept any public employment? which, I am afraid, none would do, if they were to have, as it is vulgarly said, nothing for their labour, but their pains. We know what large sums of public money are, and must be entrusted, in the hands of some public officer. If such officers possessed no landed estates, nor had any other means of subsistence, except a precarious salary from the public, would they not be strongly tempted to abscond with forty or fifty thousand pounds of the public money? Or, should they misapply a large amount to their own use, and waste it in extravagance, how could the public be reimbursed? To these, and many other evils, might we be exposed, if we had no men of fortune employed in the executive part of our government; and, therefore, as we ought, by all means, to encourage such men to accept such employment, I trust that this new doctrine will never be admitted in our commonwealth.

"But the proposition now before us, would be of still worse consequence, by the double tax proposed. You would reduce all the public salaries, so low, as not to be worth the acceptance of any gentleman of fortune; which would bring the government into contempt, and ultimately throw the country into confusion. I must, therefore, consider this proposition as much a Platonic scheme, as if you were to pass such a law as has been mentioned; and I am afraid it would be attended with worse consequences, for even an arbitrary government is better than anarchy, which would ensue, if you made your government contemptible.

"For these reasons, I hope that my honourable friend will waive his motion; for, although I am under no apprehension that it will pass, I dread the consequences of making it the subject of a division. The people, by some late management, have been led to think, that salaries and pensions have an influence upon the proceedings of this assembly. A question, upon such a motion, would, I fear, confirm them in this opinion; for, many may hear of the question, who neither hear, nor can comprehend the reasons for deciding in the negative; and, therefore, I hope that the honourable gentleman will not press his motion to a division."

It does not appear that this debate created much interest; for only 148 members voted: the amendment was rejected by 95 against 53; and, when the House resumed, the original motion was carried.

Before the adjournment for the holidays, which took place on the 22nd of December,* the formation of the new ministry was completed. This had been an affair of no small difficulty, in consequence of the strong objections of the king, to the admission of those, who had acted in violent opposition to his foreign measures. Against none were those prejudices more inveterate than against lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pitt. Lord Chesterfield, in reward for promoting the recent coalition,† was recommended to be lord lieutenant of Ireland; and at the same time selected as embassador to the Hague, for the purpose of inducing the States General to declare war against France. When his nomination was proposed by the duke of Newcastle, his Majesty peremptorily answered: "He shall have nothing. I command you to trouble me no more with such nonsense. Although I have been forced to part with those I liked, I will never be induced to take into my service, those who are disagreeable to me."*

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* Journals of the Commons.

† Glover observes, that the Junta having selected lord Cobham and lord Chesterfield, to negotiate with the Pelhams, lord Chesterfield affected to act separately from his colleague, and even, in his presence, entered into conversations and whispers with the Pelhams, so openly, as to provoke his indignation.—*Glover's Posthumous Mem. p. 25.*

Mr. Pitt, who then held the office of lord of the bedchamber to the prince of Wales, had also received from the Pelhams, through his friend and patron, lord Cobham, the promise of the place of secretary at war; but to this the king refused to consent, in resentment for his violent attacks against his Majesty's Hanoverian partialities. The Pelhams, therefore, could not venture to press his nomination; but soothed him by the promise, that the first opportunity should be taken, to overcome the objections of the sovereign.

Although his Majesty was gratified by the exclusion of Mr. Pitt, yet he still felt the highest indignation at being compelled, by the earnest remonstrances of his ministers, to acquiesce in the appointment of lord Chesterfield, and to agree to the admission of many persons into power, who were peculiarly obnoxious to him. In addition to the earl of Harrington, who had recently succeeded earl Granville, as secretary of state for the Northern department, and to those who retained their places,† the duke of Dorset was appointed lord president of the council, the duke of Bedford first lord of the Admiralty, in the room of the earl of Winchelsea, and lord Sandwich second commissioner at that Board. The duke of Devonshire was nominated lord steward of the household; Mr. George Grenville, nephew of lord Cobham, obtained the seat at the Board of Admiralty, which was vacated by Dr. Lee; while Mr. Waller, who had long been one of the disaffected Whigs, was appointed cofferer of the household, on the dismission of lord Sandys. Mr. Compton and Mr. Gibbon were removed from the Treasury Board, to make room for Mr. Lyttelton, an adherent of the prince of Wales, and for Mr. Arundel, a friend of Mr. Pelham. Mr. Dodington was appointed treasurer of the navy, on the removal of Sir John Rushout, and lord Hobart captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, on the resignation of lord Bathurst. To conciliate the Tories, earl Gower was re-appointed privy seal, on the resignation of lord Cholmondeley, who was made joint vice-treasurer of Ireland, with lord Torrington. Sir John Hinde Cotton was appointed treasurer of the chamber, and Sir John Philips a lord of trade.

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* Mr. Stone to lord Hardwicke, Dec. 6, 1744, MS.

† The principal persons who retained their posts were; * Mr. Pelham, first lord of the Treasury, and chancellor of the Exchequer. * The duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the Southern department. * The marquis of Tweeddale, secretary of state for Scotland. * Lord Hardwicke, lord high Chancellor. * The duke of Argyle, keeper of the great seal of Scotland. * The duke of Montagu, master of the Ordnance. The earl of Stair, commander of the Forces. * The duke of Grafton, lord Chamberlain. * The duke of Richmond, Master of the Horse. The duke of Bolton, governor of the Isle of Wight. The earl of Pembroke, groom of the Stole. Lord Monson, first commissioner of Trade. Mr. Winnington, paymaster of the Forces. Sir William Yonge, secretary at War. Lord Edgecumbe, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. The earl of Chesterfield, lord lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Fox, and the earl of Middlesex, lords of the Treasury. Lord Archibald Hamilton, lord Vere Beauclerc, lord Baltimore, and George Anson, esq. lords of the Admiralty.

All those marked * were of the Cabinet.

Thus was a ministry formed, which has been ludicrously styled the Broad Bottom Administration, as comprising a grand coalition of all parties. The Whigs were fully satisfied, because their influence was predominant in the cabinet; and the Tories, though considered as accessary and subordinate, were yet pleased, because many of their leaders, who had been hitherto excluded, were admitted into offices of trust and power.

These arrangements, however, were not completed without the most decided dissatisfaction in the royal mind; and we find on this occasion a letter from the duke of Newcastle to the Chancellor, expressing a strong sense of the embarrassments, created by his Majesty's displeasure.

"*Claremont, December* 30*th*, 1744.

"It is high time we should meet, to consider lord Chesterfield's instructions, who proposes to go to Holland next week.

"I must own, I do not like lord Harrington's notions; they are widely different from our answer given to Boetzlaar in May; from our paper delivered to the king; and from the king's speech; and, I think, are little more than lord Granville's way of thinking upon the subject. I am as little for breaking with the Dutch as any body; but we must not, because *we seem to be in*, forget all we said to keep lord Granville out. But this only among ourselves.

"We found the closet on Friday almost as bad as ever; and I have reason to think the present resolution is, to suffer us generously to do the business this session, and to kick us out afterwards. This accounts for the continuance of the behaviour, to those who are in, and the reverse to those who are out; and this accounts for the more violent behaviour, if possible, of the Leicester Fields' Court."

Soon after the date of the preceding letter, the chancellor had an audience of the king, in which his lordship endeavoured in vain to reconcile his Majesty to the recent changes, and induce him to give that cordial support to his ministers, which he had hitherto withheld. Of this interview, we are fortunately enabled to submit to the reader an account, from notes made by the chancellor himself, which he communicated to the duke of Newcastle, in the form of a dialogue. It exhibits a striking proof of the king's indignation, at being compelled to dismiss his favourite minister, and to receive into his service, persons, against whom he fostered a decided aversion; it also displays the spirit, good sense, and respectful firmness, with which the chancellor offered his remonstrances.

January 5th, 1744-5.

Chancellor.—Sir: I have forborne, for some time, to intrude upon your Majesty, because I know, that, of late, your time has been extremely taken up. But, as the parliament is to meet again in a few days, I was desirous of an opportunity of waiting upon your Majesty, to know if you had any commands for me. If there is any thing, that it might be particularly agreeable to your Majesty, to give me your commands upon.

[*Pause of above a minute, and the King stood silent.*]

Chancellor.—Sir: From some appearances, which I have observed of late, I have been under very uneasy apprehensions, that I may have incurred your Majesty's displeasure; and, though I am not conscious to myself of having deserved it, yet nothing ever did, or ever can, give me so great concern and so sensible a mortification, in my whole life.

[*Pause of above a minute, and the King silent.*]

Chancellor.—I beg your Majesty will have the goodness and condescension for me, to hear me a few words upon the motives of my own conduct, the nature of your present situation, and the manner in which I humbly think, it may be improved, for your service.

Whatever representations may have been made to your Majesty, I, and those with whom I have acted, if I know them at all, have had no view in the whole, that has passed of late, but your service, and that of the public. I considered with myself, that the principal point of the public service, and your Majesty's great object at present, is the carrying on the war; and though your Majesty may have been told, that we were against the war, that was a misrepresentation; we were zealously for it, but we were for it upon some practicable plan, and in such a way as we might see that it could be supported. I was always convinced, that as your Majesty was engaged, it was necessary to be carried on, until an opportunity should arise, of making a reasonable peace, for the sake of your Majesty, and for the sake of your allies. I sa wat the same time, that in the condition and disposition in which your allies are at present, it would require vast sums of money, and perhaps greater annual expenses, than this country ever bore in any former war, either in king William's or queen Anne's reign. It would be impossible for any administration to carry them through, without taking some methods to reconcile the minds of men to the management of the war, and making it in some degree popular. This could not possibly be done, without taking the nation to a certain degree along with them. I beg your Majesty would consider the situation you are now in. Your old servants, and the old corps of Whigs, who are connected with them, are ready and zealous to support you. The gentlemen, who are newly come in, have come in upon that foundation; and have bound themselves by their declarations and engagements, to support, by themselves, and their friends and followers, the measures for carrying on the war; and I think the strongest of those measures has been opened to them. The gentlemen, who have lately gone out of your service, have, for reasons best known to themselves, declared that they will concur in all measures to support the war, and pretend to build a merit upon it. For my part, I never saw or heard of a situation, which, if rightly improved, afforded a prospect of greater advantage to the Crown than this. In parliament, there have been generally three parties, the court party, a determined opposition, and a flying squadron. But I never yet saw a time, in which all these three parties were brought to declare for the support of government, in the grand essential measures of that government, and of which for some time all other measures will be but subordinate to it. There are two points for the support of the war. One is, the great proposition* from

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* For taking thirty thousand Russian troops into the pay of Great Britain.

Russia; and, though that cannot be brought about, without a large new burthen, yet, if it can be turned, in any practicable shape, I see a great disposition to make it effective. The other is the additional subsidy to the queen of Hungary, which is to be a method of keeping up your Majesty's Hanover troops, for two views combined together; I mean the defence of your German dominions, and the support of the common cause, according to the general reason of the war.

The King.—As to that, if they do not like it, I am very easy. I do not desire it for my own sake. I can call home my troops, for the defence of my own dominions.

Chancellor.—I do not mention it, in the view of a particular point of your Majesty's, but as part of the general system of carrying on the war, and as an instance of *their* readiness, to comply with expedients to get over their old prejudices. But, Sir, there still remains something very material behind; how this situation may be best improved, and the advantage of it not be lost?

The King.—I have done all you asked of me. I have put all my power into your hands, and I suppose you will make the most of it.

Chancellor.—The disposition of places is not enough, if your Majesty takes pains to shew the world, that you disapprove of your own work.

The King.—My work! I was forced; I was threatened.

Chancellor.—I am sorry to hear your Majesty use those expressions. I know of no force: I know of no threats. No means were employed but what have been used in all times, the humble advice of your servants, supported by such reasons as convinced them that the measure was necessary for your service.

The King.—Yes, I was told, that I should be opposed.

Chancellor.—Never by me, Sir, nor by any of my friends. How others might represent us, I do not pretend to know. But, whatever had been our fate, and though your Majesty had determined on the contrary side to what you did, we would never have gone into an opposition, against the necessary measures for carrying on the war, and for the support of your government and family. For myself, I have served your Majesty long, in a very laborious situation, and am arrived at a length of service, which makes me very indifferent, as to personal considerations. Taking your money only, is not serving you; and nothing can enable me to do that, but being put into a possibility and capacity of doing so, by your gracious countenance and support. But, Sir, to return to what I was mentioning, of making the proper use, and of taking advantage of your present situation.

The King.—The change might have been made, by bringing in properer persons; and not those brought in, who had most notoriously distinguished themselves, by a constant opposition to my government.

Chancellor.—If changes were to be made, in order to gain strength, such a force must be brought in, as could bring that strength along with them, otherwise it would have been useless. On that account, it was necessary to take in the leaders, and that with the concurrence of their friends; and, if your Majesty looks round the House of Commons, you will find no man of business, or even of weight, left, capable of heading or conducting an Opposition.

[*Pause—the King silent.*]

Chancellor.—Sir; permit me to say, the advantage of such a situation, is a real advantage gained to the Crown. Ministers may carry their point in parliament, and frequently do so, by small majorities, and in this way they may struggle on long; but, by the same way, the Crown always loses both its lustre and its strength. But when things are put upon a national foot, by a concurrence of the heads of all parties, and yet so as not to discourage your old friends, then a real solid strength is gained to the Crown; and the king has both more power to carry his present measures, for the support of government, and is more at liberty to chuse and act as he pleases. Your ministers, Sir, are only your instruments of government.

The King. [*Smiles.*]—Ministers are the king, in this country.

Chancellor.—If one person is permitted to engross the ear of the Crown, and invest himself with all its powers, he will become so in effect; but that is far from being the case now, and I know no one, now in your Majesty's service, that aims at it. Sir; the world without doors is full of making schemes of an administration for your Majesty for the future; but, whatever be your intention for the future, I humbly beg that you would not spoil your own business for the present.

The King.—I suppose you have taken care of *that.* If you have not success, the nation will require it at your hands.

Chancellor.—If right measures are not pursued, nor proper care taken, then the nation will have reason to require it; but success is in no man's power; and that success must greatly depend on your Majesty's shewing a proper countenance and support to your servants, and to what you have already done. I humbly beg leave to recommend it to your Majesty, for your own sake, and for the sake of carrying those points, which are essential to you and the kingdom. In times of peace, sometimes a session of parliament may be played with, and events waited for; but in a time of war, and of such a war as this is, the case is quite different, and the ill success of it will not be the ill success of the ministry, but of the Crown. It may be the loss of the whole.

[*Pause—the King silent.*]

Chancellor.—Sir; there is another advantage that may be made of your present situation, which I think a very material one. The swarms of libels, which have gone about of late years, have greatly hurt the credit, and weakened the strength of government; and that weakness has produced an impunity to them. From this source, has sprung much of the confusion and disorder, which have been so justly complained of. I should think the present situation would afford an opportunity, greatly to suppress and keep under that spirit; and, though this is the season of the year in which they used to abound, scarce any thing material of that kind has appeared this winter.

The King.—I myself have seen twenty.

Chancellor.—What strokes of that kind your Majesty may have seen, in the weekly papers, I cannot take upon me to say; but I have yet seen hardly any libellous pamphlets. In the last winter, before this time, there were volumes of virulent pamphlets published, which did infinite mischief. But, whatever has happened hitherto, if this work gains some solidity and* * * * in the nation, it will strengthen your Majesty's hands, and enable your magistrates to punish them effectually. Those who, perhaps, used to patronize and support them, will turn against them, and juries will be found now ready to convict them.

[*Pause—the King silent.*]

Chancellor.—Sir; I ask your Majesty's pardon for troubling you so long, but I thought it my duty to lay my thoughts before you.

In a letter to the lord Chancellor, dated Claremont, January 6, 1744-5, the duke of Newcastle observes:—

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* Illegible.

"*Claremont*, *January* 6*th*, 1744-5.

"At the same time, that I return you my most sincere thanks, for your communication of your yesterday's conversation, I give you the best proof of my obedience to your commands, by sending back the paper, which I should otherwise more gladly have kept, for my own instruction, and which I have shewed to *nobody* else here, having *nobody* but my brother with me. Give me leave, my dear lord, to express my approbation, gratitude, and astonishment, at the same time. The force of words could not, more truly, more ably, more strongly, and more decently, express what is proper, in our situation, to be laid before his Majesty, than you did,

"Nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,
Quam si dura silex, aut stet Marpesia cautes."*

"This almost sullen silence is the greatest proof of the supposed intended measure, at the end of the session, which was most admirably touched upon.

"There are cart-loads of letters from Holland, &c. The Austrians are marched some days towards the Rhine; the Hanoverians were to march, but stop for farther orders, at the unanimous representation of all the generals of all the nations. This is a sad *contretems*. I tremble for *Flanders*. It does not appear, that count Saxe's army is lessened one single battalion.

"You remember we are to meet to-morrow night, on lord Chesterfield's instructions."

In the midst of these difficult arrangements, Mr. Pelham was embarrassed by a misunderstanding which occurred with his brother. Although in virtue of his office, as first lord of the Treasury, he was usually denominated the prime minister, yet, in effect, he exercised that authority only in conjunction with the duke of Newcastle, who, not only from his exalted rank and station, but from his influence as the leader of the Whigs, considered himself as entitled to the principal direction of affairs.

Even at the commencement of their joint administration, the official jealousy of the noble secretary, which, as we have before observed, constituted a prominent feature in his character, broke forth; and we find it strongly expressed in a letter to his friend, the Chancellor, dated so early as November 7th, 1743.

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* Virgil's Eneid, b. vi. l. 470.

"And what he says and swears, regards no more,
Than the deaf rocks, when the loud billows roar."
Dryden's Virgil, b. vi. l. 635.

"There is one thing I would mention to you, relating to myself: it must be touched tenderly if at all. My brother has been long brought to think, by lord Orford, that he is the only person fit to succeed him, and that has a credit with the king, upon that foot; and this leads him into lord Orford's old method, of being the first person upon all occasions. This is not mere form; for I do apprehend that my brother does think, that his superior interest in the closet, and situation in the House of Commons, give him great advantage over every body else. They are indeed great advantages; but may be counterbalanced, especially if it is considered *over whom* those advantages are given; I only fling this out and make no remarks upon it."*

The difficulty of their situation, and the necessity of union, to oppose with effect the influence of lord Granville, had, for a time, induced the duke of Newcastle to suppress his feelings, and act in concert with his brother. But lord Granville, was no sooner removed from office, than the duke began to give vent to his anxieties. He deeply felt the reserve and indignation of the king, who attributed to him the change in administration; and he could ill brook the superior favour of his brother, in the closet, and the consideration which he possessed, as manager of the House of Commons. Hence, that perfect concord, which the situation of the two brothers required, at this period, was interrupted; and it was not until a few days before the re-assembling of parliament, that a reconciliation was effected. On this occasion, we find an interesting letter, from the duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pelham.

"Dear Brother, "*Newcastle House, Jan.* 19*th*, 1744-5.

"I cannot forbear taking the first opportunity to express to you, the great satisfaction I had, in the confidential conversation we had last night together, so necessary and proper for our respective stations, and so agreeable to that true love and affection, which I know in reality there is between us.

"I shall not touch upon any disagreeable incidents, that may have occasioned a contrary behaviour; but only just mention what, I am persuaded, will, with ease and satisfaction to us both, improve and confirm the mutual disposition at present in us, to do what is so right and necessary for ourselves and our friends, who, I find, begin to think themselves concerned, in any possible difference or coolness between us. I know my own present situation at court, as well as any body. I can bear a good deal; but cannot bear, that any of my colleagues, especially those who are become considerable only by the measure, should take advantage of the ill will and resentment, that I have drawn upon myself by it. This you, and you alone, can prevent. I am sure you will not think unreasonable what I now propose: that every thing, as far as possible, should be first talked over by you and me, before it is either flung out in the closet, or communicated to *any* of our brethren; I always except the chancellor, who, I know, is a third brother: that we shall have no reserve, either *public* or *private* with each other: and, that in our transactions with the other ministers, and other persons, who may be to be negotiated with, we should always let it be understood, that we speak in the name of both, or in the name of neither. This conduct, once established, will grow easy and natural, and effectually prevent any jealousies, on one side, or disagreeable warmth, occasioned by them, on the other.

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* This extract forms the latter part of a letter of the same date, inserted in chap. ii. page 107.

" In order to make this practicable, I will call every morning, as regularly at your house, as I once did at Sir Robert's. There the scheme of the day shall be settled, to be handed out to others afterwards, as shall be necessary; and a frequent intercourse with ease, at each other's houses, and at all hours and times, will also make this very easy to us.

" I have only one thing to add, which relates to the closet. You must take an opportunity to let the king see, that I feel his behaviour; that I don't deserve it; and that I am and must be always a principal part of this present scheme; and indeed it would be very unjust, that I should be the object of the resentment of all our enemies, and be destroyed by my own bull.* You see I write in good humour; I do so most sincerely. I beg you would attend to it. Indeed it is in your power to make yourself, and every body easy, as far as relates to *ourselves*. If you think so, I am sure you will do it. I am, with the same real affection and inclination I ever was, my dearest brother," &c.

Mr. Pelham, with his usual good nature, willingly acceded to the arrangements, proposed by the duke, in this affectionate letter, and harmony was consequently restored. We shall, however, find, in the course of the narrative, other instances of misunderstanding between them, which produced uneasiness to themselves, and perplexity to their friends. Yet, from the candour of Mr. Pelham, and their mutual affection, their personal contentions caused little obstruction to the affairs of government.

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* Alluding to the brazen bull formed for the tyrant Phalaris, by Perillus, who was the first victim of his own cruel invention.

The change of ministry in England, produced a pause of great anxiety, both at home and abroad. The exclusion of lord Granville, the supposed advocate of a vigorous policy, led to the inference, that his opponents were anxious for peace, and would induce the king to relax his exertions, if not to abandon his allies. The hopes and fears of all men, however, proved ill founded, for even the advocates of peace felt the necessity of strenuous efforts, to attain that object; and, in confirmation of the royal speech, a prompt and general notification was transmitted to foreign courts, that England would not abandon the cause in which she was engaged.

Mr. Pelham, himself, in a private letter to Sir Thomas Robinson, his majesty's minister at the court of Vienna, declared his own sentiments to be, decidedly, for making the most strenuous exertions, as the means of obtaining honourable and reasonable terms of peace.

"Dear Sir, "*December* 25*th*, 1744.

"I conclude you have heard, before this time, of the great alterations that his Majesty has made, in his administration here. I shall make no remarks upon it, but leave the world to judge from its consequences. This only I can assure you; it will make no difference, as to the support of the true interest of the court where you are. We may not promise so much; but we will perform what we do promise. And in my poor opinion, we shall be better able to perform, when we know what we do, than when every thing was to be taken upon trust, and without considering the means of execution.

"Another thing I can venture to say, that the removals were made to confirm, for the present, at least, the old part of the administration; and I hope will give courage to them, so as to enable them to support and carry on with vigour the present war, until honourable and reasonable terms of peace can be obtained."

In the mean time, the members of administration had been seriously intent on effecting their long meditated change in the system of foreign policy. Their project being chiefly grounded on the concurrence of the Dutch, a confidential intercourse with the leading members of that Republic, had already been established, through the agency of Mr. Trevor, British minister at the Hague, for the purpose of ascertaining their views and resources, and of inducing them to take a decisive part in the operations of the campaign, by declaring war against France. But all the efforts of Mr. Trevor could not overcome the timidity of the States, or suppress their general complaints, that England did not sufficiently participate in the burthen of the war. They likewise protested against the unreasonableness of the demand, that they should declare war against France, while the British monarch, as elector of Hanover, not only continued neuter, but had procured a subsidy from England, for the only troops which he had sent into the field, although France had declared war against him as king of England. The ministers, therefore, had no alternative but to accept the aid, which the Republic might still be inclined to grant, as an auxiliary; and to press the king of England, in his character of a German prince, to declare war against France; without which, it was universally apprehended, that the grand alliance would be weakened, if not dissolved.

On this principle, the British cabinet framed their arrangement for the campaign; and in concurrence with the Dutch, prosecuted their negotiations with some of the German States, the success of which was promoted by the fortunate change in the situation of the queen of Hungary.

Notwithstanding the disastrous close of the campaign in the Netherlands, and the retreat of prince Charles from France, the aspect of military affairs in other parts of the theatre of war, had become more auspicious. On advancing into Bohemia, prince Charles acquired strength, by the junction of the Austrians, under count Bathiani, and by other reinforcements. With an army, thus rendered superior in number to that of the enemy, the prince drove the king of Prussia from post to post, retook Prague, compelled his royal antagonist to retire into Silesia, and not only preserved the hereditary dominions, but even threatened to invade the Prussian territory.

In Italy, the affairs of the allies became also more favourable. After the relief of Coni, and the retreat of the Bourbon forces across the Alps, the king of Sardinia lent a favourable ear to the representations of England; was gratified by a confirmation of the Treaty of Worms; and in consequence concurred in active preparations for the ensuing campaign.

Meanwhile the quadruple alliance, which had been long in agitation, was concluded on the 8th of January, 1745, between England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony. The king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, engaged to furnish thirty thousand men for the defence of Bohemia, in consideration of a subsidy, amounting to £.150,000, of which one-third was to be paid by Holland, and two-thirds by England. On the recovery of Bohemia, and the restoration of Saxony to a state of security, the king of Poland consented to supply ten thousand men, for the service of the allies, in the Netherlands, or in the empire, under a subsidiary provision of £.90,000.*

The contracting parties agreed to support Saxony, if attacked; and the Republic of Poland and the empress of Russia, were invited to accede to the alliance.

Scarcely was this treaty concluded, when a new incident occurred, to favour the views of the allies, and restore their interest in Germany. By the death of the emperor Charles the VII, on the 20th of January, the union between France and Bavaria was dissolved.† This auspicious event roused England to the exertion of all her power and influence. The king instantly opened a negotiation with the States General, and obtained their hearty cooperation, in mediating an adjustment between the queen of Hungary and Maximilian Joseph, the new elector of Bavaria, and in promoting the election of Francis, the consort of Maria Theresa, to the vacant throne of the empire, in opposition to the views of Prussia and France.

After some difficulties, occasioned by the ambitious and punctilious spirit of the Austrian court, the earnest exhortations of the British cabinet prevailed. A treaty was signed at Fuessen, on the 20th of April, by which the new elector renounced his pretensions to the Austrian succession, guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction, engaged to recall his auxiliary troops from the French army, and promised his vote for the grand duke of Tuscany; while Maria Theresa acknowledged the validity of the late emperor's election, and restored all the dominions, which she had conquered from Bavaria.

A favourable impulse was thus given to the tide of foreign affairs. The reconciliation of the courts of Munich and Vienna frustrated the projects of France in the empire; and the accession of the Saxons suspended the operations of the king of Prussia, against the hereditary countries of the House of Austria.

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* Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 123. Gent. Magazine, for the year 1745, p. 167.

† Annales de Marie Thérèse. Cont. of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 125.

The subsidiary treaties with the courts of Vienna and Turin were renewed by England, and similar engagements, concluded in the preceding year, with the electors of Cologne and Mentz, were now confirmed.

This succession of fortunate events, occurring soon after the dismissal of lord Granville, produced a salutary change in public opinion. On the meeting of parliament, after the recess, at the time when affairs were beginning to take so beneficial a course, the clamour against Hanoverian influence was suddenly suspended; and, though attempts were made to stigmatize the conduct of government, as a mere continuance of old measures, by new men, little difficulty was encountered in obtaining the necessary supplies.

On this occasion, Mr. Pelham executed the delicate task of explaining the views, and vindicating the policy of ministers. In the discussion of the question for the grant of twenty-eight thousand men, to be employed in Flanders, which was introduced on the 23rd of January, by Sir William Yonge, a faint attempt was made by Mr. Powlett, to limit the term of service to two months, on the plea of waiting the decision of Holland, that the country might no longer be burthened with the expense of a land war, if that Republic should persist in her present policy. To this objection, which was obviously intended to identify the proceedings of the actual ministry, with those of the excluded secretary, Mr. Pelham replied, by a candid exposition of the principles on which he purposed to act.

Without inquiring into the causes or conduct of the war, he maintained, that there was no way of obtaining an honourable peace, except by vigorous exertions. The proposition of Mr. Powlett he treated as absurd; because, while it evinced a disposition to abandon our allies, it imposed on the nation the useless expense of maintaining an army, during a season when it could not act. But he, at the same time, protested against the erroneous representations of those, who conceived his intention to be, that Great Britain should undertake the entire charge of the war, and continue, from year to year, exhausting her strength and resources, without plan or concert. With respect to the Dutch, he was anxious to avoid speaking of their intentions, either in too sanguine or in too desponding a tone; but, that the House might have proper grounds, on which to vote these troops, he would venture to assert, that the States would reinforce the army in Flanders, with the large contingent of forty thousand men, exclusive of an efficient detachment on the Lower Rhine, and adequate garrisons in the Barrier Towns. They had also engaged to contribute one third of the subsidy to the king of Poland, and one half of that to the elector of Cologne, and had offered their due proportion towards any other pecuniary succour, that might be deemed necessary. He added, that, however just might be the opinion here entertained, that the Dutch had not been sufficiently punctual in their engagements with us, or sufficiently zealous in support of the common cause; yet their conduct was by no means relished by the court of Versailles, which had answered their complaints, against the interruption of their trade by the French ships of war, with recriminations on the hostile conduct of Holland, since the commencement of these troubles in Europe, and with an admonition, that it must be changed, before the wonted marks of friendship could be shewn.

He concluded, by anticipating an unanimous adoption of the proposed grant; since those who were so sanguine as to hope, that the continuance of the war would be glorious to the arms of Great Britain, must vote for it; while those who desired to have no opportunity neglected, for procuring a safe and honourable peace, must be convinced, that the only course for attaining that object, would be by manfully facing the enemy.

Sir Roger Newdigate and lord Strange inforced the objections of Mr. Powlett. But Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, contrary to expectation, defended the proposal, by declaring, that, for the first time in his life, he concurred with the court. He concluded by asserting, that the British ambassador, lord Chesterfield, would, with a very ill grace, solicit the Dutch to enter into the war with more vigour and dispatch, should the parliament pass a vote to disarm the country.

The objections of the Opposition were, however, ably answered by Mr. Pitt, who, notwithstanding his exclusion from power, displayed his characteristic eloquence, in support of the ministry. Unfettered by official considerations, he spoke more fully and explicitly than Mr. Pelham; and, in vindicating the present measures, he did not refrain from reiterating his reprobation of the former system pursued by lord Carteret. Taking his seat, with the apparatus and mien of an invalid, to use the expression of a member then present,* he addressed the House with equal grace and energy.† "If this were to be the last day of my life, I would spend it in the House of Commons, since I judge the condition of my country to be worse than even that of my own health. I hoped that the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pelham) who spoke some time ago, would not only have persuaded, but awed the House, into an approbation of the measure; and that I should have had no occasion to enter into a detail, to which, I am apprehensive, my strength is not equal."

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* Mr. Yorke, in his Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 1054, says, that Mr. Pitt, who was constitutionally subject to the gout, was frequently obliged to make his appearance in the House on crutches.

† Mr. Yorke, in his notes to this speech, in the first instance applies this remark of Mr. Pitt to Mr. Pelham; but afterwards expresses a doubt whether it might not contain an allusion

He argued, that the question was changed, since the preceding year, when a certain fatal influence prevailed in his Majesty's councils. "The object seemed then, to multiply war upon war, expense upon expense, and to abet the House of Austria, in such romantic attempts, as the recovery of the *avulsa membra Imperii*, without regard to the immediate interest of Great Britain. The object now is," he continued, "to enable ourselves, by a close connection with Holland, to hold out equitable terms of peace, both to friends and foes, without prosecuting the war a moment longer than is necessary, to acquire a valid security for our own rights, and those of our allies, as established by public treaties." He recapitulated the miscarriages and errors of the government, since the change of ministry in 1742, directing occasional invectives against lord Granville, who, when not ten men in the whole nation were disposed to follow him, had supported himself in the closet, on that broken reed, a dependence on foreign princes. Among the political errors which he exposed, were those of neglecting to pursue Maillebois, on his march for the relief of the French garrison in Prague; of relinquishing the meditated attack on Dunkirk; of forbearing to urge the queen of Hungary to reject the French overture at Prague; of not improving the victory of Dettingen; and, lastly, that of turning a deaf ear to the proposals made by the late emperor,* through the channel of prince William of Hesse. In censuring the convention with Austria, subsequent to the Treaty of Worms, he rejoiced that the cabinet council had done their duty, by refusing to sanction what the rash hand of a daring minister had signed. He complimented Mr. Pelham on his genuine patriotism, and capacity for business; and commended the present ministry, for pursuing moderate and healing measures, such as tended to place the king at the head of his people.

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to Sir Watkin Williams Wynne. This second remark appears to be less founded, because Mr. Pitt designates the speaker, as the gentleman who spoke some time before; whereas Sir Watkin had immediately preceded him in the debate. Besides, the expression of *awing* the House, was only applicable to the station and speech of Mr. Pelham.

* The convention of Hanau.

"I perceive," he exclaimed, "a dawn of salvation to my country breaking forth, and I will follow it as far as it will lead me. I should, indeed, consider myself as the greatest dupe in the world, if those, now at the helm, did not mean the honour of their master, and the good of the nation. If I find myself deceived, nothing will be left, but to act with an honest despair."

He then noticed the symptoms of a good disposition in the States General, upon which Mr. Pelham had enlarged; and added, that if they completed their last augmentation of twelve thousand men, they would have a more numerous army in the field, than they had maintained during king William's war. In the heat of argument, he turned once or twice to Sir Roger Newdigate, and asked, with an air of disdain, "Can this be called an old measure from a new ministry?" *

The united efforts of the minister and Mr. Pitt, produced a decisive effect; and the motion passed, with the single negative of lord Strange.

But the most delicate question, agitated in the course of the session, was that relating to the subsidiary engagements with foreign powers, which was introduced to the consideration of parliament, on the 14th of February, in a speech from the throne.

In this speech, after graciously expressing his satisfaction with the unanimity and zeal of both Houses, the king thus addressed the Commons:

"I return you my thanks, for the promptitude and cheerfulness with which you have provided so considerable a part of the supplies; and I doubt not that the same zeal on your part, will enable me to make good the alliances, in which I am already engaged, and to concert such other measures, in this important conjuncture, as shall be judged necessary, for the support of the queen of Hungary, and for prosecuting the present war with vigour, in order to secure a safe and honourable peace."

His Majesty then announced to both Houses, his intention to lay before them a treaty, which he had, in conjunction with the queen of Hungary and the States General, concluded with the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony; and earnestly exhorted them, to maintain the same steadiness and harmony in their deliberations as they had hitherto shewn, which would not fail to give encouragement to his allies, and add weight to their efforts.

In reply to this speech, the peers unanimously voted a loyal address,

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* Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, printed in Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 1055.

conveying assurances of their concurrence, in all measures necessary for the honour of the crown, the support of the queen of Hungary, and the vigorous prosecution of the war.

The Commons simply voted an address of thanks, and referred the speech to a committee of the whole House, for farther consideration of the supply to be granted to his Majesty.*

On this point, the ministry were involved in a peculiar difficulty; because the greater part of these subsidiary engagements had been contracted under the ministry of lord Granville; and, in giving them effect, they could scarcely avoid the imputation of inconsistency, in imitating the conduct of a statesman, whose continental policy they had so unequivocally condemned. From this dilemma, however, they extricated themselves, with equal dexterity and success. In consequence of the national odium excited against the Hanoverians, they prevailed on the king to acquiesce in the discharge of those troops from British pay; but, as so large a force could ill be spared, arrangements were privately made, for transferring them to the service of the queen of Hungary, who was to be gratified with a proportionate increase of subsidy.

This question was discussed in the committee of supply, on the 18th of February, after the debate relative to the force to be employed by England in the Netherlands.

The treaties submitted to the House, on this occasion, were, first, that concluded with the elector of Mentz, on the 27th of April, 1744, by which, in consideration of an annual payment of £.8,620, for four years, he engaged to guard his capital and territory against the enemy; secondly, that with the elector of Cologne, signed July 4th, by which, for an annual sum of £.24,299, half of which was to be paid by the Dutch, he stipulated to provide a body of troops, ready to serve in camp or garrison; and thirdly, that with the queen of Hungary, signed on the 11th of August, by which, as the supply of £.300,000, already granted to her, was exhausted, and she was unable to maintain even her present force in the field, the king had engaged to advance a farther sum of £.200,000, that she might be enabled to raise an additional levy of forty thousand men, and also to furnish the king of Poland with £.50,000, to defray the expense of marching his troops to her assistance.

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* Journals. Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1173.

The grants for the fulfilment of these treaties were proposed by Mr. Pelham; and, after a slight discussion, the two first were voted unanimously. But the motion for a subsidy of £.500,000 instead of £.300,000, as previously paid to the queen of Hungary, provoked considerable opposition, and involved the ministry in the charge of following the footsteps of lord Granville.

On this occasion, Mr. Pelham observed, that having resolved to make vigorous efforts, we could not otherwise realise that intention, than by enabling our allies to exert the strength which they possessed. With this view, the parliament had granted an annual subsidy to the queen of Hungary, from the commencement of the troubles in Europe. That aid had been economically and judiciously applied; but, as the farther sum of £.200,000 was now required, some explanation might be necessary. The danger to the Austrian succession, and to the balance of Europe, had been augmented by the violent aggressions of the king of Prussia; hence it was of the highest importance to make a timely offer of all the assistance, that could be prudently afforded to our ally. The king, from paternal regard to his British subjects, had determined to forego any claim for continuing the services of his electoral troops; and with one moiety of the £.200,000 which they cost us, the queen of Hungary would be enabled to hire at least eight thousand fresh troops; while we, with the other, might attach the same number of auxiliaries to our army in Flanders. Vigorous offensive operations were evidently contemplated, in the approaching campaign, in which the Dutch were heartily disposed to join, but at the same time, expected that England would not abate her exertions. When the contingents to be furnished by both powers, to the army in Flanders, were completed, there was reason to hope that it would be superior to any force which the French could bring into the field, while prosecuting their German schemes; and if they turned their whole strength to the Netherlands, our allies in the empire would send reinforcements, which would enable us to make head against them.*

The grant encountered little opposition; but the surmise, that the obnoxious Hanoverians were to be transferred to the service of the queen of Hungary, afforded a plausible pretext, of which the friends of lord Granville did not fail to take advantage. They hoped to foment division, by imputing to the Pelhams a collusive disavowal of their preceding votes, in favour of the Hanoverians, and by charging their new colleagues with a glaring inconsistency, in sanctioning the employment of these very troops, merely under another denomination.

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* This speech is taken from Mr. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 1174. Another is given by Hansard from the London Magazine.

The conduct of ministers was warmly vindicated by Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding his former antipathy to the Hanoverians. He commended the proposed grant, as a measure alike honourable to the minister who advised, and to the prince who adopted it, and calculated to give pleasure to every honest heart. It might be urged, he said, that the queen of Hungary might take the Hanoverians into her pay, when dismissed from ours; but to that, he declared, he should have no objection; and, as he supposed she was at liberty either to take or refuse them, they ought not to be forced upon her; neither should they, by our votes, be proscribed from every court in Europe. The ill consequences apprehended from continuing them, as part of our army, on the basis of a rival establishment, had already been removed by his Majesty's wisdom and goodness.

Sir Henry Liddel, with much warmth, declared, that it was indifferent to him, through what channel the Hanoverian troops were paid, provided their services were not lost to the public; but the remark, which had just been made, seemed to require explanation. It led to an inference, that the Hanoverians and the British could on no occasion act cordially together; but he was prepared to repeat the testimony he had formerly given, of the good harmony which had subsisted between them, during the last campaign; and hoped for assistance, in framing a motion, to take the sense of the House, on their compatibility or incompatibility of serving together.

It was feared, that this proposal might revive the discussions, which had already created so much odium; and Mr. Pitt adroitly eluded the obnoxious question. He soothed Sir Henry Liddel, by a just compliment to his honourable feelings, and reminded him, that his proposed inquiry would only serve an interest, in the removal of which, they both doubtless rejoiced, and which they would be sorry to see restored.

This temperate and judicious reply, produced the desired effect; Sir Henry Liddel thanked Mr. Pitt for repressing his warmth, and candidly observed, that as the question might be improper at this juncture, he would relinquish his intended motion. The debate was closed by Mr. Pelham, with great spirit, though in his usual tone of candour and conciliation. He charged those who had opposed the measure, with a wish to revive animosities, which every honest man desired to suppress, and added, that he trembled at the recollection of what had formerly been said, on this delicate subject, at the same time he declared that, in moving this question, he adhered to his opinion, that the objections against the Hanoverian troops were altogether groundless.

The hope of a schism between the Pelhams and their new colleagues was disappointed; for Sir John Philips was the only member of administration, who signified his dissent; and the resolution passed almost unanimously.* On the 19th, when the House resumed, on the report of the committee, the grant was voted without a division.†

In fact the question relative to the Hanoverian troops, had become so little interesting, that a motion by Sir William Yonge, on the 22nd of February, for a grant of £.57,965 as an allowance of two months pay, to those troops on their return home, encountered but a feeble opposition. In the committee it was carried by 181 against 40; and on the report, by 244 against 40. It is remarkable, that Sir John Philips, though in office, opposed the motion, while Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Sir John Hinde Cotton, and most of the Tories, voted with ministers.‡

On the 22nd of February, the Treaty of Quadruple alliance was laid before the House of Commons, by Mr. Pelham; and on the 21st of March, the subsidy of £.100,000, stipulated in that treaty, to be paid by England to the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was granted without opposition, and having been approved by the Lords, received the royal assent.§

The system of foreign policy, was only once more brought into discussion, during this session. The debate arose from a motion, made on the 21st of March, by Mr. Pelham, on the vote of credit for £.500,000 proposed in the Committee of Supply.

After alluding to the engagements of his Majesty, and to the circumstances which rendered the fulfilment of them difficult, he congratulated the House, that so powerful a prince, as the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, had put the last hand to the Treaty of Warsaw, and thus shewn, that a strength, sufficient to support the common cause, might be raised in the empire. He said, that his Majesty had used his endeavours, to hire eight thousand men, to complete his quota of forty thousand, which he had agreed to contribute, on condition, that a like number should be produced, in the pay of the States General. These negotiations, however, he admitted, were not yet sufficiently matured to be laid before parliament. His Majesty had applied to Denmark for troops; and if that court returned a negative answer, he would take into pay eight thousand Flemings, as a cheaper, though not so eligible, a contingent. He alluded to another great power, Russia, whose vigorous aid might turn the scale; and inquired whether the Crown should not be enabled, during the interval of parliament, to make, or to accept, advantageous offers, when the sum, required for that purpose, would not exceed the supplies for the current service. He preferred a vote of credit, to the expedient, recommended by some gentlemen, of leaving a latitude in the appropriation clause, which was practised in the preceding year.

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* Mr. Yorke's Journal, in Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1173. Journals of the Commons.

† Journals of the House of Commons.

‡ Mr. Yorke's Journal, in Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1201. Journals of the Commons.

§ Journals of the Lords and Commons.

An objection being made to this proposal, on the plea that proper information was still wanting, relative to the state of affairs abroad, and to the disposition of the Dutch, Mr. Pelham replied, that the Dutch minister had waited on the king, in the morning, to communicate a resolution of the States, for placing their troops under the command of the duke of Cumberland, assisted by the Austrian general, count Königsegg. He adduced this, as the strongest proof of their disposition to act with England, on the offensive, and added, that they would contribute their share towards sieges, and other contingencies of the campaign.

Notwithstanding this explanation, the debate continued, but the argument chiefly turned on the general and common objection to votes of credit; namely, the danger of reposing too much confidence in ministers, and the unconstitutional precedent of granting money, without a specification of the nature and extent of the service, for which it was intended. The motion was, however, carried in the committee, by a considerable majority; and, though the discussion was renewed, with great vehemence, when the House resumed, the division proved equally favourable to government.*

Before we conclude our account of this session, we must notice a debate of great importance, although it drew forth no observations from Mr. Pelham. It arose on the proposal for instituting, or as it was erroneously called, reviving annual parliaments.

The history of our country sufficiently shews the danger of governing without a parliament, or with a parliament, which cannot be dissolved without its own consent, both being alike contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and fatal to the liberties of the people. The long parliament, in the time of the great rebellion, overthrew our constitution in church and state, and subjected the country to the yoke of a military despot. The government of Charles II, and James II, who presumed to rule without the aid of parliament, gave rise to evils, which were remedied only by the glorious Revolution of 1688. It is, however, singular, that the leaders of that Revolution did not introduce into the bill of rights, any clause to regulate the duration of parliaments.

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* In the Committee, the votes were 185 to 54. On the Report, 242 to 109. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 125. Journals of the Commons. Yorke's Parliamentary Journal, in Hansard's Parl. Hist. xiii. p. 1246 to 1250.

It was deemed sufficient that the royal prerogative could not dispense with the great council of the nation, because the king could not levy supplies, without the consent of parliament, and because his own permanent revenue was not sufficient for the ordinary expenses of government. But experience shewed the impolicy of protracting the duration of parliaments to an unlimited period, at the pleasure of the Crown; and therefore in 1692, a bill passed through both Houses,* for the purpose of instituting triennial parliaments.

It provided that there should be an annual session; and, that if, at the expiration of three years, the Crown should not order new writs, the holder of the great seal should, under severe penalties, issue them *ex officio*. King William considered this bill as an insult to his personal feelings, an attack on his prerogative, and a prelude to the dissolution of the parliament, which had already sat three years, and had proved itself subservient to the Tory ministry, then recently formed. He therefore refused his royal assent.

In 1694, the bill was again introduced, with the simple modification, that within three years after the dissolution, the king should direct writs under the great seal to be issued, for convoking another parliament. It passed through both Houses with little opposition; and, as a change of political circumstances had removed the objections of his Majesty, it received his formal sanction. It continued in force during the reigns of William and Anne; but, soon after the accession of the House of Brunswick, the appalling number of Jacobites, the alarm which had been excited by the rebellion of 1715, the apprehensions of foreign intervention, the ferment arising from frequent elections, and the fears entertained for the security of the Protestant establishment, induced the parliament to supersede the triennial by the septennial act.*

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* See Correspondence of the duke of Shrewsbury, by whom the bill was introduced into the House of Lords, chap. i. p. 17.

This important change in the representative system, had been effected before Mr. Pelham came into parliament; but he always defended the principle from which it originated, as essential to the welfare of England; and constantly opposed every attempt to repeal the septennial act, throughout the whole course of his career. In 1734, he combated, under the banners of Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Bromley's celebrated motion, for the revival of triennial parliaments.† On that occasion, he briefly declared, that he saw no inconveniences in the existing law, which would not prevail to a much greater degree by the re-establishment of triennial parliaments; and added, that too frequent elections kept the nation in continual ferment, and exposed it to the numerous evils, ever engendered by faction and sedition.

His objections against triennial parliaments, applied with much greater force against those limited to one year; and he accordingly opposed, with all his influence, the motion made by Mr. Carew, on the 29th of January, for the repeal of the septennial bill, and the revival of the act of the fourth year of Edward III. ordaining annual parliaments.

It would be tedious to expatiate on the mischiefs incident to a measure, which must ultimately tend to overthrow the constitution, and cause anarchy, bloodshed, and confusion. The debate on this question affords little interest. The speeches of Mr. Carew, and those of Mr. Sydenham and Sir John Philips, who seconded and supported the motion, consisted of little more than theoretical and visionary rhapsodies, and were ably refuted by Sir William Yonge, who proved, that the act of Edward III. was never carried into execution, and that annual parliaments had never existed. The motion was negatived by 145 against 113; and it is a matter of astonishment and regret, that so large a minority should have voted in favour of so absurd and mischievous an innovation.‡

Entertaining these sound and rational notions, respecting the spirit of the constitution, Mr. Pelham was sometimes carried too far by his zeal for its purity, and his dread of popular ferment. He exhibited these feelings on a motion of trifling import, for the repeal of the act, vesting in the lord mayor and court of aldermen, a negative on the proceedings of the common council.

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* The reader is referred to the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, for a more detailed account of this great measure, chap. xii.

† For Mr. Pelham's speech on this occasion, see Chandler's Debates, vol. viii. p. 199.

‡ Journals of the Commons. Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 1056.

The bill, conferring this power, had been enacted in 1725, to curb the refractory spirit of the common council of London, and to restrain the opposition, frequently manifested by that body, against the measures of government. The negative was so highly unpopular, that it was seldom, if ever, employed, until the convention with Spain in 1739; when a motion in the common council, for a disrespectful address to the king, was set aside by the court of aldermen. A general clamour was instantly raised, against a privilege, which was considered by many, even among the aldermen, as contrary to the primitive constitution of the city, and detrimental to its rights, since any minister might thence be enabled to stifle the public voice. Proceedings were instituted to obtain its repeal; and a petition to that effect was presented to the legislature on the 25th of January, in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, of the city of London. On the 5th of February, a bill for this purpose was brought into the House of Commons by the lord mayor of London; and, passing through the customary forms, was read a second time on the 12th, when a vehement debate ensued. Mr. Pelham, in opposing the repeal, deprecated the mischiefs arising from precipitated reform, and the danger incurred by giving too great weight to popular assemblies. He cited examples from the history of the Roman Republic, and from that of our own country, during the great rebellion. In the instance of Rome, after enumerating the successive encroachments of the people on the patricians, he shewed, in what manner the popular leaders, Marius, Sylla, and Julius Cæsar, had appropriated and abused the power of the people, had involved their liberties, as well as the authority of the senate, in one common ruin. In the instance of England, he proved, that by the operation of the same causes, the people, through their representatives in the Commons, usurped the whole power of the government, murdered their king, overthrew the constitution of their country, and were in their turn subjected to the despotism of the general, whom they had raised to the command of their army. By an exaggerated comparison, he laboured to apply these arguments, to the privilege vested in the common council of London; and concluded by asserting, that the lord mayor and aldermen had always possessed it, and ought still to retain it, for the purpose of preserving the tranquillity of the metropolis, and the safety of the state.

The supporters of the bill maintained, that the negative assumed, could not be justified by precedent, and that even if it were, it ought to be repealed. They also derided, as visionary, the apprehension of danger entertained by Mr. Pelham; and exposed the inconsistency of comparing the two hundred and thirty-seven individuals, forming the common council of London, with the great body of the Roman republic, or with the multitude of our turbulent republicans, in the state and in the army, under the Commonwealth. The influence, however, if not the arguments of Mr. Pelham, in this instance, prevailed; and the motion for the re-committal of the bill was negatived, by 117 against 90.*

Still, the unpopularity of the claim induced its opponents to persist in their purpose; and the bill for the repeal of the obnoxious act, being revived in the ensuing session, Mr. Pelham prudently yielded to public opinion. After a trifling opposition, on the second reading in the Commons, it was carried through both Houses, and received the royal assent.†

During the latter part of the session, the attention of parliament was chiefly engaged, in an inquiry into the conduct of admirals Matthews and Lestock, and the causes which had occasioned the inefficient result of a naval action off Toulon.

To influence the operations of the war in Italy, a powerful fleet had been sent to the Mediterranean, under admiral Matthews, who was invested with a diplomatic character, to facilitate the necessary arrangements with the king of Sardinia. The two admirals, next in command, were Lestock and Rowley. In the course of the preceding year, Matthews having driven into Toulon, the Spanish squadron, which had conveyed the troops to Italy, established a blockade of that port, and the neighbouring coasts of Provence. The French, confident that their engagements with Spain would now enable them to act in open hostility against England, ordered a fleet of fourteen sail of the line, under admiral de Court, to escort the Spanish squadron towards the Straits ; and either protect its return, or facilitate its junction with the armament at Brest.

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* Journals of the Commons. Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1126.

† Journals of the Commons. For the committal of the bill, 126; against it, 32. This result we have anticipated, for the sake of placing the whole of this question in one point of view.

Admiral Matthews, who had observed their movements, approached them, as they were clearing the harbour. As the British fleet consisted of twenty-six sail of the line, besides frigates ; and the combined squadrons amounted to no more than the same number, without frigates, and were also inferior in force, it was the object of the French admiral to avoid an engagement. Matthews, impatient to prevent their escape, bore down with great alacrity, and was gallantly supported by rear-admiral Rowley, who commanded the van, and who was followed by several of his captains. Lestock, second in command ; kept aloof, and his example operated on some of the captains in his division. A partial engagement ensued, in which Matthews and Rowley greatly distinguished themselves. The Spanish admiral's ship was reduced to a complete wreck, and was rescued from destruction, chiefly by the manœuvres of the French commander. Other ships were much injured, and one, the Podér, was compelled to strike. Night separated the combatants, and at day-break, the enemy, who had gained considerably a-head, were making every effort to escape. They were vigorously pursued, Lestock taking the lead with the ships of his division ; and a more decisive battle might probably have ensued, if Matthews had not thrown out a signal for suspending the chase. The combined squadrons then withdrew, and the English fleet proceeded to Port Mahon, to refit.

A violent feud immediately arose between the two admirals. Lestock was suspended by his principal, and returned to England in May ; and, towards the close of autumn, Matthews himself was recalled, to substantiate his charges against his second in command. The public, deeply interested in the proceedings, clamoured for justice, applauded the bravery of Matthews, and ascribed the escape of the enemy, in the first action, to the misconduct of Lestock, who, sheltering himself under the mere forms of discipline, accused the vice-admiral of confusion in his signals and orders, and found a powerful party to support his cause in the House of Commons. Though blame was probably imputable to both commanders, the question was too important to be suppressed ; and it was evident that no decision could be adopted, which would wholly vindicate the character of either, and satisfy the public.

Although, on the separate petition of each, a regular investigation had been instituted by the Crown, the eagerness of their partisans brought the question before the House of Commons, by a motion for a committee of Inquiry. On this subject, even the members of administration were divided. Mr. Pelham manifested an inclination to favour Matthews, and to resist the motion, as unconstitutional and nugatory; while it was strongly supported by Mr. Fox, who proved himself a warm friend of Lestock. The minister at length yielded to the public voice, in and out of parliament, and the proposed inquiry was undertaken.

This determination, however, was far from satisfying the friends of either party; and a considerable discussion arose, on the terms in which the vote was to be couched. Mr. Fox again vindicated Lestock, and censured the superior officer, for his treatment of the vice-admiral, after the battle. When Matthews, as a member of the House, had offered a short justification of his conduct, three resolutions were passed; namely, that the fleet was superior to that of the enemy, that the miscarriage was dishonourable to the British arms, and that it arose from the misconduct of some of the commanders and officers of the fleet.

In consequence of these resolutions, an address to the king was moved by Mr. Fox, requesting a court-martial, for the trial of the two admirals, six of the captains, and some of the inferior officers, accused of misconduct or cowardice. The specific mention of the admirals, and of certain officers, who were unequivocally denounced, as guilty of cowardice, being deemed unjust and dishonourable, Mr. Vyner proposed, as an amendment, to suppress all mention of names; and was supported by Mr. Pelham. He admitted that the conduct of the chase merited inquiry; but did not consider the evidence before the House, sufficient to justify a recommendation to the Crown, to put the commander of the fleet on his trial. That course, which had been represented as involving no censure, he deemed equivalent to a very grievous censure, especially when connected with the second and third resolutions. However strongly the House might be disposed for such a specification, he could not conscientiously give it his assent; and he foresaw many ill consequences to be apprehended from a procedure, in which persons were joined together, whose offences, supposing them guilty, were of a very different nature, and yet not distinguished by any specific charge.

The observation of Mr. Pelham, however judicious, did not avail, against the prejudice, which it was intended to remove. The original motion was carried by 218 against 74, and when the report was brought up, the address was voted without a division.

The court martial was accordingly held; and, after a tedious and expensive inquiry, the result was far from fulfilling the expectations of the public. Matthews was declared incapable of serving his Majesty in the navy; Lestock was honourably acquitted; and some of the captains were visited with different degrees of disgrace.*

The supplies for the year are exhibited, with the ways and means, in the following table.†

SUPPLY.

NAVY—Charge of 40,000 seamen, and 11,550 marines, transports, victualling, &c.	£.2,567,084
ARMY—Charge of 15,768 men for home service, and 28,107 for Flanders, including ordnance, garrisons for the Plantations, and Gibraltar, &c.	2,066,650
Allowance to Hanoverian troops	57,965
For defraying the charge of 6000 Dutch, in Great Britain and Flanders	42,334
Expenses of the troops in British pay, in Flanders, not provided for	85,847
Subsidy to the queen of Hungary	500,000
———— king of Sardinia	200,000
———— elector of Saxony	100,000
———— elector of Cologne	24,299
———— elector of Mentz	8,620
Vote of Credit	500,000
Building Westminster Bridge	25,000
For making good deficiencies, interest, &c.	186,651
	6,364,450
Balance	165,474
	£.6,529,924

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land Tax of 4*s*. in the pound, deducting interest	£.1,942,747
Malt duty	787,177
Salt Duty	1,000,000
Contributions for Annuities	1,500,000
Lottery: the interest of both charged on additional duties on wines and vinegar	500,000
From the Sinking Fund	800,000
	£.6,529,924

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* Yorke's Parl. Journal, in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 1201-1217. Gazettes.—Cont. of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 37. Journals of the Commons.

† From Postlethwayte's History of the Public Revenue.

The only additional taxes were duties on wine and vinegar; viz. eight pounds per tun on French wine, and four pounds per tun on vinegar, for the purpose of paying the interest on the two loans, amounting to £.2,000,000, raised by annuities and lottery. These were voted without opposition. If we add, as before, the expenses of the civil list, the surplus of the taxes, and £.2,039,797 interest of the national debt, which, in December, 1744, was increased to £.53,679,247, the amount of the annual charge, in 1745, exceeded ten millions.

The parliamentary enactments of this session manifest a laudable attention to various points of public interest. The importance of the linen manufacture was sensibly felt, in consequence of the rapid improvement, which it had recently exhibited. For its farther encouragement, additional bounties were granted, on exported linens of home manufacture; and an act was passed, to prohibit, by severe penalties, the importation and use of foreign cambrics and lawns. This was an extension of the principle, which, in 1742, had led to the establishment of a bounty on exportation, derived from an import duty on foreign cambrics; and which had produced the most beneficial results.

To secure the advantages, thus afforded to the native manufactures, regulations were introduced, for preventing the misapplication of the bounties, and the exportation of foreign linens, under counterfeited stamps, resembling those impressed on linens of British manufacture. Collateral precautions were adopted, for protecting this branch of national industry, by the enactment of a specific law, against stealing from buildings, grounds, and other places, used for printing, bleaching, and preparing linens, fustians, and cottons.

In the collection of the duty on tea, a change was introduced, to prevent evasion; and more effectual provisions were made, against the contraband traffic in that commodity.

A concern for public morals, and for the improvement of domestic policy, was evinced by the act for restraining excessive and fraudulent gaming, and the increasing passion for horse-races.

During several years, the trade to the northern regions of America, had been an object of great interest; and, among other suggestions for its improvement, the practicability of a passage through Hudson's Bay, westward, to China, had excited much discussion. The wishes of the public were gratified, and the spirit of discovery encouraged, by the grant of a parliamentary bounty of £.20,000, to be given to the owner of such ship, or ships, as should first accomplish that arduous voyage.

The operations of the war, and especially the late action in the Mediterranean, having proved the necessity of a reform, in the discipline of the maritime service, an act was passed, for the more efficient government of the royal navy, ships of war, and marine forces, and for the better regulation of courts martial.*

On the 2nd of May, the king prorogued the parliament, by a speech, in which he emphatically alluded to the late favourable change of affairs on the continent. He also announced the resolution of the States General, to cooperate with Great Britain; and stated, that arrangements had been concerted, for settling the proportions of forces and expense, which could not fail to give spirit and vigour to the military operations. Hence, he anticipated such success in the campaign, as would contribute to defeat the ambitious and destructive projects of the House of Bourbon, against the peace of Europe, and his own kingdom. He concluded with thanking the Commons for their liberal supplies; and exhorted the members of both Houses, to cultivate and encourage the spirit of loyalty and fidelity, in their several counties.†

Thus closed a session of parliament, remarkable for the little opposition offered to ministers, in the House of Commons; and still more remarkable for the unanimity of the peers, who seemed to meet, only that they might, from time to time, declare their concurrence, with the other branch of the legislature.

Before the departure of the king for the continent, the triumph of the new ministry was fully announced, by a declaration,‡ on the part of his Majesty, as elector of Hanover, that he would engage as a principal in the war; and not only furnish his contingent, in that capacity, but dispatch a corps of his electoral troops at his own expense, to act either on the Rhine, or in the Low Countries, as should be settled between himself and the States General.

The king, however, was so much irritated against the ministers, for having compelled him to dismiss lord Granville, and to sign a declaration, so contrary to his views, that he could not forbear venting his resentment on various occasions. To Mr. Pelham he behaved with mildness and condescension; but reserved his personal rebukes for the duke of Newcastle, whom he regarded as the chief cause of his vexations. On more than one occasion, he charged His Grace and his colleagues, with having tricked and deceived him; and persisted in refusing to order some farther removals, which they thought necessary for the advantage of the government. This inflexibility, on the part of the sovereign, deeply affected the Pelhams; and, it appears by a letter* from the duke of Newcastle to the duke of Cumberland, dated May 3rd, that they were only deterred from tendering their resignation, by a wish not to distress his Majesty, on the eve of his departure for Hanover. In conjunction with the lord Chancellor, they made a strong remonstrance, representing, in the most dutiful manner, to the king, that they should be unable to open another session of parliament, if his Majesty could not entertain a more favourable opinion of their services.

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* For these several acts, see the Journals of the Commons, and Anderson's History of Commerce, for the year 1745.

† Journals of the Lords and Commons. Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 1307.

‡ Cont. of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 126.

To this representation, the king made no reply; and departed for the continent, without manifesting any abatement of his displeasure against the duke of Newcastle, or evincing any disposition to consent to the proposed removals.

Towards the latter end of this session of parliament, Mr. Pelham sustained a severe loss, in the death of the earl of Orford, on the 18th of March.† From his entrance into public life, he had recognized a constant friend and patron, in this eminent statesman, who had not only contributed to his elevation, but had smoothed many official difficulties by his advice, and private mediation with the king. A peculiarly unfavourable result of this loss, was, the want of a connecting link with the late ex-minister's adherents; who, on his death, naturally separated into different parties, and many of whom relaxed in their attachment to Mr. Pelham, while others joined the ranks of opposition. Even Mr. Horace Walpole, the son of lord Orford, although he continued for a time to follow the example of his father, in supporting Mr. Pelham, yet altered his behaviour through some cause of umbrage; and not only became his determined opponent during life, but even in his Posthumous Memoirs, indulged an unjustifiable and splenetic prejudice against his memory.‡

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* Newcastle Papers, MS.

† Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. lxii.

‡ For an inquiry into the motives, in which this change of disposition might have originated, the reader is referred to an article on those Memoirs, in the Quarterly Review, for April and July, 1822, vol. xxvii. p. 178.

No disappointment or personal mortification, however, could weaken the grateful recollection, which Mr. Pelham cherished, for his first and inalienable patron; to whose merits he delighted to render ample justice, on all occasions, public as well as private, while he ever avowed a grateful sense of his favours. To the latest period of his administration, he pursued the same course; and was proud to acknowledge, that he considered himself as the pupil and follower of Sir Robert Walpole, in the science of politics and finance.

CHAPTER VII.

1745.

The Duke of Cumberland appointed to command the army in the Netherlands—Disasters of the allied arms—Battle of Fontenoy, and victorious progress of the French—Ill success in Italy—Accession of the Genoese to the Bourbon cause, and retreat of the king of Sardinia to the walls of his capital—Don Philip over-runs Lombardy, and occupies the Milanese—Affairs of Germany—Operations of the contending armies on the Rhine—The French retire from Germany—Elevation of Francis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the throne of the empire—Unsuccessful operations of the Austrians against the Prussians—Convention of Hanover, between the kings of England and Prussia—Defeat of the Austrians and Saxons; and accommodation between Maria Theresa and Frederick, by the peace of Dresden—Capture of Louisbourg, and occupation of Cape Breton, by the English and American colonists.

FORTUNATELY for the country, the coalition of parties, after the retreat of lord Granville, contributed to suspend the feuds in the cabinet, and gave strength to the government; for no period of the war was marked by a more alarming series of disasters, than that of the year 1745.

To give vigour to the military operations, the king intrusted the command of the British and Hanoverian troops, in the Netherlands, to the duke of Cumberland; and it was confidently hoped, that the presence of an enterprising prince of the blood, would contribute to change the aspect of the war, in a country where the fate of the alliance was likely to be ultimately decided.

Such might probably have been the result of the campaign, had the allied army been augmented to its full complement, according to previous concert. But, in consequence of the war with Prussia, and the resolution of the queen of Hungary, to support the election of her consort, Francis, to the Imperial dignity, the greater part of the Austrian forces were retained, in the hereditary countries, and on the banks of the Rhine. Indeed, scarcely any other troops were left in the Netherlands, except the garrison of Luxembourg, and eight squadrons, under count Königsegg, who joined the duke of Cumberland. The whole defence of those provinces, at this critical juncture, was therefore thrown on the maritime powers; and, although England had furnished her full contingent of twenty-eight thousand men, including the Hanoverians, the Dutch forces were, as usual, deficient; not more than twenty-three thousand having been sent into the field, in the beginning of the campaign.* From these causes, the allied army did not exceed fifty-two thousand men; while the strength and resources of the enemy, seemed to increase with the duration of the contest.

Having prudently relinquished the continuance of hostilities on the side of Bavaria, the French withdrew from Germany all their troops, except those stationed on the Rhine, near Frankfort; and were thus enabled to concentrate a force in Flanders, sufficient to insure a decided superiority. Their army amounted to seventy-six thousand choice troops, provided with 260 pieces of artillery, and every other requisite for sieges. On the 26th of March, marshal Saxe, the commander-in-chief, assembled his forces in the neighbourhood of Valenciennes; and, after various movements, to divert the attention of his antagonists, suddenly invested Tournay, on the 1st of May, thus menacing one of the strongest fortresses in Flanders, garrisoned by a Dutch corps of nine thousand men, and amply provided with artillery and magazines of every kind. The king of France, with the dauphin, hastened to the scene of action, to stimulate the exertions of the army by their presence.

On the other hand, the duke of Cumberland had repaired to the continent, early in April, to assume the direction of the allied forces; though he was subjected to the control of marshal Königsegg, an Austrian general of acknowledged valour and experience, and obliged to consult the prince of Waldeck, who commanded the Dutch.

On the 18th, his royal highness reached the Hague; and, after a short conference with the ministers of the States, hastened to Brussels, to collect and review his troops, as the enemy were already in motion. After spending nine days in preparation, he began his march on the 30th, through Halle to Soignies, with the intention of risking a battle, for the relief of Tournay. In the mean time, the trenches had been opened against that fortress; and to cover the siege, marshal Saxe selected a defensive position, near the Scheld, in the vicinity of Fontenoy.

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* Annales de Marie Therèse, p. 71. According to colonel Yorke, the Dutch did not furnish half their contingent. Letter from Mr. Yorke to Mr. Walpole, dated May 27th, 1745.—Walpole Papers, MS.

Some delays occurred in the movements of the allies, and they did not draw near the advanced posts of the French, until the 9th of May, thus leaving them sufficient time to complete their measures of defence. On reconnoitring, the three allied generals observed the hostile army, encamped on a gentle eminence, extending, from Antoine on the right, with Fontenoy and a narrow valley in their front, to Ramecroix, behind the wood of Barré on their left. The natural advantages of this position, had been improved with every resource of the military art.

A battery was erected on the farther side of the Scheld, in the vicinity of Antoine, which, as well as Fontenoy, was strongly fortified and garrisoned. The space between those two villages was protected by three redoubts; and the interval, or narrow valley, between Fontenoy and the wood of Barré, which was of itself extremely difficult to pass, on account of a deep ravine, was farther defended by a cross fire, arising from the batteries erected on the left of Fontenoy, and a redoubt, which was raised in front of the village of Vezon, at the point of the wood of Barré, and occupied by six hundred men. This portion of the front, was considered by the enemy to be so strongly secured, as to bid defiance to the most intrepid assailant. The wood of Barré, itself, was also rendered impenetrable by abbatis. At Ramecroix and other places, numerous batteries were also erected.

In the rear of Antoine, a *tête de pont*, strongly fortified, was formed before the bridge of Calonne, which was defended by a reserve of the household troops, and other regiments, in order to facilitate a retreat, in case of necessity.

Marshal Saxe having completed his final dispositions for receiving an attack, left the marquis de Brèze with fifteen thousand infantry, and a few regiments of horse, to prosecute the siege of Tournay; while the king of France and the dauphin repaired, early in the morning, to the field of battle, in order to rouse the courage of the troops.

Notwithstanding the strong position and superior force of the French, the allied generals determined to risk a battle. Accordingly, the duke of Cumberland, on the 10th, detached six battalions and twelve squadrons, to drive in the advanced posts of the enemy; and, that service being performed, the ground thus gained was occupied, and orders were issued for an engagement in the morning. The night was passed by the troops under arms, and the most judicious arrangements, that circumstances would allow, were actively made, for the attack on the return of day.

The allied troops, to the number of fifty thousand, were drawn up in order of battle. The British and Hanoverian infantry, under the immediate direction of the duke of Cumberland, formed in two lines, opposite the narrow valley, extending from the wood of Barré to Fontenoy, with their cavalry in the rear. The right of the Dutch was posted near the left of the Hanoverians; and their left extended towards the Scheld, fronting Antoine, and the redoubts between it and Fontenoy. The prince of Waldeck undertook to carry Antoine and Fontenoy by assault; and brigadier-general Ingoldsby was sent, early in the morning, with four battalions and three pieces of cannon, to storm the redoubt in front of Vezon; while the duke of Cumberland, with the British and Hanoverians, was to advance against the left wing of the enemy. Such was the outline of the plan, concerted between the three allied generals; and it seemed calculated to ensure success. But, unfortunately, general Ingoldsby, owing to a misapprehension of orders, did not attack the redoubt in front of Vezon; and the Dutch, though reinforced by a regiment of Highlanders, after making some feeble attempts upon Fontenoy and Antoine, were repulsed. Being assailed with the fire of numerous batteries, they were panic struck, and retired to some distance from the scene of action; where they remained, quiet and shameless spectators of the combat.

In consequence of these failures, the whole brunt of the contest fell upon the British and Hanoverians, who were headed by the duke of Cumberland and general Ligonier. In the first onset, these brave troops, leaving the cavalry in the rear, in consequence of the ruggedness of the ground, and dragging forward several field pieces, forced their way beyond the hollow road or ravine, which ran from Fontenoy to the wood of Barré, after having repulsed several desperate attacks of the French infantry, who disputed the ground, inch by inch. They then advanced three hundred paces beyond the redoubt of Vezon and the village of Fontenoy, and were masters of the field of battle, as far as the place, on which, previous to the action, the enemy had pitched their camp. Being, however, exposed to the continual cross fire of small arms and cannon, they suffered so severely, that they were compelled to retire to the ground, which they had originally occupied, as a position affording greater security.

Although the Duke was now aware, that the Dutch had entirely failed in their attack on Antoine and Fontenoy, and that general Ingoldsby had not made any attempt on the redoubt of Vezon, he prepared, without hesitation, for another desperate effort, and encouraged his soldiers both by his exhortations and example. As the space between Fontenoy and the wood of Barré was extremely confined, the troops were unable to continue in line; and, therefore, by a judicious movement, the flanks wheeled back on the right and left, and thus formed a dense column. This body was so deep and compact, that the first line of French infantry was swept away by its impulse; reinforcements, which successively arrived, met the same fate; whole squadrons of horse were dissipated by its continual and deadly fire; and the repeated charges, made on the flanks of so formidable and solid a mass, proved equally abortive.

During an hour, the fate of the day hung in suspense. Charge after charge, by the French, had failed; the column of the allies continued to press forward in the rear of Fontenoy, and threatened to cut off all the communication of the enemy, with the *tête de pont*, before the bridge of Calonne.

The battle now appeared to be decided; and marshal Königsegg congratulated the duke of Cumberland upon his complete success. At the same time, marshal Saxe, conceiving the struggle hopeless, prepared to commence a retreat, and the king of France was repeatedly, though vainly implored, to consult his safety, by withdrawing beyond the Scheld. Encouraged, however, by the spirit of the king, the marshal made one final and desperate effort. He collected together every arm that he could direct against the column; and he brought up the household and other troops, which formed the reserve, and flower of the infantry, with the royal body guard in the centre. He also placed a battery of four pieces of cannon,* in an elevated position, which being levelled against the advancing phalanx, produced an immediate and decisive effect. Unfortunately, no remonstrances from their gallant leader could induce the Dutch to second the spirited effort of the right wing, by renewing their attack on Antoine and Fontenoy; and thus many of the enemy's troops, which had hitherto been retained for the defence of those villages, were brought into action.

A simultaneous charge, of infantry and cavalry, was now made on the advancing column; and this effort was decisive. The brave men, who had hitherto borne down all before them, exhausted by their desperate exertions, and unsupported by their heartless allies in the left wing, were at length compelled, though reluctantly, to give way.

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* This resource is said to have been recommended to marshal Saxe, by the duke de Richelieu, on the suggestion of the count de Lally. Biog. Univ. Art. SAXE.

The retreat was conducted with great skill and steadiness, and was accomplished without disorder; for the cavalry, who, from the nature of the ground, had been unable to act during the conflict, now came up, and rendered essential service, in protecting the retreat of the infantry. The wounded, who were left at Bruffoel, were almost the only prisoners; and the chief trophies of victory were a few pieces of artillery, which the allies were unable to drag along in their retreat.

In this battle, the French had rather the advantage in point of numbers; their force amounting to sixty thousand men, and that of the English and allies to about fifty thousand. The loss on both sides was severe, and nearly equal. That of the allies amounted to 7347 men, of whom 4041 were British, 1762 Hanoverians, and only 1544 Dutch.*

The defeat of Fontenoy made a deep impression on the public mind in England; but it was a great consolation, that the intrepid gallantry of the British troops, and the chivalrous courage of the duke of Cumberland, had averted the dishonour which usually attends a defeat; and, as the Hanoverians, also, acted with great spirit, the disgrace of the failure fell solely on the Dutch, and on the inactivity of general Ingoldsby.

We submit to the reader, with great satisfaction, a letter dated the 16th of May, O. S. 1745, from Mr. Philip Yorke to Mr. Horace Walpole, which gives some interesting details of this memorable battle, communicated by colonel Yorke, who was aide de camp to the duke of Cumberland.

"DEAR SIR, "*London, May 16th*, 1745.

"I should not have thought of replying upon you so soon, had you not invited me to it, by saying you expected from me a farther account of the action; and, had I done it sooner, it would not have been easy to add any thing material or explicit to the first advices, which resemble always the confusion of the battle itself. One must stay till the smoke is a little cleared away, before one can take a distinct view of any object. I think you very right in your judgment, that the French were *only not beat*. Our repulse was owing, not to their bravery, but to their advantageous situation, and the number of their batteries, from which they had an hundred pieces of cannon or upwards, playing upon us without intermission. Nay, even under these difficult circumstances, the opinion of the most intelligent is, that had Ingoldsby done his duty,* and the Dutch infantry behaved as gallantly as ours, there was the greatest probability of our carrying the day. I wonder the former was not superseded on the spot; and that Zastrow, who was sent to him with orders, did not take the command of his brigade, and march directly to the fort, which the enemy were beginning to desert. We might then have turned their infernal engines of death, upon the artificers themselves.

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* The account of this battle is taken, principally, from the official relation in the Gazette, the periodical Journals and Papers, two letters dated May 4th and 16th, 1745, from Mr. P. Yorke to Mr. Walpole, containing many circumstances which he received from his brother colonel Yorke. Walpole Papers, MS.—Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 128 et seq.—Memoirs of Richelieu, who was himself in the action.—Memoirs of marshal de Noailles, who was also present.—A candid and perspicuous account of the battle, in the Siècle de Louis XV. of Voltaire, who received a detail of many of the circumstances from the generals in command, on that occasion. See also, Histoire des Provinces' Unies.

"The duke's behaviour was, by all accounts, the most heroic and gallant imaginable. He was, the whole day, in the thickest of the fire. When he saw the ranks breaking, he rode up and encouraged the soldiers in the most moving and expressive terms; called them countrymen; that it was his highest glory to be at their head; that he scorned to expose them to more danger than he would be in himself; put them in mind of Blenheim and Ramillies: in short, I am convinced, his presence and intrepidity greatly contributed to our coming off so well. Nor must I omit doing justice to Ligonier, who, the duke writes, fought like a grenadier, and commanded like a general. His royal highness seems determined to keep up strict discipline, and drew out a pistol upon an officer, whom he saw running away. Königsegg was run over and bruised by the Dutch cavalry, in their flight; insomuch that when the army marched to Lessines, he was left at Aeth. I have not heard, as yet, that the French plume themselves much upon their victory. Their accounts run in a modester strain than usual. It was certainly a dear-bought advantage. You see by the Gazette, they have a great number of general officers killed and wounded; their loss of private men is said to be, from five to ten thousand. Ligonier writes, that they confessed it to be the latter; but whether he means the reports of deserters, or intelligence from the French camp, I cannot tell. We may thank count Saxe for our ill fortune. It was he advised them to erect so many batteries, and to throw up entrenchments along part of their line, against the opinion of the rest of the council of war, who were for giving us battle, *en rase campagne.*

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* The consequences of his conduct were certainly most fatal; but in justice to his memory, to which a certain stigma is attached by this event, we think it right to call the attention of the reader, to an extract of a letter from Mr. Pelham to his brother, dated May 31st. "There are letters in town, which entirely acquit Ingoldsby; and it is said that the duke has declared publicly that he is well satisfied with his conduct. Zastrow certainly mistook Skelton's brigade for Ingoldsby's."—Newcastle Papers. See, also, in Gent. Mag. for 1745, a justification of general Ingoldsby, published by himself.

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"The orders which the States have dispatched for their corps de reserve to join the army, and for trying the delinquents, alleviated the clamour, which would otherwise be raised against them, on account of the bad behaviour of several regiments, both horse and foot, in their service. One Appius, colonel commandant of the regiment of Hesse Homberg, rode off, upon the spur, to Aeth, with the greatest part of his men, in the very beginning of the action; and with an impudent folly, equal to his cowardice, wrote from thence to his masters, that the allied army had engaged the French, and been totally cut to pieces, except that part which he had prudently brought off safe. I hope, after the loss of so much gallant blood, exemplary justice will be done upon the guilty."

After the battle of Fontenoy, the French remained on the field; and the allied forces, continuing their retreat unmolested, during the night, encamped the next day at Aeth, and subsequently took up a position at Lessines. On the 22nd of May, the duke of Cumberland thus describes his situation, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle.*

"Your letter, dated April 12th, O. S., came to my hands but two days ago; for lord Dunmore has been detained until now, else I should have taken some other notice of it. As to what you let me know, about my own settlement,† I can only say, that I never suspect my friends, but much less when they have tried to meet my wishes. Whilst I am not married, I am quite satisfied; and without a parliamentary settlement, it cannot be expected. As to the king and family's old friends (the Whigs I mean), I am rejoiced that they are still in temper: Without them we should never have seen

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* Newcastle Papers.

† Alluding to the proposed marriage between himself and a princess of Denmark, to which he was averse, unless he could obtain a liberal settlement from parliament.

England, and without them I fear we should hardly stay. This, I know, is your opinion, as much as it is mine; so I need lay no more stress on that subject, but return to my present situation here.

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"We are at present encamped at Lessines, equally at hand for Hainault and Flanders; and, while Tournay holds out, we may prevent any little attempts upon either of these two provinces. But, afterwards, should we take a strong position to secure Mons *(a favourite point with the Dutch)*, all Flanders is open to the enemy; and that neither the marshal nor I think proper; for, to do that worthy man justice, he is extremely inclined to all *English* movements, and that is one; so that all we can do, is to throw a strong garrison into Mons, and let it take care of itself. The greatest difficulty that remains, is to persuade the prince of Waldeck, to part with some of his Dutch battalions for that garrison, but that is not easy; for, though he owns them to be as great scoundrels, as we know they are, yet he has the assurance to expect, that our whole army should abandon Flanders to cover Mons, or that I should give an equal proportion from the right wing, for that purpose. Was not the marshal as good as he is, the prince of Waldeck would soon run his head against a wall; for he is a little obstinate, and not very deep.

"I conclude this letter of ill tidings, with assuring you, that I shall not spare my trouble, and that the good marshal will do his utmost to save what we can of the last war's conquests. How much that will be, God alone knows! For my part, though I affect to be in spirits, and talk of demolishing the French, I shall be contented if we save Brussels and Flanders. I beg you will present my compliments to the duke of Grafton; and don't let him think me rash because unfortunate."

The French immediately pushed the siege of Tournay, with redoubled vigour; and in consequence of the timidity of the garrison, and the treachery of the principal engineer, and other officers, who deserted to the enemy, the governor, baron Dort, withdrew, on the 24th of May, into the citadel, with seven thousand men, leaving the town in the possession of the enemy. By a capitulation with marshal Saxe, farther hostilities were then suspended, until the 1st of June.

At Lessines, the duke of Cumberland anxiously expected reinforcements from England, to replace the losses sustained in the engagement; for experience had indelibly impressed on his mind, the superior valour and energy of the British soldiery. He observes to the duke of Newcastle, May 26th, "As to the succours from England, that is what I build chiefly upon; for I am more and more proud of being at the head of a national army; and think four or five thousand men from England, worth all the other schemes of reinforcements. Dear Duke, continue that unwearied zeal for the common cause; and on this side the water, nothing shall be omitted.'

The shameful conduct of the Dutch troops in the battle, and still more the dishonourable surrender of a fortress, so capable of defence as Tournay, excited the utmost dissatisfaction, both in England and in the army. Indeed, the British commander, in his correspondence, does not scruple to charge the Dutch officers with treachery, as well as with cowardice. This feeling was far from being soothed, by the subsequent conduct of the garrison; for the citadel, which was considered as one of the most perfect works of its kind, was also yielded, after a siege of no more than a week, and its defenders submitted, without reluctance, to an engagement, not to serve against France, until the expiration of two years.

A letter written by the duke of Cumberland, at this juncture, will at once exhibit the sentiments entertained of the Dutch, and the weakness and perplexity of the allied army.

"My Lord, "*Lessines, June* 13-24*th*, 1745.

"I am extremely sorry that I cannot let a messenger go from hence, without sending news by him, that must affect any honest and well-wishing man. Every day gives us more and more reason, to be either extremely jealous of the Dutch politics, or of the inexpressible cowardice of their generals and troops. The capitulation of the citadel, that you will receive, will be a pretty sufficient proof of both. Not only Hirtell, the best officer of artillery they had, but two sluice masters, and three of the chief miners, and the private secretary of the Republic, for managing their secret intelligence, but, I fear, the major of the town also, have deserted to the enemy. This last is not certain. These are pretty strong proofs of treachery; and as for failure of courage, both the terms of the capitulation, and the behaviour of the national troops, will be evidence sufficient.

"As to the present situation of the two armies, it is thus. The French, consisting at present of one hundred and thirty-three battalions, and two hundred and four squadrons, are masters to send a great detachment into Flanders, to ravage all that country, and even to take Ostend; whilst we must either march that way our whole little army, and abandon Brussels, or, if we should detach, be overpowered both there and here. Our army consists of twenty-two English, six Hanoverian, and twenty-seven Dutch battalions; and of twenty-nine English, sixteen Hanoverian, and forty-two Dutch squadrons; the whole making fifty-five battalions and eighty-eight squadrons, of which one half exceeding bad. As to garrisons, I cannot yet tell exactly what the Dutch have; for the prince of Waldeck has not been prevailed on yet, to let either the marshal or me see a return of his strength. What relates to garrisons, I hope that you will reckon for; as it is, they complain much that all their troops are put into towns; and it would add weight to their argument, if we did not allow them as much as the troops in the field.

"As things now are, I cannot divide the only force that remains good, which is the right wing; because I fear I shall be but too soon reduced to the melancholy necessity of retiring behind the canals of Bruges, my only hopes being to save all from Ostend to Antwerp. This can be done with ease; but then Brussels and all Flanders will be given up to the enemy. As yet, it is not come to that, but I fear it will. Yesterday I prevailed on the marshal to prepare letters, both for lord Harrington and the Pensionary, shewing the state of our affairs here. He is rather more sanguine than I am, though he desponds more, since this infamous capitulation, than he has done this whole campaign.

"Since I had written this, the prince of Waldeck and I, met at the marshal's, and have formed the first resolution, that has been taken, since the battle; which is, that I should put the four complete Austrian battalions, that are on their march from Luxembourg, into Namur, where the Dutch are to have six, so that makes ten; in Charleroy, there is one of the queen's and two Dutch; Mons with nine Dutch; so that, thank God, all the places are tolerably well garrisoned; and both the marshal and the prince of Waldeck have promised me, that Flanders shall be the first considered in every motion. This is the greatest point I have yet got through, since I have been here. Yesterday, I received a letter from the Premier, which I beg you would thank him for, in my name, and tell him that I will answer it as soon as possible. I am very much obliged to him and all others, that resented the ill treatment I met with from a certain person; but I hope that it is over, for the marshal has rebuked him strongly, and that person even lowered himself so much as to tell Ligonier, that he feared that he had done something to displease me; but at present we are in all appearance intimate, and I hope it may continue so."

Unfortunately, England was so drained of troops, that only three thousand men could be spared at this time of danger. From Holland, little aid could be expected, notwithstanding lord Chesterfield had concluded a treaty with the Dutch, who agreed to bring fifty-two thousand men into the field. From Austria, the prospect of assistance was still more discouraging; for we find the duke of Newcastle, in a letter dated July 12, 1745, lamenting to the duke of Cumberland, how much he had been deceived and misled, by the court of Vienna, with exaggerated representations of their strength on every point. "My lord Harrington," he adds, "from authentic hands, says, that the combined army of the Austrians and Saxons, does not exceed forty thousand regular troops in Bohemia; and that on the Maine, including the irregulars, does not exceed forty-six thousand, which he says is inferior to the prince of Conti. The republic of Genoa have made their peace with France and Spain, and are to furnish them ten thousand men, with artillery. What a melancholy prospect have we from all quarters!" And in another letter, he observes in still stronger terms, "I am afraid, *tant Autrichien comme je suis*, that experience will shew your Royal Highness, that the promises and professions of the court of Vienna are not to be depended on, even when their own interest is in question."

An army, therefore, which, with all the reinforcements that could be collected, did not exceed fifty-five battalions, and eighty-eight squadrons, the duke of Cumberland could offer no effectual resistance to a body of one hundred and thirty-three battalions and two hundred and four squadrons. It was, indeed, impossible to protect one part of the frontier, without abandoning the other; and thus the French were left at liberty to pursue their career of conquest, in that direction which best suited their ulterior purposes. Advancing to Lessines, they forced the allies to retire towards Brussels, and then made demonstrations for besieging Aeth. But this feint was only intended to cover a project for the seizure of Ghent, against which place Löwendahl was secretly detached, with four regiments of dragoons, and forty companies of grenadiers. In his route, he encountered and dispersed, at Melle, an allied detachment, sent under the command of the Hanoverian general Molk, to strengthen the garrison. But, notwithstanding this alarm, and the delay of his arrival until dawn, he found little difficulty in surprising the indolent guardians of this valuable post, which contained several magazines, and a considerable portion of the heavy baggage belonging to the allied army. Equal success attended a similar attempt on Bruges. In the midst of these operations, marshal Saxe received a reinforcement of twenty thousand men from the Rhine, and thus the relative strength of the two armies became still more disproportionate.

On the 6th of July, the French laid siege to Oudenarde, and in six days reduced the garrison to surrender, as prisoners of war. Pushing, then, their detachments, on one hand to the Dender, they captured Alost and Grammont; and on the other, towards the coast, they made themselves masters of the small, but important post of Plassendael, within two leagues of Ostend. They thus commanded the course of the Scheld, and the great chain of communication formed by the canal of Bruges; while they insulated Ostend, and debarred it from receiving any succour except by sea. The allies, reluctant spectators of these successes, had no other resource than to abandon Flanders, and take up the position of Vilvorden, between Brussels and Antwerp, with a view to avert, or delay the threatened invasion of the Dutch territory itself.

No effort had been omitted by the ministry in England for reinforcing the allied army; but the Dutch government seemed deaf to all remonstrances; and the queen of Hungary even diminished her small force in the Netherlands, for the purpose of strengthening her army on the Rhine, in order to secure the imperial diadem for her husband. She also continued to retain her principal army in the hereditary dominions, to resist the hostile aggressions of the king of Prussia. Hence the correspondence between the British commander and the duke of Newcastle teems with complaints of the apathy and inefficiency of the allies.

On the 26th of July, his royal highness observes, in a letter from Deighem,

"I had the pleasure, yesterday, of receiving yours of the 6th O.S. and am very glad to see that a fleet is ordered for the preservation of Ostend, and that you have two battalions in readiness to throw into it, when the enemy shall attach themselves to that place. As to poor lord Stair, I am sorry to find that he goes on in the fatal error, of imagining that the French may be beaten by an army two-thirds less. Indeed, it is not so; and even it is very hard for us to prevent ourselves from being beaten, which nothing but situation and strength of ground can hinder.

"But I have the additional misfortune to see, that the only succours I could reasonably depend on, are taken from me, to be added to a strength that has already driven the enemy out of Germany. Pray consider, whether you or the whole regency will be able to answer to the nation, the entire loss of these provinces; for I desire that you would not flatter yourselves with the hope of a detachment to the Rhine, while the French king remains here; and if they should send a force of twenty thousand men to Germany, and we not be reinforced, it will only prevent their taking possession of the rest of this country for a short time; for they may be masters of it all before the end of the campaign."

After the surrender of Oudenarde, the French removed their camp to Alost, where the king and the dauphin arrived on the 24th of July. An attempt was in vain made by the allies, to reinforce the garrison of Dendermonde, which was evidently the next object of attack; and on the 27th, that fortress was invested. Its defence was still more feeble than that of the neighbouring places; for the garrison surrendered, even before the trenches were regularly opened, and was allowed to depart with the ill-merited honours of war.

In the mean time, the enterprising Löwendahl was detached, with twenty-five thousand men, to invest Ostend; and, notwithstanding the arrival of two battalions from England in the harbour, the place did not sustain more than fourteen days' siege; for the Dutch governor could not be induced to avail himself of the only means of defence which he possessed, by inundating the vicinity of the fortress. Within three days, the dependent post of Nieuport shared the same fate.

Alarms from another quarter contributed still more to paralyse the efforts of the allies in the Netherlands. The sudden and unexpected landing of the Pretender's son in Scotland,* and his extraordinary success, joined to the absence of the king, and the weakness of the royal forces, struck the cabinet with a panic; and the lords justices instantly recalled four regiments, from the already diminished army on the continent. After the arrival of the king in England, a farther reinforcement of ten battalions was ordered home; and this order was accompanied by a private letter, from the duke of Newcastle to the duke of Cumberland, justifying so large a draught.

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* A full account of this rebellion is given in the next chapter.

"Sir, "*Newcastle House, September 4th,* 1745, O.S.

"I could not let this messenger go, without returning your Royal Highness my most dutiful thanks, for the honour of your two letters, in your own hand. My lord Harrington will fully explain to you, the occasion and necessity of sending your Royal Highness the orders you will now receive. Though I have constantly seen the reality, and danger, of this attempt to invade his Majesty's dominions, I own I did not imagine, that in so short a time, the Pretender's son, with an army of three thousand men, would have got between the king's troops and England, and be within a few days march of Edinburgh; where, some think, we shall soon hear that he is, and that he may attempt to call a parliament there. Others rather suppose that he will proceed with his army towards England, where there are no regular troops to oppose him, till he comes towards London. This must justify to our allies, and all the world, the necessity of sending for troops from your Royal Highness's army. I heartily wish, the present circumstances would permit them to be conducted hither by your Royal Highness."

The duke of Cumberland executed these instructions with extreme regret, being convinced that the diminution of a force, already much inferior to that of the enemy, would render all farther resistance hopeless. We find several letters, written by his Royal Highness to the duke of Newcastle, representing the fatal effects to be apprehended from the measure, when the allied army was already in so weak a condition.

"My Lord, "*Vilvoorden, September 6th,* 1745.

"I received yours late last night, and you will see, by my public dispatch, what I have done. I make no doubt that you, who are on the spot, have your reasons, and very good ones too, for recalling troops from hence. I assure you, that if England wants them, I am entirely of opinion, that this country, and even the whole alliance, ought not to be considered, comparatively with our own country. But the detaching from hence, at so critical a juncture, may be so fatal, that I have sent to the king for immediate orders. As for an embarkation from Ostend or Dunkirk, as yet, there are no signs; and I don't think that France, as all their Irish regiments are at present here,* for, if they should intend any such thing, they would send them on that service, preferably to any other.

"As to the preservation of Antwerp, it is as safe as any thing can be, else we should not have remained here. As that has been all along the main view, that, I promise, is as well secured, as from London to Claremont. I don't doubt, but this alarm will have one good effect, since it must convince the king of the zeal of his servants, and, in that respect, will be of infinite good. Do not imagine, that I take it into my head to be dissatisfied with any orders the lords of the Regency may give; for I know their zeal for the king, and his whole family; but, on the other hand, I hope that my friends will forgive me, if I don't see the danger at home so imminent.

"I am at present so hurried, that I can add no more, but that I remain your affectionate friend."

"MY LORD, "*Vilvoorden, September* 20*th*, 1745.

"I thank you for your kind letter, which I received yesterday. I am heartily sorry for the occasion of this great detachment from our army; but will do my utmost not to be devoured by the enemy, who will now become as much superior as ever. I am rather rejoiced than frightened, at the Pretender's son being got between Sir John Cope and Edinburgh, since I see no retreat left them; and I hope that Great Britain is not to be conquered by three thousand rabble, gathered together in the mountains. But should they dare to advance, I will answer, man for man, for the ten battalions Sir John Ligonier will bring you. As he is coming over, I think it my duty to assure you, that he is not the man you take him for. If his advice is asked, he will give it, according to his opinion; and, generally, I have found it a good one. In short, the services I have had from him, this campaign, are too great for me to neglect recommending him to you, as one who may be very useful at this conjuncture.

"I am a little sorry, that when the king views the thing, of so serious a nature, as to send home for such a force,† I should be left here; but I trust to my friends at home, that, should this affair continue, they will use their endeavours to get me employed, where my inclination and duty call."

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* Probably the words "will attempt one," were omitted in the original.

† So in the original.

To augment the perplexities of the allies, the French approached the banks of the Rupel and the Eyke; but, fortunately, as the season was far advanced, they contented themselves with investing Aeth, which they took on the 9th of October, and thus completed the subjection of all Flanders. In November, both armies retired into winter quarters; and the duke of Cumberland, to his great satisfaction, was recalled to England, to assume the command of that force, which was speedily to decide the fate of the British Crown.

In Italy the campaign was equally calamitous. The Genoese, irritated by the promised cession of Finalé to the king of Sardinia, openly embraced the Bourbon cause; and, by contributing ten thousand auxiliaries, with their local advantages, essentially facilitated the invasion of Lombardy. A powerful French and Spanish army, under Don Philip, again traversed the Alps, and, uniting with the Genoese, presented a force, which the Austrians and Sardinians were unable to withstand. On one side, they over-ran the territory of Tortona and the Milanese; and, on the other, forcing the passage of the Tanaro, compelled the king of Sardinia once more to retire under the walls of his capital. Don Philip, entering Milan, received the homage of the inhabitants; and Alessandria, the last barrier on that side, was closely blockaded; so that all hope of recovering the superiority in Italy, appeared to be annihilated.

During these disasters, in the Netherlands and in Italy, the allies obtained some successes over the French, on the Lower Rhine, which had no other effect, than that of securing the election of the grand duke Francis. To accomplish that object, however, it was necessary to drive the enemy from the vicinity of Frankfort; and this operation was favoured by the reduction of their army on the Lower Rhine and Maine, in consequence of the detachment of twenty thousand men to the Netherlands.

An army of twenty-four thousand Austrians and sixteen thousand Hanoverians, under the command of marshal Bathiani, compelled the prince of Conti, who had succeeded Maillebois, to recross the Rhine. Thus Germany was again delivered from the presence of a hostile force. On the 13th of September, Francis was elected emperor at Frankfort, with the usual forms, and, on the 4th of October, he was crowned. Maria Theresa, who witnessed this ceremony from a balcony in the town hall, was the first to exclaim, "Long live the Emperor Francis the First!" and these words were re-echoed with enthusiasm by the applauding spectators.* This event, though gratifying to the empress, and advantageous to the Germanic body, was not of sufficient consequence, to counterbalance the sacrifices, by which it had been purchased.

In fact, the only source, from which the allies could derive consolation, amidst their adversity, was the accommodation at length effected between Austria and Prussia. Notwithstanding his discomfiture in the preceding campaign, Frederic redoubled his exertions against the superior force of the Austrians, who, under prince Charles, had penetrated into Silesia, by the defiles of Landshut, marched towards Schweidnitz, and threatened to reconquer the duchy. The approach of the king, to the invading army, near Schweidnitz, with a well disciplined, but inferior force, occasioned a battle at Hohenfriedberg, on the 3rd of June, in which the Austrians were surprised and defeated, with considerable loss, and compelled to retreat into Bohemia†.

This defeat, with that of the allies at Fontenoy, and the uncertain issue of affairs on the Rhine and in Italy, stimulated the Pelhams to make new efforts for detaching the king of Prussia, from his alliance with France. On this subject, the duke of Newcastle transmitted to the king at Hanover, a clear and forcible representation of the sentiments of the cabinet. After stating the subsidies paid by Great Britain, to the allied powers, as exceeding £.1,178,000, he proved, not only that this enormous supply was inadequate to support a force, able to contend with the enemy; but also, that such a force was unattainable, by any sacrifice, however great. He then shewed, that the contingents, promised by the Austrians, had proved deficient in every quarter; and strongly exposed the fallacy of their assertions, that the aid of the Saxons, in this campaign, would enable them to contend, with effect, against the king of Prussia. He declared, that they could not repair their recent losses, without draughts from other quarters, where a force was equally needed; and, consequently, that circumstances imperatively demanded the adoption of means for detaching the king of

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* Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 140. House of Austria, chap. cvi. Annales de Marie Therèse.

† See account of this battle in the History of the House of Austria, in which the loss of the Prussians is stated as not exceeding two thousand men, while that of the Austrians included four thousand killed, seven thousand made prisoners, and sixty-six pieces of artillery taken.—*House of Austria,* chap. xxvii.

Prussia from the French interests, by inducing the queen of Hungary to conclude a peace with him, and acquiesce in the Treaty of Breslau.*

This spirited representation subdued the prejudices of the king against his nephew; and all minor difficulties were fortunately overcome, by an overture from Frederic himself, who witnessed, with alarm, the rapid successes of France in the Netherlands. A private negotiation, therefore, was carried on with the king of Prussia; while the most pressing solicitations to conclude a peace, were made, though at first ineffectually, to the court of Vienna. So zealously, however, did his Britannic Majesty pursue this object, that, on the 26th of August, a preliminary convention was privately concluded, at Hanover, with the king of Prussia, for re-establishing a peace with Austria, on the basis of the Treaty of Breslau. It included a reciprocal guaranty of their respective territories by the two monarchs; and, in particular, his Britannic Majesty engaged, that the king of Prussia should retain possession of Silesia, in the like manner as it was ceded to him by the Treaty of Breslau. At the same time, he promised to use his utmost endeavours, to obtain a general guaranty of it by the empire, and the other powers of Europe, whenever a peace should be concluded. New and pressing representations were made to the court of Vienna; and a declaration was conveyed, from the British cabinet to the queen of Hungary, threatening, that if she persisted in withholding her acquiescence, she must relinquish all hope of future subsidies from England.† Maria Theresa, however, still scornfully repelled every application, and imprudently resolved to incur all the hazards of war, rather than confirm the cession of Silesia. Her sanguine hopes were once more cruelly disappointed; for, on the 30th of September, her army was defeated at Sohr. Unsubdued by misfortune, she then attempted to carry the war to the gates of the Prussian capital; but, on the 15th of December, her Saxon allies were totally routed at Kesseldorf; her own army was driven back into Bohemia; and Dresden itself fell into the power of the enemy.

These reverses at length humbled her haughty spirit; and, by the Treaty of Dresden, signed on the 25th of December, she reluctantly accepted the conditions offered by the Treaty of Hanover.‡

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* The duke of Newcastle to lord Harrington, June 14, 1745. MS. Grantham Papers.

† Letter from the duke of Newcastle to Mr. H. Walpole, dated Aug. 22, 1745.—Walpole Papers, MS.

‡ Correspondence of lord Harrington and Sir Thomas Robinson.—Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prusse.—History of the House of Austria, chap. xxvii.—Annales de Marie Therèse.

The good effects which this peace might once have produced, were no longer to be expected; for, the advantages gained by the French in Flanders, during the campaign, were permanently secured; and the ill-timed pertinacity of Maria Theresa had given that ascendancy to the enemy, which the allies, with all their subsequent efforts, were unable to recover.

While defeat and calamity attended the principal operations on the continent, an event occurred in a distant region, which threw additional lustre on the British navy, reflected honour on the enterprising spirit of the American colonists, and produced an important advantage, towards the adjustment of negotiations for peace.

Ambitious to cooperate against the common enemy, the people of New England formed the bold design of surprising the French settlements, on the island of Cape Breton, which commanded the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and protected the fisheries at Newfoundland. The enterprise was approved by the British government; and admiral Warren, who commanded a squadron in the West Indies, was ordered to assist in its execution. Early in the spring of 1745, a force, consisting of six thousand volunteers, raised in the colony, a British squadron of ten ships of war, and a number of American privateers, sailed for the point of attack. They reached the bay of Gabarus, before the inhabitants of the island suspected their danger, and, landing without loss, invested Louisbourg, the capital, while the fleet blockaded the harbour. Although the place had been recently fortified, and was garrisoned with twelve hundred men, the persevering exertions of the colonial troops were so successful, that on the 15th of June, Louisbourg and the whole island surrendered to his Britannic Majesty.

The intelligence of this conquest created a greater sensation in Europe, than could have been anticipated, from the acquisition of a small and remote settlement. It was indeed a severe mortification to the French, to be thus excluded from the profitable fisheries of Newfoundland, while their colonies in North America were laid open to British enterprise, without any certain means of direct and effectual communication with the mother country.*

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* Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. pp. 156-162.

CHAPTER VIII.

1745—6

Landing of the young Pretender in Scotland—His successful progress—Consternation of the friends of Government—Correspondence of the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham, with the duke of Argyle, on the state of Scotland—Dissensions in the Cabinet—Advance of the rebels to the Grampian hills—Retreat of the royal troops, under Sir John Cope, to Inverness—Alarms and apprehensions excited throughout the British dominions, by the progress of the rebels—Inefficient measures for the defence of Scotland—Return of the king to England—Continued feuds in the Cabinet, and unabated displeasure of the king against the Pelhams—The young Pretender occupies Edinburgh—Defeats the royalists at Preston-Pans, marches into England, takes Carlisle, and advances to Manchester—Dissensions in the Cabinet suspended, and the views of the Pelhams approved by the king—Vigorous preparations for the suppression of the Rebellion—The Duke of Cumberland takes command of the army—Marshal Wade occupies Northumberland—Edinburgh recovered—The rebels, after advancing to Derby, retreat precipitately to Scotland—The duke of Cumberland pursues them to the frontier, and retakes Carlisle—The rebels besiege Stirling castle, and defeat the royal forces under general Hawley, at Falkirk—Loyal proceedings of both Houses, during the session of Parliament—King's Speech—Address of the Peers—Debate on the Address, in the House of Commons—Forces voted—Grant proposed, for the temporary payment of thirteen regiments, raised by different noblemen—Speech of Mr. Pelham on that subject—Message from the King, on the preparations of France for an invasion—Proposal for taking into pay six thousand Hessians, agreed to.

IN this eventful year, England was menaced with a calamity, greater than any to which she had been exposed, since the Revolution. While the French threatened a renewal of the invasion, and were prosecuting their successful career in the Netherlands, Charles Edward, the son of the Pretender, was impelled by his hereditary ardour, and the solicitations of his sanguine partisans, to undertake an expedition, of the most romantic character, for the recovery of the throne, which his family had forfeited. He hired a frigate of eighteen guns, belonging to Nantes, in which he embarked, carrying with him nine hundred stand of arms, and a sum of money, not exceeding £.4,000. With this slender provision, he sailed, on the 14th of July, from Port Lazare in Britanny, attended only by the marquis of Tullibardine,* Sir John Macdonald, Mr. Thomas Sheridan, Mr. Sullivan, his governor, and a few other Scottish and Irish adventurers. His frigate was escorted by the Elizabeth, a ship of sixty guns, which conveyed about one hundred volunteers, with two thousand musquets and five hundred broadswords, and had been equipped for this purpose, with the connivance of the French court.

Directing their course towards the coast of Scotland, the two ships were met on the 20th of July, by the British man of war, the Lion, of sixty guns, which immediately engaged the Elizabeth; and, after an obstinate conflict of six hours, so crippled her, that she with difficulty effected her return to Brest. Undismayed by this misfortune, the young adventurer pursued his voyage, and on the 23rd, approached South Uist, one of the Western Islands. Meeting with less encouragement than he expected from the inhabitants, he sailed for the main land, and disembarked on the shore of Loch Sunart, near which resided several of his most active partisans, especially the Camerons of Lochiel. His enterprise, however, appeared so desperate, that even his warmest adherents endeavoured to dissuade him from proceeding; but they at length became inspired with a portion of his enthusiasm, and in the course of a few days, he numbered nine hundred followers, consisting chiefly of the Camerons, Macdonalds, and Stuarts. With this little band, he approached the mountain-chain of the Grampians, daily receiving new accessions of Highlanders; and on the 19th of August, finally raised the standard of rebellion, in the valley of Glensinnan, near Fort Augustus. Several skirmishes took place between his troops and the royal forces; the Macdonalds of Keppoch in particular, having captured two companies of the royal Scots, exultingly presented their prisoners to their young leader, as an earnest of future success.

By this sudden and daring enterprise, the British government was confounded. Much anxiety had indeed prevailed, relative to the state of Scotland; and even in the preceding autumn, the Pelhams had warmly inforced the representations of the duke of Argyle,† for encouraging and arming those of his countrymen, who were known to be loyal; as we find, from a letter written to him by Mr. Pelham.

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* The son of John, the first duke of Athol, who died in 1724. Having been concerned in the rebellion of 1715, he was attainted, and his title and estates forfeited.

† Archibald, earl of Ilay, succeeded to that title, on the death of his brother John, in November 1743. See an account of both these noblemen in the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. xxvi. and liii.

"My Lord, "*Arlington Street, Sept.* 22*nd*, 1744.

"Upon communicating a letter I had from Sir William Yonge,[*] I had an opportunity of speaking to the king, upon the intended additional companies of the Highland regiment; and I found his Majesty, not only approving of the method in which you proposed they should be raised, but also disposed to grant the commissions in the manner your Grace advises. This led me also to talk upon the other subject, which your Grace has so often mentioned to the king's servants, the want of arms in the hands of the friends of government, and the little care there has been taken to disarm the enemies. I have directions to speak to the duke of Montagu[†] and my brother about it. What the king seems inclined to, is, that a number of spare arms should be sent down to Scotland, and delivered to such persons as your Grace shall appoint to receive them, they promising, as I believe is always done, by indenture, to deliver them up again, whenever the court shall demand them. I hope this will enable your Grace, to put your country in a better state of security, than you have hitherto thought it."

The Pelhams, however, were prevented from carrying this plan into effect, partly by the apathy observable in some adherents of the government, and partly, perhaps, by mistrust of the Highlanders. The mind of the king, also, being engrossed by continental affairs, and the attention of the cabinet being fixed on the menaced invasion from France, Scotland remained in neglect, until vague rumours began to be circulated, concerning the enterprise of the young Pretender. Even at the moment of his landing, ministers evinced the hesitation, naturally arising from want of concert and intelligence, and their embarrassment was increased by the absence of the king. This distraction in the cabinet is evident, from the correspondence of the Pelhams with the duke of Argyle, on whom they mainly relied, for the preservation of the established order of things in Scotland.[‡]

The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Argyle.

"My Lord, "*Whitehall, August* 1*st*, 1745.

"I received last week a letter from my lord Harrington, acquainting me that the king had undoubted intelligence, that the resolution was actually taken at the court of France, to attempt immediately an invasion of his Majesty's British dominions. This intelligence came through such a channel, that they have not the least doubt, at Hanover, of the truth of it. It is impossible for me to acquaint your Grace, by a letter, with the particulars of it, but they are such as make the thing but too probable; and, at the same time, our advices for some time past, from the ports, and the coast of France, shew that steps are actually taking to put that design in execution. My lord Harrington wrote immediately, by the king's order, to the duke of Cumberland, to have a body of troops ready to send hither in case of necessity; and we have been using our utmost endeavours to get together a good squadron in the channel, though, I am very sorry to say, we have made but little progress in it as yet, which is to be commanded by admiral Vernon. His Majesty has been so good as to declare, that, if this scheme of an invasion should go on, and if it should be thought absolutely necessary for the public service, that he should return immediately to England, he would begin his journey on the first notice. In answer to which, I wrote to my lord Harrington on Friday last, in the name of his Majesty's servants here, humbly to intreat his Majesty, not to defer putting those his gracious intentions in execution.

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[*] Secretary at War.

[†] Master of the Ordnance.

[‡] The following letters are taken from the Campbell Papers, in the possession of Archibald Campbell, esq., grandson of Archibald duke of Argyle. See Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, Preface.

"All this happened before Sunday last, when we had an account from Mr. Trevor, that Van Hoey* had dispatched an express to the States, acquainting them, that the Pretender's eldest son embarked on the 15th of July, N. S. at Nantes, on board a ship of about sixty guns, attended by a frigate, loaded with arms for a considerable number of men; and that it was universally believed, that they were gone for Scotland. I send your Grace, inclosed, the extract of Van Hoey's letter, with the several other accounts we have received, where you will see the circumstances of this affair, differently related; but they all agree in the main fact, of the Pretender's son being actually sailed for Scotland.

"This account was laid before the lords justices on Tuesday last; and it was thought necessary, that my lord Tweeddale should immediately send directions to Sir John Cope, to assemble the troops in proper places, and to order the dragoon horses to be taken up from grass.

"Sir John Cope is also to concert with the lord justice clerk, and the lord advocate, what may be proper to be done, for securing the public peace and tranquillity, and disappointing these designs. But my brother and I thought it absolutely necessary, that I should send your Grace a particular account of this affair; as we are fully convinced, that your Grace's great influence and power, enable you to be of the greatest use for the support of the government, if it should be attacked in that part of the king's dominions, which seems at present to be particularly threatened. We do not presume to point out to your Grace, any particular measure to be taken at this juncture, as your own judgment will direct you infinitely better than we can do; but if there is any thing, that you may think proper to be done by us here, I shall hope you will be so good as to let me know it.

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* The Dutch ambassador at Paris

"We have this day signed a proclamation, offering a reward of £.30,000 for apprehending the Pretender's son, in case he should land, or attempt to land, in any part of his Majesty's dominions. Transports for ten thousand men are preparing to be sent to Camp Veer in Zeeland, from whence they may go up the Scheld to Antwerp, if it shall be thought proper; or, the body of men to be sent to England in case of necessity, may be embarked at Camp Veer.

"On Saturday last, Ostend was invested. I had a letter from general Chanclos, dated on Sunday night; he expected, the trenches would be opened that night. The two battalions sent from hence, viz., one of guards, and Harrison's, arrived at Ostend on Saturday last, as also a great quantity of ordnance stores, of which we are sending a fresh supply. General Chanclos talks of making a good defence; but what is very surprising, is, that the great inundation so long talked of, and so often pressed from hence, is not yet made, and now cannot be made, it being in the enemy's power to prevent it.

"Our last letters from our army in Flanders, were of the 4th inst., N. S. The army was then extended in one line, from Brussels towards Antwerp, with a view to secure both those places. His Royal Highness's quarters were at Villevorden. It was thought, the French were preparing to make a large detachment to the Rhine; where the prince of Conti certainly stands in need of one, having been obliged to repass the Rhine with precipitation, though without much loss.

"We hope the election of the emperor will soon be made; though, it is possible, it may still meet with some difficulties and delays.

"The armies in Bohemia continue in a state of inaction. That of the allies is, I am afraid, very weak, not having, as it is confidently said, above twenty-four thousand foot, of regular troops; and indeed there has been a shameful non-performance of the promises made by the court of Vienna, as to the strength of their armies, in all parts.

"I am to acquaint your Grace, in great confidence, that the king has allowed my lord Harrington, pursuant to our repeated advice, to represent to the court of Vienna, in a very strong and a very proper manner, the indispensable necessity of making up immediately with the king of Prussia, if practicable, upon the foot of the treaty of Breslau. Lord Harrington has also talked to the Prussian minister at Hanover, upon that subject, who immediately dispatched a courier to his master upon it. If this could be brought about, it would give us some relief. But my hopes are not very sanguine, considering the obstinacy of the court of Vienna, on one side, the successes, and ambition of the king of Prussia, on the other, and the need, all the world must see, we stand in, of lessening the force of our enemy, when it is not practicable for us to increase our own.

"P. S. I proposed to the lords justices, this day, the sending down arms to Scotland, that the well-intentioned Highlanders might be armed, if it was necessary; and, particularly, that a number of arms might be ready to be delivered to your Grace's order. We had, as you may imagine, some disputes upon it; but it was at last determined to send down forthwith five thousand arms to Edinburgh, to be lodged there, at Stirling Castle, and at Inverness, according as Sir John Cope shall direct; and that a private hint should be given to Sir John Cope, that arms should be delivered to your Grace, upon your application for them. There is one letter that says, the Pretender's son is actually landed in the Isle of Mull. I must beg your Grace would have the goodness to send the best intelligence you can procure, of this design of the Pretender's son, and of the motions of the Jacobites in Scotland."

The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Argyle.

"MY LORD, "*Whitehall, August* 14*th*, 1745.

"I received yesterday the honour of your Grace's letter of the 7th instant; and am extremely obliged to you, for the early information which you was so good as to send me, of the landing of the Pretender's son in Scotland.

"The circumstances, mentioned in the intelligence sent by your Grace, tally so exactly, almost in every respect, with the accounts we had received of the frigate, which, it was said, the Pretender's son was on board, that there can scarce be any doubt but that it is the same vessel which sailed from Nantes, and which is supposed to have had the Pretender's son on board, when the Elizabeth engaged with the Lion. I immediately acquainted the lords justices with the advice I had received from your Grace; and I have their directions to return your Grace their Excellencies' thanks, for giving such early notice of an event, which so much concerns the peace and security of his Majesty's government.

"I am also, in their Excellencies' name, to desire your Grace, to take such measures as you shall judge most proper, for the defence of the kingdom against these attempts of his Majesty's enemies; and to acquaint your Grace, that they have ordered arms to be sent to Scotland, and have directed Sir John Cope to give them out to such persons as your Grace shall think proper, as your Grace will have seen by my former letter. My lord Tweeddale communicated to the lords justices, the several letters he had received from the lord justice clerk, the lord advocate, and Sir John Cope; and orders were thereupon sent to Sir John Cope, to get together, as he himself had proposed, as great a number of troops as he could assemble, and to march directly to the place where the enemy shall rendezvous, and endeavour to attack and suppress them at once. The officers of the revenue are also directed, to furnish Sir John Cope with such sums of money, as he shall want for carrying on the service; and whatever service your Grace shall think proper to be undertaken, I am persuaded, upon your Grace's giving notice to Sir John Cope, he will give directions for furnishing the money, that it may be put in execution.

"Your Grace does me great honour and justice, in taking notice of any attention that I gave, to the necessary representations your Grace made, of the state of the friends of the government, in Scotland. It was but my duty so to do; and I heartily wish the advice, your Grace then gave, had been followed. Many inconveniences would, by that means, probably have been avoided. But, however, your Grace's weight and power in Scotland are such, that, notwithstanding some disappointments, I am persuaded you will do great service, and be able to prevent any attempts from the enemies of the government, in your part of the kingdom.

"I desired your Grace, in my last letter, to suggest what you should think might be proper to be done, upon the supposition of the event, which has now happened. I must beg you would let me know, by the return of the messenger, what farther intelligence you may have procured of the motions of the enemy, and what steps you would advise to have taken, and I will endeavour, as far as depends upon me, that they may be carried immediately into execution. Your Grace will allow me to assure you, in confidence, that I never was in so much apprehension as I am at present. Before ever the motions of the Pretender's son were suspected, his Majesty had undoubted intelligence that the court of France intended to make an attempt upon these kingdoms. That intelligence was soon after confirmed, by the departure from France, and is now put out of all doubt, by the arrival of the Pretender's son, in Scotland.

"The loss of all Flanders, and that of Ostend, which, I am afraid, must soon be expected, will, we apprehend, from the great superiority of the French in Flanders, be soon followed by some embarkation from Ostend or Dunkirk, or both. And there is reason to believe, that the French and Spanish ships, which are now in the western ports of France, and in the Bay of Biscay, amounting to between twenty and thirty, twenty of which are of the line, may be intended to support these embarkations; either by coming up the channel, where at present we have not a squadron sufficient to oppose them, or, as I find is apprehended by some, by coming north about Scotland, to Ostend. Seven French men-of-war sailed from Brest about five weeks ago. It is thought possible, they may be somewhere lying in the westward, to wait there till Ostend shall be in the hands of the French, and then proceed round Scotland thither.

"We are getting our ships ready with the utmost expedition. Admiral Martin, who was cruising in the Bay of Biscay, is sent for home; and I hope we shall soon have a tolerable squadron in the channel; but, if the French should come north about, they might surprise us. We are sending transports for ten thousand men, to Camp Veer and Flushing, in order to bring part of our army from Flanders, if it should be necessary, for the defence of the kingdom.

"I have the pleasure to acquaint your Grace, that I received the king's orders on Friday last, to send away the yachts to Helvoetsluys, in order to his Majesty's returning to England. The yachts will sail to-morrow, and I hope we may expect the king here, the beginning of the week after next.

"I beg pardon for giving your Grace this trouble. I know your Grace's zeal for his Majesty's service is such, that, I am persuaded, it is unnecessary for me to desire you to exert your great power and authority in Scotland, for the defence of the government.

"Whatever commands your Grace may have for me, shall be punctually obeyed; and, whatever you shall think proper to be done, you may depend upon my promoting, with the utmost attention and care."

Mr. Pelham to Archibald, Duke of Argyle.

"My Lord, "*August* 20*th*, 1745.

"I had a letter from general Cope, whom I am sorry to see in such distress and perplexity. Your advice is a great comfort to him; but, as he is not likely to have the benefit of that long, I own I am in pain for him. I have endeavoured to keep up his spirits as well as I can. I am not so apprehensive of the strength or zeal of the enemy, as I am fearful of the inability or languidness, of our friends. I see, the contagion spreads in all parts; and, if your Grace was here, you would scarce, in common conversation, meet with one man who thinks there is any danger from, scarce truth in an invasion, at this time. For my part, I have long dreaded it; and am now as much convinced as my late friend lord Orford was, that this country will be fought for some time before this year is over. Be that as it will, we must do our best; but nothing can go on right till the government has a head, which, I hope it will not be long without; for lord Harrington was to set out from Hanover last Friday; and the king intended to follow him in a very few days.

"Ostend, you see in the newspapers, has capitulated. The garrison is saved; but, to our great surprise, the Duke sent lord Crawford and Jack Mordaunt thither, with orders, rather to carry the troops to Flushing, than England. We immediately sent to Flushing, to stop their going from thence to the army in Flanders; and this day have sent positive orders to four regiments to come here to the river; and the fifth, being the Scotch fusileers, commanded by Jack Campbell, is ordered to Scotland, to strengthen Sir John Cope's army, and to recruit itself in that country. I do not doubt but your Grace will approve of this exertion of power in the lords justices; it is the only instance in which we have exerted it to any real use. Lord Tweeddale tells me, there are no warrants directed from hence, for seizing any one, except lord Perth. A general recommendation, both to the advocate and justice clerk, to issue warrants against any persons that hey shall have reason to suspect, is all he knows of. What the truth is of this, I cannot pretend to say.

" Other public affairs remain in *statu quo.* When the king comes, every thing will, and must unveil itself. These are not times for doubts ; and, if I see right, our master will be of the same opinion. How he will determine, time will shew."

Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Argyle.

" My Lord, " *Newcastle House, August* 21*st*, 1745.

" I have had the honour of your Grace's several letters of the 11th, 12th, 13th, and 17th inst., and am extremely obliged to you, for the informations you have been pleased to give me, which, I find, contain the chief intelligence that has been received from any quarter, relating to the arrival and proceeding of the Pretender's son and his adherents. Your Grace may be assured, I am truly sensible of the confidence you have been pleased to place in me, and shall never make any use of it, but what shall be agreeable to you. I heartily lament, for the sake of the public, that your Grace's advice has not been followed.

" It is a melancholy consideration, that the government has, at present no friends and no force to defend it, but a small number of regular troops ; when, if your Grace's proposal had been pursued, we might now have had a much more considerable number, in arms, for the government, than, in all probability, can be brought against it. However, I should hope, it might not be yet too late to make some stand of this kind ; and that the well affected clans might be provided from the government with arms, which Sir John Cope has had orders to deliver to them. As to the legality of bearing arms in the defence of the government, those who are intrusted with the administration, should surely find out means to give lawful authority for that purpose.

" Your Grace was extremely good, in the advice you gave to captain Noel ; and I am glad he is so wise as to follow it. The lords of the Admiralty will send, immediately, a twenty-gun ship, to cruize about the islands, where the Pretender's son is landed.

" Nothing could be so surprising, as the searching Mr. Maule's house. My brother has mentioned it to my lord Tweeddale, who assured him he knew nothing of it. As your Grace intended to set out soon for London, it is possible you may have left Edinburgh before this letter arrives. If you should not be set out, I beg you would leave your thoughts with the lord justice clerk, as to the methods to be taken, for disappointing the Pretender's adherents in their present designs, and animating the friends of the government with a proper zeal for the defence of it. Sir John Cope, I presume, will follow your Grace's advice. He has very prudently desired it, and he cannot do better, than be guided by it.

"The great lords of the Highlands, who are well affected, as the duke of Athol, lord Glenorchy, &c., will, I doubt not, be directed by your Grace; and, whatever you are so good as to suggest to us, as proper to be done, in this critical conjuncture, shall, as far as depends on us, be immediately executed. As nobody wishes better to the government, than your Grace, nobody can do it half so much service, upon this occasion, as yourself; and, therefore, I was not surprised to hear, that the first attempts of the Jacobites, should be to seize you. When we have the honour of seeing your Grace here, we shall give you a full account of every thing that has passed, since you left us. Things must clear up upon his Majesty's return; and his ministers must have his confidence and authority, or not the appearance of being his ministers.

"We conclude the king will be here, by Monday or Tuesday next. My lord Harrington proposed to be at the Hague, as to-morrow. Your Grace will have heard of the surrender of Ostend. The garrison, five battalions of which were English, was suffered to come away.

"We expected, they would have been brought immediately to England; but, very unluckily, I am afraid, they were ordered to the army. However, we have sent for them back, and ordered four battalions to be brought to England; and major general Campbell's regiment to be sent directly to Leith.

"I beg your Grace will be assured, that I am highly sensible of your goodness to me; and shall, upon all occasions, endeavour to shew myself, with the greatest truth and sincerity," &c.

These letters shew, that, although Mr. Pelham, as prime minister, and the duke of Newcastle, as secretary of state, were ostensibly the leaders of administration; yet they were far from possessing the power and influence, which were absolutely necessary, for conducting efficiently the affairs of government. They had, it is true, driven their great opponent, lord Granville, from office; but he still retained the confidence of the king, and had several warm adherents in the cabinet, particularly the marquis of Tweeddale, the secretary of state for Scotland. The king himself, who had left England with feelings of the highest displeasure against the Pelhams, still exhibited unequivocal proofs, that his resentment had not subsided. To these causes, we must principally attribute the indecisive course taken by the government, in relation to Scotland; for, the marquis of Tweeddale and his friends ridiculed the danger as chimerical, and opposed all vigorous proceedings as unnecessary; and it was with the greatest difficulty, that the Pelhams could extort from the lords justices, the order mentioned in the preceding correspondence, for the recal of four regiments from Flanders. But even then, no adequate means were employed, for rousing into action the loyalty of the nation; and the friends of government in Scotland, were depressed and discouraged, by the want of all countenance and support from the servants of the Crown. These considerations will fully account for the disastrous events which ensued.

Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief, stationed at Edinburgh, had under his command no more than three full regiments, and fourteen odd companies of infantry, with two regiments of dragoons. Having obtained intelligence that the Pretender's son was expected to land in the northern part of the country, he waited for orders from the lords justices, to whom he had made the proper communication, requesting that arms, of which there was a great deficiency, might be immediately dispatched to Scotland, by way of precaution. The marquis of Tweeddale, in reply, directed him to keep a vigilant eye upon the north; but informed him, that the lords of the Regency declined, upon such a vague report, taking so critical a step, as that of sending arms. At length, when certain intelligence had been transmitted, that Charles Edward had actually landed, Sir John Cope received positive injunctions from the lords justices, to advance immediately against the rebels, and engage them, whatever might be their strength or position. In obedience to these orders, he marched from Edinburgh on the 20th of August, and took post at Stirling, with an ill-provided force, of no more than one thousand four hundred infantry, and two regiments of dragoons, and with only four small pieces of artillery. On learning the movements of the adventurer, he sent to Edinburgh the cavalry, which he considered as useless in so rugged a country, and proceeded towards the Grampians, in the hope of penetrating into the Highlands, and overwhelming the rebels, before they could collect in sufficient numbers to oppose him.

He took with him one thousand stand of arms, which had been sent from England, to distribute among the loyal Highlanders, by whom he expected to be joined. He experienced, however, considerable obstruction, from the broken nature of the country; and, on approaching the mountains, he received the mortifying intelligence, that the rebels had anticipated him, by occupying the strong pass of Corrievroch,* which obstructed his intended march to Fort Augustus. Disappointed in his hope of assistance from the Highlanders, he prudently sent back, to Stirling castle, a considerable proportion of the spare arms; and abstained from attempting to dislodge the enemy with an inferior force, which was daily diminishing by desertion, and already distressed for provisions. He apprehended, also, that if he retreated on Stirling, the Highlanders, by a rapid movement, might intercept him; and he, therefore, drew towards Inverness, that he might proceed by sea to Edinburgh. The Lowlands being thus left defenceless, the rebels advanced to Perth, where the prince proclaimed his father king, by the title of James VIII, and assumed the authority of Regent. His force, at this period, did not exceed fifteen hundred men; but it was speedily augmented by the junction of that able partisan, lord George Murray, brother of the duke of Athol, the titular duke of Perth, viscount Strathallan, lord Nairn, and other persons of distinction, who appeared at the head of their tenants and dependents. The marquis of Tullibardine took possession of his family mansion and estate of Blair-Athol, which, in consequence of his attainder, had devolved to his younger brother; and appealed with considerable success to his former adherents. Among the friends of government, the panic was so great, that some of the principal nobility fled to Edinburgh for safety; and the duke of Argyle, in particular, alarmed by some rumours of a design to seize his person, took refuge in England, at the moment when his presence was most needed, to give countenance to the royal cause.

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* "Corrievroch, of which the rebels had taken possession, is an immense mountain of the most lofty proportions. The real distance from the plain on one side to the plain on the other, of this vast eminence, is perhaps little more than four or five miles; but such is the tortuosity of the road, to suit the nature of the ground, that the distance, by that mode of measurement, is at least eighteen. The road ascends the steep sides by seventeen traverses, somewhat like the ladders of a tall and complex piece of scaffolding, and each of which leads the traveller but a small way forward, compared with the distance he has had to walk. It was the most dangerous peculiarity of the hill, in the present case, that the deep ditch, or water-course, along the side of the road, afforded innumerable positions, in which an enemy could be entrenched to the teeth, so as to annoy the approaching army, without the possibility of being annoyed in return; and that, indeed, a very small body of resolute men could thus entirely cut off, and destroy, an army, of whatever numbers or appointments, acting upon the offensive."

The unexpected progress of the rebels produced great consternation, not only in Scotland, but among the well-affected throughout the kingdom; as it was generally known, that nearly the whole force of the country was engaged in Flanders. Such, however, was still the disunion in the cabinet, that, notwithstanding the urgent representations of Mr. Pelham and the duke of Newcastle, no effectual precaution was taken to repel the danger. The only acts upon which the lords justices seem to have agreed were, to offer a reward of thirty thousand pounds for the apprehension of the young Pretender; to press the return of the king; to dispatch cruisers to the coast of Scotland; and to demand from the States General the six thousand Dutch troops, which they had stipulated by treaty to furnish, should England be invaded. The Pelhams awaited the arrival of the king, with great anxiety, arising from the apprehension, which they justly entertained, that he would sieze the earliest opportunity to restore lord Granville to power, and withdraw his confidence entirely from the Whigs.

On receiving intelligence of the danger which menaced the state, his Majesty took his departure from Hanover, and landing at Margate, on the 31st of August, proceeded immediately to London. His presence produced a general manifestation of loyalty throughout the country. He was received in the capital with acclamations of joy; an appropriate address was presented by the citizens of London; two regiments were raised at the expense of the merchants; the train-bands of the city, and the militia of several counties, were called out; loyal associations were formed; and voluntary contributions were offered to the government, from all parts of the kingdom. Instructions were also given, that the Dutch troops, after their debarkation, should march towards Lancashire; and orders were issued for collecting an army, under marshal Wade, to defend the north-eastern counties, and oppose the inroad of the rebels into England.

The presence of his Majesty did not, however, suspend the feuds in the cabinet; and the Pelhams had to contend against the displeasure of their royal master, the secret influence of lord Granville, and the open resistance of lord Tweeddale, whose official situation enabled him to thwart all their dispositions for the security of Scotland.

The state of affairs, at this critical juncture, is described in a concise and striking manner, by Mr. Fox, in a letter to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, dated September 5th, 1745.

"The rebels are got twenty-four miles on this side Cope, and are in full march to Edinburgh, or still farther south. There are four men of war and thirty transports at Dunkirk. No account of the Ferrol, or part of the Brest squadron. This news has at length forced the sending for ten battalions of English, which were sent for by express, last night: a counsel that has prevailed with the greatest difficulty, and is blamed by Granville, as it was opposed by lord Tweeddale. The latter did not, ten days ago, believe the Pretender's son to be in Scotland; and the duke of Argyle left it, because he was there; as the duke of Athol has left his house, and estate, and clan, to his elder brother, and is set out for Edinburgh, on a message from lord Tullibardine, to get dinner, &c. ready for him, by such a day. England, Wade says, and I believe, is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the six thousand Dutch and the ten battalions of English, or five thousand French or Spaniards, will be here first, you know our fate."

Another letter, from Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, exhibits, in a still stronger light, the conflict among the members of administration, and the obstructions experienced by the Pelhams, in their efforts to support the throne.

"*September* 19*th*, 1745.

"The rebels advance towards England, having passed the Frith above Stirling: Three battalions of Dutch, landed yesterday, began their march, immediately, for Lancashire. They are to be joined by the few English troops, quartered near their march, and are commanded by Wentworth. On Monday last, none of lord Tweeddale's friends, or rather none of the Scots, would believe this; but called them the rabble, and it was a farce. As they are by this time, perhaps, as I hope, plundering and burning Tweeddale's estate and houses, I fancy he will think they might have as well been looked after sooner. Though, I hear, lord Stair, even yesterday, opposed sending these Dutch, which Dutch will not act against the French, if the French come. They are not come, God be thanked! And, I think, now it would be too late. But had five thousand landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle. * * * * * *

"Every domestic matter is such as could not be explained, in other than an extreme long letter, and must not be wrote in any. Imagine every thing in confusion; obstinate, angry, determined impracticability throughout; and then know, that the parliament is to meet for business, the 17th of next month."

The anger of the king, to which allusion is here obscurely made, is more pointedly described, in a letter from the lord Chancellor to his son, Mr. Yorke.

"*Powis House, September* 19*th*, 1745.

"'Parturiunt montes;' but the mouse is not yet brought forth. It has vexed me heartily to be so cruelly called away from Wrest,* to attend the labour, when the birth seems to be so far off. A certain person feels many pangs and throes; but I perceive, plainly, his principal midwife† does not undertake to deliver him; and he, notwithstanding his partiality to him, does not rely upon him. I have gone thus far in metaphor; and, indeed, I know not how to describe the scene upon paper, in plain words. Imagine to yourself a situation, where a man wants to bring about what he sees is impracticable; will not enable the old servants of his family to do his business; and yet is convinced, that those whom he is more inclined to, cannot carry it on; wishing on one side, and embarrassing on the other; and then you have the picture of the present family."‡

While the powers of the state were thus paralyzed, it is no wonder that the rebellion should hourly gain strength. The young adventurer continued his march unmolested from Perth, by Dumblaine; and, on the 14th of September, crossed the river Forth, four miles below Stirling, in sight of Gardiner's regiment of dragoons. After making a feint, to threaten Glasgow, he pushed directly for Edinburgh, where preparations for resistance were indeed begun; but loyalty and courage were alike wanting. The two cavalry regiments of Gardiner and Hamilton, which had been detached by Sir John Cope, precipitately withdrew. The city volunteers and guards refused to advance; and negotiations were opened by the magistrates, for a surrender. During this period of suspense on the 17th of September, the rebels forced the Netherbow port, and instantly occupied the city, without the slightest obstruction. They then disarmed all the men upon duty, and relieved the guards, as quietly, as in a time of perfect tranquillity. In a few hours the inhabitants found the government of the city completely transferred, from the magistrates in the name of king George, to the Highlanders in the name of king James. Fortunately, the principal valuables had been previously transported to the castle, which was garrisoned by five hundred men, under general Guest, and could not be reduced without artillery and other necessaries, which the rebels did not possess. The young Pretender marching round by Duddingston with the main body, established his residence at Holyrood House, caused his father to be proclaimed at the High Cross, and issued an appeal to the people, promising to dissolve the Union, and redress all grievances. He also seized such public monies as had not been removed to the castle; exacted provisions, tents, and clothing; and, by new levies, augmented his ill-disciplined force, to about three thousand men. The only additional persons of note, however, who joined him, were lords Wemyss, Elcho, Balmerino, and Kilmarnock.

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* The seat of the marchioness Grey, who had espoused Mr. Yorke.

† Lord Granville.

‡ Hardwicke Papers; and Memoirs of lord Walpole, chap. xxviii.

In the mean time, Sir John Cope had used great diligence, in the hopes of saving the capital. Having been joined, at Inverness, by a tardy reinforcement of two hundred Highlanders, he hastened to embark, on board transports, waiting at Aberdeen; and, on the 18th of September, landed at Dunbar, twenty-six miles from Edinburgh, where he learned that the rebels had occupied that capital on the preceding day. He, however, instantly marched; and, being joined by the two dragoon regiments, and a few loyalists, found his force augmented to two thousand two hundred men. After several movements and changes of position, he finally occupied a strong defensive post on Gladesmuir, near Preston-Pans, upon a plain, swelling gently up from the coast, where his cavalry and artillery could act with effect against an enemy unprovided with either. Cockenzie and the sea were in his rear; the intricate little village of Preston, with its numerous inclosures and garden walls was on his right; Seaton House,* at a distance on his left; and his front was covered by a morass, intersected by a deep ditch or drain, the passage of which was deemed impracticable.

Charles no sooner heard of the arrival of Cope and his army at Dunbar, than he determined to march against him. Accordingly, he quitted Edinburgh on the 19th of September, at the head of two thousand four hundred men, and took post for the night, in the village of Duddingston. He resolved to attack the royal army the following morning; but, arriving in the vicinity of Preston-Pans, he found their position much stronger than he expected. Considering the passage of the marsh as impracticable, he altered the disposition of his troops; and, as the evening was approaching, he suspended the attack, and passed the night under arms. While he was reposing in the midst of a field, he was awakened, and informed that a passage had been discovered, by which the morass might be traversed, unobserved by the enemy. In consequence of this information, the troops were put in motion at three o'clock in the morning. Having crossed the morass, they formed, after their own manner; and then suddenly advancing, with their dirks and broadswords, and raising their wonted war cry, burst upon the royal troops, who were drawn up, and waiting to receive them. Confounded by a mode of attack, so rapid, unusual, and terrific, the royalists were in a few minutes irrecoverably routed.* The cavalry first took flight, and the infantry, being too much discouraged to make a vigorous defence, were either dispersed or cut to pieces. After many desperate but ineffectual attempts to rally his troops, Sir John Cope, with four hundred and fifty dragoons, rapidly retreated to Coldstream, distant forty miles from the field of battle; but not deeming himself safe at this place, he proceeded in the morning to Berwick, and conveyed the first news of his own defeat.

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* Belonging to the marquis of Tweeddale.

In this combat, so disgraceful to disciplined soldiers, the principal loss fell on the infantry; four hundred being killed, seven hundred made prisoners, including seventy officers, and scarcely two hundred effected their escape. Of the dragoons, besides those who fled with Sir John Cope, two hundred were dispersed, and the remainder fought their way to the castle of Edinburgh. The baggage, tents, cannon, and military chest, fell into the hands of the Highlanders; and no royal force remained in Scotland, except the garrisons of the different fortresses.†

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* The accounts of the force under Sir John Cope are so vague and contradictory, that the exact number cannot be ascertained. His journalist states, that he had not more than one thousand five hundred men fit for action, and the rebels rate his troops at four thousand. The truth probably lies between the two extremes. The list given in the Scots Magazine amounts to 2,191 men.

† See the account of this battle of Preston-Pans, in the English Gazettes, and in the journal published by the rebels. This successful surprise is commemorated in the well-known national ballad, of " Hey Johnny Cope are ye wauking yet, or are ye sleeping I wad wit," the air of which is still preserved among the martial music of the Highlanders. During their gallant

This sudden and alarming increase of danger appeared to disconcert the opponents of the Pelhams; though the aversion of the king continued undiminished. The reinforcements, which had been summoned from the British army on the continent, fortunately arrived, before the defeat was made known, and prevented any sudden explosion in the capital.

The crisis is described, with those exaggerations, which terror would naturally produce, in a letter from the duke of Newcastle to the duke of Cumberland.

"*Newcastle House, Sept.* 25*th*, 1745.

"Your royal highness will hear the melancholy account of the entire defeat of the king's army, under Sir John Cope. Dragoons and foot did as ill as possible; and now there is no army between Scotland and London. The Pretender, having entirely got possession of the whole kingdom of Scotland, except the castle of Edinburgh, where is all the wealth of the country, ten thousand arms, &c., which it is thought cannot hold out long, and Sir John Cope being most thoroughly defeated, by an army of six thousand determined and well-disciplined rebels, with the Pretender's son at their head will, I hope, justify the early fears and humble application of your Royal Highness's faithful servants here, for a considerable reinforcement from your army. Had not that reinforcement providentially arrived, the day before* the news came, of Sir John Cope's defeat, the confusion to the city of London would not have been to be described, and the king's crown, I will venture to say, in the utmost danger.

"Marshal Wade will now, with the assistance of your Royal Highness's army, march immediately to meet the rebels, with near ten thousand men, two regiments of one thousand men each, being sent for from Ireland to join him. But if the rebels should increase, as may very well happen, or should France, who has set this young gentleman to work, support him, now he has conquered one kingdom, we have no way to save this country but by

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services on the continent, in the late war, it was frequently the signal of onset; and in the celebrated attack, made by Sir Rowland, afterwards lord Hill, when at daybreak he surprised the French army at Arroyo Molinos, one of the Scottish regiments rushed to the charge, while their bagpipes played this animating national air.

* In conformity with this opinion, Mr. Pelham declared publicly in the House of Commons, in his speech on the army establishment, January 26th, 1753, that if the reinforcements from the continent had been detained but a few weeks, by contrary winds, London could not have been defended against the rebels.

farther reinforcements from your Royal Highness's army; and therefore, I am persuaded, your Royal Highness will send them in all the cases mentioned in lord Harrington's letter.

"As you are so good as to interest yourself in what concerns your faithful servants here, I can only assure your Royal Highness, that we, to the utmost of our power, do our duty to our king and our country; have endeavoured to prevent the misfortunes that have happened; and do endeavour to extricate his Majesty out of them, as well as we can; and yet we are far from having the satisfaction of being approved or supported. I am," &c.

After the victory of Preston-Pans, Charles Edward returned in triumph to Edinburgh, at the head of his exulting followers, accompanied by one hundred pipers, playing the national air of "The king shall enjoy his own again;" and, amidst the acclamations of the populace, proceeded to Holyrood House, the palace of his ancestors. Among other edicts, he issued a proclamation, offering for the head of the king, whom he styled elector of Hanover, the same sum of £.30,000, which had been set as a price upon his own. He was encouraged to blockade the castle; but, at the instance of the inhabitants, who were terrified by a few cannon shot, which general Guest fired by way of menace, he relinquished his purpose, and the garrison continued to exact provisions from the citizens. He however remained at Edinburgh, collecting money and supplies, and thus wasted the month of October, in mere preparatory arrangements, or in idle ostentation.

At length, having received additional arms and stores from France, he roused himself to action. He quitted Edinburgh on the 31st at night:* and on the 3d of November, commenced his march southward, at the head of five thousand five hundred infantry, and two hundred horse, with a few pieces of artillery.

His first intention was, to pass through Northumberland; but ascertaining that a considerable force, under marshal Wade, was advancing in that direction, he took the route through Dumfries to Carlisle. On the 15th he compelled the royal garrison in that city to surrender; obtained a large supply of arms; and proclaimed his father king. Calculating on the support which his ancestor, king Charles, had found in the north-western counties, during the great rebellion, he marched through Westmoreland and Lancashire, and on the 29th was welcomed at Manchester, with illuminations and other tokens of rejoicing. The militia of the county had indeed been called out by the earl of Derby, the lord lieutenant; but being ill disciplined, and worse equipped, they could not venture to make a stand against the rebels.

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* On the following day, when the rest of the Highlanders departed, the city companies resumed the main guard.—*Scots Mag.* 1745.

The rapid progress of the adventurer, had now awakened the servants and friends of the Crown, to a full sense of their danger, and had effectually silenced that factious opposition in the cabinet, by which the views of the Pelhams had been so long obstructed. Even the displeasure of the king was vanquished by his apprehensions; and he could no longer withhold his confidence from those who had shewn such ardent zeal for the maintenance of his throne. Vigour and decision were soon manifest, in every department of government. As the six thousand Dutch troops were recalled by the Republic, in consequence of the threats of France, arrangements were made for procuring, from the continent, a similar number of Hessians in British pay. Farther detachments of native soldiery were also recalled from Flanders; preparations were made for forming a camp on Finchley Common, under the command of the king in person; the militia was regularly officered and disciplined; and the loyal associations were sufficiently organised to cooperate in the general defence. Bodies of troops were dispatched towards Lancashire, to check the movements of the rebels, in that quarter; while marshal Wade continued to obstruct their communications with the north eastern counties. The duke of Cumberland, having quitted the continent in the middle of October, assumed the supreme command, on his arrival in England, and adopted direct and decisive measures for arresting the progress of the domestic enemy. The troops under general Wade, were strengthened by considerable reinforcements, and effectively harassed the flank and rear of the rebel army. In Scotland, the friends of government were roused and encouraged; and advantage was promptly taken, of the departure of the young adventurer towards the South. The servants of the Crown, resuming their functions at Edinburgh, were protected by two regiments of infantry, and by Gardiner's dragoons, detached from the army of general Wade; and, in the interior of the country, bodies of troops were collected on different points to awe the disaffected, particularly at Inverness, where lord Loudon organised the armed clans, and checked the attempts of the Jacobite chiefs in the Highlands.

The main army, under the duke of Cumberland, assembled in Staffordshire. It consisted of eleven battalions of foot, six regiments of horse, and several bodies of volunteers and militia. Its advance did not intimidate the young Pretender; although his hopes had proved so ill founded, that since his departure from Carlisle, only two hundred followers had joined him, under colonel Townley. Relying on a concerted invasion from France, he continued his daring progress, and advanced through Stockport to Macclesfield, on the 1st of December. The royal duke, attentive to his movements, sent a detachment from Stafford to Newcastle-under-line, and it was supposed, that the rebels would at length accept an offer of battle. But they suddenly filed off by Leek and Ashbourn; and on the 4th, took up their quarters at Derby. Here the absent Pretender was again proclaimed king of England, under the title of James III, with the usual formalities. The young prince, impelled by the representations of the more ardent among his followers, formed the resolution of marching directly to the capital; but he was dissuaded from this dangerous enterprise, by his more prudent counsellors, who were discouraged by the loyal spirit that now pervaded the country, and by the superior force approaching them on all sides. In the midst of the debates, which these conflicting opinions occasioned, the intelligence that a French corps had landed in Scotland, furnished a pretext for retreat, with a view to join that reinforcement; and, after staying two days at Derby, the rebels returned northward, with the utmost celerity.

The duke of Cumberland had reached Macclesfield by forced marches, intending to intercept them, by effecting a junction with marshal Wade, who had advanced to Doncaster. They, however, so rapidly retraced their steps through Manchester and Preston, that even their rear guard was not overtaken, until the 18th of December, at Clifton, near Penrith, where a skirmish ensued. A momentary resolution seems to have prompted the young prince, to return and attack the royal forces, while fatigued and scattered by their rapid pursuit; but he again listened to prudent counsels, and leaving as a garrison in Carlisle, the small number of his English adherents, and a few Highlanders, he crossed the Solway, and continued his retreat to the Clyde, levying heavy contributions on his route, especially at Dumfries and Glasgow.

On the 1st of January, the rebel forces entered Stirling, and made immediate preparations to reduce the castle, the possession of which would secure their communications with the north, and enable them to maintain themselves in the centre of the Lowlands. Having, therefore, brought up a few pieces of artillery, they attacked that fortress on the 12th, while they sent detachments as far as Linlithgow, to watch the movements of their adversaries on the side of Edinburgh. The royal army, in consequence of their rapid march, having failed to cut off their retreat into Scotland, invested Carlisle on the 21st of December, and on the 30th, compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion. On this occasion, the duke of Cumberland acted not only with spirit, in refusing to grant any terms to the besieged, but also with great humanity, in permitting them to retain their clothes and effects.*

As but little hope was entertained, of crushing the rebellion during the winter, in a country so favourable to the habits of Highlanders, the duke of Cumberland returned to London, having left the principal command to marshal Wade, then at Newcastle, and confided the prosecution of hostilities in Scotland, to general Hawley, who was posted at Edinburgh.

In conformity with the views of his royal highness, general Hawley, at the head of eight thousand infantry, and three regiments of cavalry, advanced to relieve Stirling castle. After driving back the detached parties of the rebels, he on the 17th of January, approached Falkirk, where their main body was stationed, in number equal to the royal forces, and under the command of prince Charles himself. Both armies being drawn up on the moor of Falkirk, Hawley hoped to anticipate the impetuous onset of the Highlanders, by directing his cavalry to charge. Instead, however, of obeying this order, they slowly and timidly advanced; and, on receiving a volley from the fire arms of their opponents, suddenly wheeled round, and rode through the infantry of the left wing, exclaiming in their flight, "we shall all be massacred to day!" A considerable body of the Highlanders profited by this confusion. Favoured by a violent storm of wind and rain, they rushed on the royal infantry, which was thrown into the utmost disorder, and a total rout must have ensued, had not Cobham's dragoons, and a few battalions of foot, gallantly covered the retreat. Seven pieces of artillery were lost; and general Hawley found it necessary to destroy the greater part of his tents, and fall back to the vicinity of Edinburgh. The rebels then resumed their operations against Stirling castle, hoping that their recent victory would discourage the garrison. But, being ill provided with artillery, and unskilled in the prosecution of sieges, they were repulsed with considerable loss; and this important post, the key of Scotland, was preserved, to the infinite advantage of the royal cause.*

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* Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 212.

During the progress of these events, the ministers had been justly alarmed, by the repeated attempts of the French government to land troops and arms on the Scottish coast, and by preparations for a descent in the vicinity of Dover. To meet these dangers, a squadron, under admiral Vernon, took its station in the channel; while another, under admiral Byng, sailed for the eastern coast of Scotland. By the skill and vigilance of those commanders, the main design of the French was frustrated; and many of their transports, bound to the northward, were intercepted, while others were driven back into their ports. Only one of these ships, having on board a few companies of soldiers, arrived in Scotland; but they landed too late to be of essential service.†

Amidst the alarm created by the rebellion, parliament met on the 18th of October. The king opened the session, with an earnest appeal to the affection and loyalty of the two Houses, declaring that he had called them together sooner than he intended, in consequence of the open and unnatural rebellion which had broken out, and still continued, in Scotland. "So wicked and daring an attempt," he continued, "in favour of a Popish pretender to my crown, headed by his eldest son, carried on by numbers of traitorous and desperate persons within the kingdom, and encouraged by my enemies abroad, requires the immediate advice and assistance of my parliament, to suppress and extinguish it. The duty and affection for me and my government, and the vigilant and zealous care for the safety of the nation, which have with so much unanimity been shewn by my faithful subjects, give me the firmest assurance, that you are met together, resolved to act with a spirit becoming a time of common danger, and with such vigour as will end in the confusion of all those, who have engaged in, or fomented this rebellion.

"I have, throughout the whole course of my reign, made the laws of the land the rule of my government; and the preservation of the constitution in church and state, and the rights of my people, the main end and aim of all my actions. It is, therefore, the more astonishing, that any of my Protestant subjects, who have known and enjoyed the benefits resulting from thence, and have heard of the imminent dangers these kingdoms were wonderfully delivered from, by the happy Revolution, should, by any arts and management, be deluded into measures, that must at once destroy their religion and liberties, introduce Popery and arbitrary power, and subject them to a foreign yoke."

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* We have drawn the account of these operations from the Gazettes, the Journals of the Rebels, the intelligence respecting their movements, in the periodical publications, and correspondence on the subject, in the Newcastle and Pelham Papers. We have also continued the narrative beyond the end of the year, in order to preserve the connection of the military events.

† Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 200.

After appealing to the House of Commons, for the grant of those supplies, which were necessary to enable him to extinguish the rebellion, he concluded: "My Lords and Gentlemen; I am confident, you will act like men, who consider that every thing dear and valuable to them is attacked; and I question not, but, by the blessing of God, we shall, in a short time, see this rebellion end, not only in restoring the tranquillity of my government, but in procuring greater strength to that excellent constitution which it is designed to subvert. The maxims of this constitution shall ever be the rules of my conduct. The interest of me and my people is always the same, and inseparable. In this common interest let us unite; and all those who shall heartily and vigorously exert themselves in this just and national cause, may always depend on my protection and favour."

By the House of Lords, a loyal address was unanimously voted, in which, after expressing their utmost concern at this unnatural rebellion, and congratulating his Majesty on his happy and seasonable return, they declared, that they were unable fully to testify their just indignation and abhorrence at so wicked, traitorous, and desperate an attempt, in favour of a Popish Pretender, whose claims they had abjured, and whose principles and designs they heartily detested. They proceeded to assure his Majesty, that this presumptuous enterprise would have no other effect, than to strengthen their loyalty, and excite them to employ their unanimous efforts, to extinguish for ever the hopes of the Pretender and his adherents.

They then adverted, with feelings of satisfaction, to the cheerfulness and unanimity evinced on this occasion, by the whole people of England, in a higher degree than had ever before been known, unless at the happy Revolution, wrought by their great deliverer, king William III.

"With hearts full of the sincerest gratitude," they added, "we acknowledge your Majesty's paternal regard for the laws of the land, our constitution in church and state, and the rights of your people. It is with the deepest conviction, that we declare to your Majesty and the whole world, that the continuance of these blessings does, under God, entirely depend on the maintenance of your Majesty's undoubted title to the crown of these realms, the support of your throne, and the preservation of the Protestant succession in your royal House. Whoever can entertain a thought of exchanging those just rules of government, bounded by the laws and maxims of this free constitution, for the exercise of tyranny and arbitrary power, learned in the most despotic courts of Europe, and of parting with the purest religion in the world, for the superstitious and persecuting spirit of Popery, must be the most abandoned of mankind.

"Warmed with these moving sentiments, and unshaken in these principles, we give your Majesty the strongest assurances, that, in defence of your sacred person, and of all those valuable interests, which we have already described, we stedfastly resolve to unite, and hazard our estates and our lives; that from this resolution we will never depart, but will heartily and zealously concur in all such measures as may most effectually conduce to extinguish this rebellion; to deter any foreign power from presuming to support it; to restore the tranquillity of your Majesty's government; and to add strength to that excellent constitution, which this flagitious attempt is intended to subvert.

"May the divine Providence guard and protect your Majesty's precious life, give success to your councils and arms, against all your enemies, and stability to your throne."

In the House of Commons, Mr. Legge, a lord of the Admiralty, moved an address, in a similar strain of loyalty and affection, expressing the zealous determination of the members to act like men, sensible of the blessings they enjoyed, and resolved to preserve those blessings to themselves and to posterity; and concluding with the usual promise of granting to his Majesty the most effectual supplies.

In the existing temper of the nation, even the most violent of the disaffected did not venture to object to any part of the address; but Sir Francis Dashwood proposed to add the following amendment:

"And, in order to the firmer establishment of his Majesty's throne, on the solid and truly glorious basis of his people's affections, it shall be our zealous and speedy care to frame such bills, as, if passed into laws, may prove most effectual for securing to his Majesty's faithful subjects, the perpetual enjoyment of their undoubted right, to be freely and fairly represented, in parliaments frequently chosen, and exempted from undue influence of every kind; for easing their minds, in time to come, of the apprehensions they might entertain, of seeing abuses in offices rendered perpetual, without the seasonable interposition of parliament to reform them; and for raising, in every true lover of his king and country, the pleasing hopes of beholding these realms once more restored, to that happy and flourishing estate, which may reflect the highest honour on his Majesty's reign, and cause posterity to look back, with veneration and gratitude, on the source of their national felicity."

This factious amendment was feebly seconded by Sir John Philips, and supported only by Mr. Sydenham. Mr. Pelham, and the principal members of administration, treated it with contempt; and the only servant of the Crown, who condescended to speak against it, was Mr. Lyttelton, a lord of Treasury. Mr. Pitt deprecated the agitation of such a momentous question at this critical juncture, and exhorted the House to place implicit confidence in the king and his ministers, adroitly insinuating that a more convenient season would present itself for instituting the proposed reform. Even lord Strange ably resisted the amendment, which was negatived without a division, and the original address unanimously adopted.*

Another insidious effort, to excite party spirit, was made on the 28th of October, when Mr. Hume Campbell moved for an inquiry into the causes which had facilitated the progress of the rebels. The motion was warmly supported by Mr. Oswald and Sir John Barnard; but, after a speech from Mr. Winnington, who ably vindicated the conduct of ministers, it was rejected by 194 against 112.

Notwithstanding the attempts of a few disaffected persons, to obstruct the proceedings of government, in the midst of a dangerous rebellion, the spirit of loyalty was predominant in both Houses.

The Commons instantly granted the necessary supplies, for raising an efficient force, both for the land and sea service. They voted, for the year 1746, 49,229 troops of the line, 11,550 marines, and 40,000 seamen. They empowered the king to raise the militia, in any part of England; and subsequently passed a bill for their better regulation. To strengthen the military force, a grant of £.64,360 was proposed, on the 4th of November, by Sir William Yonge, as secretary at war, for the pay of thirteen volunteer regiments of foot, raised by several noblemen, and placed under their command, for the space of one hundred and twenty-two days.*

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* Journals of the Lords and Commons.

But this loyal and salutary grant, although trifling when compared with the ample supplies, which had been so cheerfully voted, was strenuously resisted. The principal opponents of the motion were Sir John Philips, who had resigned his post, and Sir John Hinde Cotton, who was still in the service of government. Their chief arguments were directed against the dangerous influence, which it was calculated to give to the aristocracy; the detriment which such a precedent might produce to the prerogatives of the Crown; and the discontent it might occasion in the regular army. They derided the fears expressed by the friends of government; ridiculed their prognostics of an invasion; and treated such alarms, as the trite expedients of an ambitious ministry, to acquire an extension of power.

On this occasion, Mr. Pelham ably defended the proposal itself, as well as the principle on which it was grounded. After severely reprehending the ambition, pride, and perfidy, of the French, as the causes of the war, and the true sources of that danger, which menaced the liberties of Europe, he contended, that the only means of preserving those liberties, consisted in a vigorous prosecution of hostilities. Then, adverting to the point in debate, he observed—"The necessity of raising new regiments is obvious; and I am surprised to hear it doubted, that the method now proposed is not the best. That it is the cheapest, no one can deny, especially if we consider the extravagant levy money now paid for recruits, and the large sums, that must be expended for clothes, horses, arms, and accoutrements, if these regiments were to be raised at the public charge. When all these things are considered, every gentleman who has a regard for his king or his country, must deem himself obliged to those noble peers, who have generously undertaken this service, by their personal interest, and at their own expense, or the expense of those gentlemen of fortune, whom they shall honour with commissions in their regiments; for it is a very ill-grounded insinuation, that they will or can dispose of those commissions for money. In regular regiments, commissions may perhaps be sold for large sums, because they are a provision for life, including also the hopes of, and even a right to, preferment. But it is not to be supposed, that any man would give money for being an officer only for a few days; and, therefore, we must conclude, that those gentlemen, who hold commissions in these new regiments, have accepted them merely for the honour of serving their country in time of danger. It is a mistake, also, to suppose that the raising of new regiments, in this method, can occasion any discontent among the officers in our regular army. These regiments are to be raised but for one hundred and twenty-two days; they are to be maintained for no longer time, unless the parliament shall find it necessary to extend the period; which necessity will not, I hope, arise. No lieutenant-colonel, in any old regiment, would accept the command of such a new regiment, because he could not afterwards serve as a lieutenant-colonel; and, consequently, after the reduction of these regiments, he must be placed on half-pay, and in a manner dismissed from the army, perhaps for life; for, should a peace, as is probable, ensue, soon after the extinction of the rebellion, it would be many years before these reduced colonels could be provided with regiments. The case would be the same with regard to the majors, captains, and subalterns, of our regular regiments. All of them, or by far the greater part, would chuse to remain in their present posts, rather than be preferred in these new short-lived regiments. And, as to the objection, that the Crown has left the disposal of the inferior commissions to the respective colonels, that was absolutely necessary, in the present case, because each colonel must have the assistance of the inferior officers whom he appoints, for raising and completing his regiment; and he is the most proper, nay, the only judge, of gentlemen whose interest in the county will be most effectual for this purpose. If the regiments were to be continued, it might perhaps be of dangerous consequence to the Crown, to leave the appointment of the inferior officers to the respective colonels; but, as those regiments are to be disbanded, as soon as the rebellion is at an end, such a privilege can be of no dangerous consequence, nor can it be a precedent for any thing relating to our regular army. Therefore, I hope that those who advised the king to accept this offer, will not be charged as unfaithful to their sovereign, much less as hostile to our happy constitution, the subversion of which may probably be prevented by this advice, more effectually than by any other."*

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* Journals of the Commons, from 18th October, to 10th November.

The motion was carried without a division; but the Opposition immediately proposed an address, beseeching his Majesty, that in the new regiments then raising, or already raised, the officers might not be allowed the rank attached to their commissions, after the respective corps should have been disbanded.

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* Debrett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. ii. pp. 45, 50. Lond. Mag. 1766.

Mr. Pitt indignantly reprobated this address as irrational, impracticable, and impolitic, and as tending to stifle the loyal zeal of those noble persons, who were exerting all their influence in the service of their country. It was negatived by 155 against 132.*

On the same day, also, a motion, made by the secretary at war, for the grant of £.13,176 as pay for two volunteer regiments of horse, was carried without opposition;† and, on the 6th, the sum of £.35,952 was granted, for the pay of twenty independent companies, during the space of a year, for the defence of the Highlands.

Soon afterwards, both Houses formally denounced, as false, scandalous, and traitorous libels, certain manifestos and proclamations, issued by the Pretender at Rome, and by his son during his expedition, under the respective titles of king and regent, in which George II. was called an usurper, the parliament represented as an unlawful assembly, and the people invited to rise, in support of their legitimate sovereign. On this occasion, conferences were held between the two Houses, and resolutions unanimously voted, ordering these papers to be burnt by the common hangman. This determination proved the more gratifying, as the respective committees contained not only some violent members of Opposition, but several decided Tories, and others who had even been suspected of secretly promoting the cause of the Stuarts.‡

On the 19th of December, a message was presented to the House of Commons, by Mr. Pelham, announcing that preparations were in progress at Dunkirk, and other French ports, to invade England, and requesting the aid of parliament to fulfil the engagements made with the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse Cassel, for six thousand auxiliaries, rendered necessary by the recal of the Dutch troops. A fruitless attempt was made, to frustrate this appeal, by representing the national force as competent for all emergencies, and recommending the speedy discharge of all foreign mercenaries; but an amendment, proposed to this effect, was negatived by 190 against 42, and the original address was carried by 180 against 32. On the same day, a similar message was presented in the House of Lords, by the duke of Newcastle, and an address, resembling in substance that of the Commons, was voted without opposition.*

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* Journals of the Commons. Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 1382.

† Journals of the Commons, Nov. 4, 1745.

‡ Journals of the Lords and Commons, Nov. 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1745. Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1391. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 178.

Collateral expedients were proposed, for suppressing the rebellion, for augmenting the regular army, and for giving efficiency to the militia; and these obtained the sanction of parliament, without encountering any objection, of sufficient importance to be specifically mentioned.

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* Journals of the Lords and Commons.

CHAPTER IX.

1746.

Negotiations with the Dutch Republic, contrary to the inclination of the king—Letter of Mr. Pelham to Mr. Trevor, on the relative situation of England and Holland, and on the state of the alliance in general—Letter from lord Harrington to the States General—Speech of the king to Parliament, on the subject of the negotiations—His displeasure against the Pelhams—Attempts to remove them, and form a new administration, under the earls of Bath and Granville—Resignation, and re-establishment of the Pelham ministry—Correspondence on the subject—The king consents to the appointment of Mr. Pitt, as joint-Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.

WHILE the fate of the monarchy was still in suspense, a sudden revolution occurred in the cabinet. The king had never cordially acquiesced in the arrangements for the Broad Bottom administration; and his displeasure was heightened by the importunities with which he was now assailed, for the admission of Mr. Pitt into office, in recompense for the support, which the government had derived from his powerful eloquence.

His Majesty was farther alienated from the Pelhams, by their continued opposition to his favourite scheme, for prosecuting the war on the continent. For, though he was secretly encouraged by lord Granville, to connive at the equivocal policy of the Dutch, while pursuing a system of operations as extensive as the grand alliance, the Pelhams persisted in attempting to extort from the States General, a declaration of hostilities against France. They laboured also, to render the assistance, afforded to the Dutch, dependent on the nature and extent of their cooperation, and on the circumstances in which Great Britain might be placed; since, until the rebellion should be suppressed, they considered the country as incapable of making extraordinary exertions on the continent.

So far, indeed, were the dangers of the rebellion from restoring harmony, that an open misunderstanding soon arose between the king and his ministers. The progress of the French in the Netherlands, had spread the utmost alarm in Holland, and produced earnest appeals to the British court, for prompt and vigorous assistance. Proposals were also offered by the Dutch, for the adoption of a more extensive system of warfare, by an augmentation of their own army, and an increase of the subsidiary troops, combined with a proportionate increase of force on the part of England. Still, however, the States evinced their jealousy of the British interest, by excluding the prince of Orange from the command of the army, and continuing it to the prince of Waldeck, a foreigner. These overtures were consequently received with coolness by the British ministers, who disapproved the temporising conduct of the Republic, and seemed determined on forcing them into direct hostilities against France. A letter from Mr. Pelham to Mr. Trevor, developes his sentiments on this subject, and shews his full conviction, that England could make no greater exertions abroad, while threatened and harassed by a domestic enemy.

"Dear Sir, "*December* 11*th*, 1745.

"I had the favour of your confidential letter last night, which gives us as melancholy a prospect of affairs on your side the water, as we have for some time experienced the reality to be, on ours. You state the condition and apprehensions of the Republic in too clear a light, for me to have the least hope or expectation, that it is not a true one. I can only say, I am convinced of the danger, and yet cannot give you any certain assurances of a remedy from hence; I rather fear that the contents of lord Harrington's dispatch will throw the best intentioned into absolute despair. We have nothing to say for ourselves, but that our condition is so like their own, that they have nothing to do but to look at home, and then they will see a true picture of this country. It is in vain to look back; but you know my thoughts so well, that I am sure you are beforehand with me in what I have to say. * * * * * *

"Our hasty engagements, three years ago, making ourselves principals in all the wars upon the continent, without any plan concerted, or any obligations from the parties we were serving, except it was to take our money and apply it as they pleased, have rendered this country incapable of doing what its inclination and interest always induce it to do. We have provoked our enemy, till they have brought the seat of war into our own country; and we have no authority over those that should be our friends, to compel them to pursue such methods, as might possibly have extricated us out of some of our difficulties.

"The bulk of the nobility and gentry are hearty for the present royal family; and it is with pleasure I can assure you, that no one man of consequence has joined the rebels, since their passing the Tweed; nor, indeed, have many of the lower rank done it either. But the particularity of those Highlanders is such, that there is no getting at them; for though we have had two armies in pursuit, either of which would eat them up, yet by dodging and making forced marches, they have been able to plunder the country, raise contributions, and escape, I fear, back to their own country. The terrible part to us, therefore, is, that whilst this race is running, our own troops are dwindling every day; our credit is in a manner totally stopt; and though the public funds still keep up to a pretty good height, yet all the zeal and endeavours, which on this occasion have been shewn, by many of the most substantial people in the city, cannot get the better of the fears of mankind; nor can the hopes of gain, the most powerful influence that I know of amongst monied men, bring out the specie that is in the kingdom; but every one is locking up his own, and raking as much as he can into his own private coffers. This being the case, I am of opinion, that whatever puts a speedy end to this rebellion is the best measure for our allies, as well as ourselves. Till that is done, we are not a nation; and whatever good words we might send you, I am sure it would not be in our power to keep them.

"First, the parliament has got too great an influence on the cabinet; and perhaps the cabinet itself not thoroughly fixed, and of consequence cannot have its due weight; yet were we delivered from this canker in our own bowels, I am pretty sure there is still so much of the old system left in this kingdom, that whenever the question shall be, that Holland wants the support of this country, there would be strength enough left in both, to exert it to the utmost, for the preservation of the union which has so long subsisted between the two nations. The queen of Hungary has, undoubtedly, lost the affection of the people; and I cannot say she deserves it. They see no end of perpetually crying out, 'Support the House of Austria;' when that House totally neglects the general view, for which alone every honest man is their friend. A good peace is every man's wish; an indifferent one would be gladly accepted; a sad one, I am afraid, will be our lot. You say, the pensionary does not yet know what judgment to form of France. I am sorry for it; for then, I doubt, extremities will be their option.

"I don't find we have any body fixed as yet, for an emissary to Rotterdam: I conclude it will fall to your lot; and, if it can go on that way, without observations where you are, I think it cannot be in better hands. But let who will be employed, I much fear success. Cape Breton will be a stumbling-block to all negotiation; though I am not so taken with sound, as to venture losing my whole substance with it. But that is not the sense of the generality: they look upon it as a most valuable possession for this country; as indeed it is, if it did not endanger the quiet possession of what is more valuable. Gibraltar and Minorca have kept us, for thirty years, at variance with Spain; I am of opinion, Cape Breton will do the same with France; and to speak as a financier, the balance of that account is much against us.

"I doubt, I have tired you with this long letter; and that you think me in a more desponding way than I ought to be. I acknowledge I am so, but as I write to you my natural thoughts, as a private man, you will easily separate what I say, from that of the public minister. My chief view is, to open the truth to you, to remove any prejudices that may have crept into the minds of your friends, as if what England was doing proceeded from coolness, or inattention to the common interest, especially that of the Republic. I can assure you it is not so; it is merely necessity; and if I were as sanguine, and as desirous to carry the arms and purse of England to the heart of Germany, as ever lord Granville was, I should still advise, with the measures we have hitherto pursued, to release this country from its present fetters, that it might be enabled to exert its natural strength, when required.

"I am sorry, the Prussian accommodation does not go on so well with you, as it does here. We look upon it, that, now the queen of Hungary has done her part, France would have been soon reduced to tolerable terms of accommodation; but that, I doubt, is over. We must look forward and act for the best; but never lose sight of that unalterable principle, that the maritime powers have one and the same interest, as nations, whatever individuals may find their account by dividing them.

"You may be assured, I will be very careful not to expose your letter improperly; and I depend on your friendship and secrecy not to communicate my crude indigested thoughts any where, but look on them as a proof of my regard to you, that I can trust even my weakness with one for whom I have a most sincere respect."

Notwithstanding this determination to make no augmentation of force on the continent, until all domestic danger should be removed, the ministers could not venture entirely to reject the overtures of the Dutch, because they knew, that some of their leading men were at this time tampering with France; and that, without the assistance of Holland, there was no hope of an honourable peace, or even of an effectual prosecution of the war. Acquiescing, therefore, in the proposed relative proportions of force, they agreed to give to the Republic that assistance, which England possessed the means of affording. The sanction of the king was with difficulty obtained, to a mode of proceeding which he disapproved, but could not resist, in opposition to the unanimous sentiments of the cabinet.

Accordingly, lord Harrington, in a letter dated January 3rd, 1745-6, announced to the Dutch envoys, Boetzlaar and Hop, who had been dispatched to London, with the propositions of the Republic, the principle which the British cabinet proposed to adopt, in the operations of the ensuing campaign. "The exhausted state of the revenues," he observed, "arising from the consequences of the rebellion, and apprehensions of invasion, prevent the king from raising funds for the war, in the same proportion as was formerly done; and the security of the Netherlands is to the Dutch a domestic consideration, but a foreign, though important one to England." He then adds, that, as the States had evaded a declaration of war against France, and consequently had retained their commercial relations, their revenues must be supposed in good order; and the reasons which they had urged, of their danger from the French, ought to induce them to double their efforts in the approaching campaign. They could not, however, depend on a continuance of the same exertions which his Majesty had made in the last year, though he was resolved and ready to cooperate with the Republic, as far as the present circumstances of his dominions would admit, in opposing the progress of the French.

He then announced the king's approbation of the plan offered by the prince of Waldeck, relative to the formation of an army of one hundred thousand men; and, for its accomplishment, proposed forty thousand men on the part of the Republic, thirty thousand Austrians, exclusive of the garrison of Luxemburg, eight thousand Hanoverians, and ten thousand Saxons, to be jointly taken into the pay of England and the States. To these, were to be added, the six thousand Hessians in England, as soon as the rebellion should be suppressed. His Majesty, being unable to contribute to the defence of the empire, must leave that object to the court of Vienna and the circles of Germany. Lord Harrington concluded, with expressing the condition for which the Pelhams had so long and strenuously contended, by stating, that, as the very being of the States was now menaced, as they had been treated by France with the utmost insolence and contempt, and had thought it necessary to recur to the assistance of his Majesty, they ought no longer to hesitate in putting themselves on the same footing with the British nation, by declaring war against France.*

In conformity with the sentiments of the cabinet, expressed in this dispatch, the king, on the 14th of January, made a speech to the parliament, explanatory of his views and policy. After adverting, in terms of satisfaction, to the election of the emperor Francis, and the accommodation with Prussia, and hinting at the intended succours, to be sent to the king of Sardinia, his Majesty entered into a more elaborate statement of the relations between England and Holland.

"The States General," he observed, "have made the most pressing instances to me, to assist them at this critical conjuncture. The imminent dangers, to which they are at present exposed, which do so nearly affect the safety of Great Britain, as well as the very being of Holland, demand our most serious attention; for, the interests of the two nations are so closely united, that whatsoever brings ruin upon the one, must, in consequence, be attended with the most fatal mischiefs to the other. These reasons have induced me to assure the States, that I will, *to the utmost of my power, according to the circumstances of my own dominions*, cooperate with them, towards opposing the farther progress of our enemies in the Netherlands, and procuring a proper security against the ambitious and destructive designs of France. In order to this necessary end, measures are now actually concerting between me and the States, for furnishing this assistance, on my part, as early and effectually as possible, and for making such augmentation of their present forces, as their own immediate preservation, and the necessity of affairs, absolutely require."

The lords, in their address, expressed their conviction, that the civil and religious rights of the people depended on the preservation of his Majesty, and of the Protestant succession in his line. In applauding the conduct of foreign affairs, they particularly rejoiced in the election of the emperor Francis, and the accommodation between Austria, Saxony, and Prussia, which would ensure immediate succours to the king of Sardinia, and an adequate defence for the Netherlands. Adverting, then, to the negotiations with the Dutch Republic, they indirectly censured the course pursued by lord Granville, and approved the conduct of the present ministry; assuring his Majesty of their zealous exertions, to make good the requisite arrangements for defending the Netherlands, and securing the States General against the ambitious and destructive designs of France, as well as for obtaining a safe and honourable peace. They particularly acknowledged his Majesty's tender concern for his people, and testified their confidence that it would have its due weight with his allies, and infuse into the States General an energy adequate to the present exigency of affairs. They concluded, by avowing their satisfaction at the successes of the British fleet, and by applauding his Majesty's resolution to strengthen his maritime forces.

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* See this letter in the Journals of Parliament, and also in the Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi p. 246.

The Commons, in their address, adopted the leading principle of the speech, and declared their determination to assist his Majesty, *as far as the circumstances of the kingdom would permit,* in giving that succour to the States General, which, with a proper exertion of their own strength, might protect the Netherlands against France, and contribute to an honourable termination of the war. A trifling amendment, moved by the Opposition, was rejected by 249 against 53, and the original address was carried.*

The refusal of England to make greater efforts in favour of the Dutch, during the continuance of the rebellion, disappointed and exasperated the leading members of the Republic. In reply to the letter of lord Harrington, a spirited declaration was communicated, through the ministers of the States General in London, dated January 25th,† professing perfect devotion to the interests of England, and the utmost readiness to cooperate with the allies; but insisting that a more active part might have been taken by the British government. The finances of the Republic were asserted to be in a more dilapidated state than had been represented; and it was argued, that England being equally interested in the safety of the Netherlands, ought to furnish prompt and efficient reinforcements, to avert the common danger. To the demand of a declaration of war against France, the States General gave a peremptory refusal, alleging that the reasons which had hitherto restrained them, in that particular, were now more than ever imperative.

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* Journals of the Commons.

† Register of the States General, in reply to the letter of lord Harrington; laid before the House of Commons on the 10th of April.—Journals of the Commons.

Hitherto the ministers deemed themselves secure of the king's approbation, and felt confident, that he would sanction their system of foreign policy, in conformity with his declaration to both Houses of Parliament.

A change, however, was effected in the royal mind, by the strong remonstrances of the Dutch ; by the urgent representations of lord Granville ; and, at the same, time by the importunities of the ministers themselves for the appointment of Mr. Pitt, to the office of secretary at war. Indignant at being controlled by persons whom he disliked, and disdaining to be restricted to what he considered a weak and inefficient prosecution of the war, he resolved, even in the course of the session, and in the midst of the rebellion, to reinstate lord Granville in the office of secretary of state, with the hope, that such a ministry might be formed, as would assist in relieving him from this official thraldom.

The course, however, which his Majesty pursued for the attainment of these objects, evinced rather an impatience of restraint, than a knowledge of the state of parties, and the temper of parliament. He addressed himself to the earls of Bath and Granville, at that time the most unpopular noblemen in the kingdom. He complained to lord Bath, that he was a prisoner on his throne ; governed by a party, who engrossed all power ; compelled to receive into his service, persons whom he had cause to dislike ; and permitted to have no share in the management of his own affairs. He, therefore, solicited assistance, to liberate himself from this irksome bondage ; and confided to him and lord Granville, full powers to form a new administration, which should be inclined to prosecute the war, on more vigorous principles. He expressed his sanguine hopes of the attachment of lord Harrington, who principally owed his elevation to his favour ; and calculated on the concurrence of Mr. Winnington, who was deemed a proper person to manage the House of Commons. He looked forward, also, to the support of other persons in both Houses, particularly of Sir John Barnard, whom he supposed to be adverse to the ascendancy of the Pelhams, and to whom he intended to offer the chancellorship of the Exchequer.

Lord Bath received this delicate commission, with some degree of hesitation ; but answered for the concurrence of lord Granville, and declared, that ultimate success must depend on the king's own firmness.

As the principal difficulty to be apprehended, was that of raising the supplies, lord Bath first addressed himself to Mr. Gideon, and the other monied men in the city, and procured from them the promise of a loan, on terms which were considered as more advantageous than those already obtained by Mr. Pelham. He then applied to different members of both Houses; and, calculating that he should succeed in separating the several parties, which were connected with the ministry, he returned to the king to communicate the result of his proceedings. The plan of an administration, of which he and lord Granville were to be the leaders, as first lord of the Treasury, and secretary of state, was then sketched out; and in retiring from the closet, on the 6th of February, he exultingly said to lord Harrington, whom he met in the anti-chamber, "I have advised the king to negative the appointment of Mr. Pitt, and to pursue proper measures on the continent."

The communication did not produce the effect that was intended; for it called forth from lord Harrington only a cold and severe remark, that "those who dictated in private, should be employed in public."* Notwithstanding this indication of his sentiments, lord Harrington was, on the next day, summoned into the closet. The king condescended to employ every argument and intreaty, calculated to detach him from his party; but, finding them all unavailing, he gave way to a transport of indignation, and bitterly reproached the inflexible secretary with ingratitude.

The Pelhams and their friends were now sensible that the die was cast; and a meeting of the party took place on the ensuing evening, at the house of the lord chancellor. All their adherents proving faithful, a resolution was taken, to convince the king of the weakness and impolicy of his scheme, by a prompt and general resignation. Lord Harrington relinquished the seals on the 10th; and his example was followed by the duke of Newcastle. On the morrow Mr. Pelham and the duke of Bedford, with all the members of the Boards of Treasury and Admiralty resigned; and, in conformity with the general resolution, the whole of the ministry either renounced their employments, or expressed their intention to retire. This event produced a deep and general sensation of regret throughout the country. The change was regarded as the signal of the most fatal calamities; and the levees of the two brothers were crowded beyond all former precedent. Even the duke of Cumberland, with all his respect for the king his father, could not refrain from testifying, in the strongest terms, his concern at a proceeding, which threatened the dissolution of the Whig interest, that had placed and maintained his family on the throne.*

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* From the communication of bishop Douglas, who received it from lord Bath.

The king, though astonished, was not immediately discouraged. Hoping to prevent farther defection, he nominated lord Bath to the head of the Treasury, and intrusted to him the seals of the two secretaries, to be delivered to lord Granville, for himself, and for that person, whom he should best approve. Other appointments were also settled, in conformity with the determination previously adopted; and lord Bath was encouraged with the promise of the royal confidence and support. On the 9th, lord Granville offered the usual homage, on admission to office, and announced his elevation, in a circular, to the ministers at foreign courts. The farther details of this change are best described in the words of one, who appears to have been a witness of the transaction, and of whose letter a copy was dispatched to Sir Thomas Robinson, by Sir James Grey, the British envoy at Venice.

"Dear Sir,† "*Venice, March 26th*, N. S. 1746.

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"I am very happy to be able, in some measure, to satisfy your curiosity about what has passed lately at home; and will venture to transcribe part of a letter, which seems to give a true and natural account of the whole transaction.

"'I gave you a hint, last week, of an insurrection in the closet, and of lord Bath's having prevented Pitt's being secretary at war. The ministry gave up that; but finding a change had been made, in a scheme of foreign politics, which they had laid before the king, and for which he had thanked them; and perceiving some symptoms of an intention to dismiss them, at the end of the session; they came to a sudden resolution not to do lord Granville's business, by carrying the supplies, and then be turned out; so on Monday morning, to the astonishment of every body, the two secretaries of state threw up the seals; next day, Mr. Pelham, with the Treasury; duke of Bedford, with the Admiralty; lord Gower, and lord

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* Letter from the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle, Feb. 16, 1746. Illust. Corresp.

† Grantham Papers.

Pembroke,* gave up too; the dukes of Devonshire,† Grafton,‡ and Richmond,§ the lord Chancellor, Mr. Winnington, and almost all the great officers, and offices, declaring they would do the same. Lord Granville had immediately both seals, one for himself, and the other to give to whom he pleased. Lord Bath was named first commissioner of the Treasury, lord Carlisle privy seal, and lord Winchelsea reinstated in the Admiralty.

"'Thus far all went swimmingly. They had only forgot one little point; which was, to secure a majority in both Houses. In the Commons, they unluckily found, they had nobody to take the lead, better than Sir John Rushout, Sir John Barnard having refused to be chancellor of the Exchequer; so did lord Chief Justice Wills to be chancellor; and the wildness of the scheme soon prevented many from giving into it. Hop, the Dutch minister, did not a little help to increase the confusion, by declaring, that he had immediately dispatched a courier to Holland, and did not doubt but the States would send to accept France's own terms. I should tell you, that lord Bath's being of the enterprize, helped hugely to poison the success of it. In short, his lordship, whose politics were never characterized by steadiness, had not courage enough to take the Treasury.

"'On the Wednesday after the Monday, on which the change happened, he went to the king, and told him he had tried the House of Commons, and *found it would not do*. Bounce went all the project into shivers, like the vessels in the Alchymist, when they are on the brink of the Philosopher's Stone. The king, who had given into these alterations, was fatigued and perplexed; shut himself up in his closet; and refused to admit any more of the people, who were pouring in upon him, with white staffs, gold keys, commissions, &c. At last he sent for Mr. Winnington, and told him he was the honestest man about him, and should have the honour of the reconciliation; and sent him to Mr. Pelham, to desire they would all return to their employments. Lord Granville is as jolly as ever; laughs and drinks;|| owns it was mad, and that he would do it again to-morrow.'

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* Groom of the Stole.

† Lord Steward.

‡ Lord Chamberlain.

§ Master of the Horse.

|| We learn from Glover (p. 31 of his Posthumous Memoirs), that lord Granville, far from being discouraged, as lord Bath was, "boldly advised the king to summon the Commons, and declare from the throne, to them and the House of Lords, what usage he had received from his servants, in the midst of a rebellion;" but the king prudently declined taking so rash a step.

"In another letter, I am told lord Cholmondeley was to be the other secretary, the duke of Bolton lord lieutenant of Ireland, and the duke of Portland master of the horse. Upon lord Granville's resignation, Sir William Stanhope said, that his only surprise was, how he had kept it so long; and another joker observed, that it was not safe to walk the streets at night, for fear of being pressed for a cabinet counsellor."

Such is the account of this political convulsion, as drawn principally from the communications of lord Bath himself,* and confirmed by the private correspondence of Sir James Grey. We rejoice in enabling the reader to compare it with a still more interesting account, contained in a letter written by the duke of Newcastle to the earl of Chesterfield, who had resolved to resign his post of lord lieutenant of Ireland, if the Pelhams had not been restored to office.† In this letter, the motives, origin, progress, and termination of this political feud, are very minutely traced. The authenticity and candour of the communication will be a sufficient apology for its insertion, although it may contain a repetition of a few particulars already related.

"My Dear Lord, "*Newcastle House, Feb.* 18*th*, 1745-6.‡

"I am now to give you an account of the most surprising scene that ever happened in this country, or, I believe, in any other; and, that you may have as perfect an idea of it as I can give you, you shall have a short account of every thing that has any immediate relation to it.

"Some few days before the meeting of the parliament, after Christmas, Mr. Pitt, who had, for some time before, had no commerce upon business with any of us, went to the duke of Bedford, expressed an inclination to know our foreign scheme, shewed a disposition to come into it, and wished that some of us would go and talk with lord Cobham, into whose hands they had now entirely committed themselves. I went accordingly, the next day, to lord Cobham, and opened our whole scheme to him, which he owned was much more reasonable than he imagined we could have made it; and that, if we would support the continent at all, he thought it could not be in a better or cheaper manner. He seemed very desirous to come in to us, and to bring in *his boys*, as he called them, exclusively, as he expressly said, of the Tories, for whom he had nothing to say. The terms were; Mr. Pitt to be secretary at war; lord Barrington in the Admiralty; and Mr. James Grenville to have an employment of £.1,000 a-year. He flung out lord Denbigh, the duke of Queensberry, and some Scotch politics, but not as points absolutely to be insisted on.

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* From the communications of lord Bath to the late Dr. Douglas, bishop of Salisbury; and from the account of this political transaction, given, on his lordship's authority, in the Life of Bishop Newton. See also Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chap. xxviii.

† See lord Chesterfield's letter in the Illust. Corres. dated February 18th, 1746.

‡ Newcastle Papers.

"Upon this, I soon opened the budget to the king, which was better received than I expected. And the only objection was, to the giving Mr. Pitt the particular office of secretary at war; for, any other his Majesty was willing he should have. We had all of us several conferences with his Majesty upon it; the king insisting that he would not make him secretary at war; afterwards, that he would use him ill if he had it; and, at last, that he would give him the office, but would not admit him into his presence to do the business of it.

"You may easily imagine, we shewed his Majesty, that the giving the office, in the two last instances, would not be doing the thing. We represented to him, how necessary the making Mr. Pitt secretary at war was, for the service of his affairs, and for enabling his administration to carry them on with success. The king grew very uneasy, and complained extremely of being forced; but, when the difficulty seemed in a way of being removed, lord Bath got to the king, represented against the behaviour of his ministers, in forcing him, in such a manner, to take a disagreeable man into a particular office, and thereby dishonouring his Majesty both at home and abroad; and encouraging the king to resist it, by offering him, I suppose, the support of his friends in so doing. This strengthened the king in his dislike of the measure, and encouraged, I conclude, his Majesty to think, that he had a party behind the curtain, who would either force his ministers to do what he liked, or if they did not do it, would be able to support his affairs without them. Though lord Bath was, luckily, for us and for the public, the open transactor of this affair, it is not to be imagined but that my lord Granville was in the secret.

"Mr. Pitt, very decently and honourably, authorized us immediately to renounce all his pretensions to the office of secretary at war; but it was thought proper, at the same time, to suggest to the king, that after so public an éclat, as my lord Bath had made of this affair, it was deemed absolutely necessary that his Majesty should give some public mark of his resolution to support, and put confidence in his then administration; or, otherwise we should be at the mercy of our enemies, whenever they should be able to take any advantage of us, without having it in our power to do the king or the public any service.

"His Majesty was extremely irritated; loudly complaining of our conduct, both at home and abroad; unwilling to give us any satisfaction, or any assurance of his countenance or support; and plainly shewing a most determined predilection for the other party.

"Upon this, we thought, in duty to the king, and in justice to ourselves, the wisest and honestest part that we could take, was, to desire leave to resign our employments: and we determined that lord Harrington should go first; myself next, then my brother, and afterwards my lord chancellor. Accordingly, my lord Harrington went (as you know), on Monday the 10th, and resigned the seals. My lord Bath went into the closet after him; and I after my lord Bath. My lord Pembroke, my brother, the duke of Bedford, and my lord Gower, resigned the next day. The chancellor was prevented from going, till the Friday following, by the king's going to the House of Lords.*

"The interview with lord Harrington, I believe, was pretty warm. With me it was otherwise; very civil, kind enough, and we parted very good friends.

"The next day, it began to be seen how this thing would be taken in the world; and great resentment and distress were shewn in my brother's audience on Tuesday. It was soon evident that the resignations would have been almost universal, though without any concert, or any endeavours used, of any kind, for that purpose. This struck such a terror upon the new ministers, that lord Bath went on Wednesday, to declare to the king, that he could not undertake it; and the king sent Mr. Winnington to us that day, to desire that we would return to the court, and to our old employments.

"We represented to his Majesty, that it would be necessary for him to make some public declaration of his design to make us his ministers, if we were to return to his service. We then considered, that, on that condition, as the public had already declared so strongly in our favour, if we refused to serve the king and the public, when called upon, the torrent would turn against us, especially as it was plain, that they could not carry on government without us. We immediately desired, that the court might be purged of all their friends and dependents; that lord Bath might be out of the cabinet council; the duke of Bolton, lord Berkeley of Stratton, Mr. William Finch, the vice-chamberlain, the groom of the bedchamber, Mr. Boone, and the advocate of Scotland, which were all that were left of that sort, should be removed. We were told that all should be done, except what related to the bedchamber; and, accordingly, we returned to court, on Friday last.

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* The king went to the House on Thursday, February 13th.

"My brother had a long conference on Saturday evening; wherein the chief resentment was shewn to lord Harrington, and that in the strongest and bitterest manner; and hints flung out, that if we would give him up, every thing else should be done. But, as my brother saw lord H's chief fault was, his having stuck to us, you may easily imagine we had more honour than to give into any thing of the kind; and that conference, which began tolerably well, ended very unsuccessfully, with strong declarations against making some of the alterations proposed.

"The duke of Grafton had a long conversation, on Monday morning, which certainly had a good effect. I went in alone that day; was very graciously received; and got every thing done that we wanted, except the removal of the vice-chamberlain,* which the king begged us not to insist upon, in such a manner, and said he should take it so kindly, if we did not do it, that, in the opinion of every body, it would have been indecent to have pressed it.

"As to Ned Finch, we all thought the bedchamber could not be attacked. And, indeed, considering the part we found ourselves under the necessity of acting, and the public declaration there was in our favour, we did apprehend, that the insisting too strongly upon a particular point, which the king appeared to have so much at heart, would have been universally blamed.

"The duke of Bolton† and lord Berkeley were this day removed; lord Portsmouth is to be governor of the Isle of Wight, and the duke of Bedford warden of the New Forest; Mr. Pitt is to have lord Torrington's place,[*] who is to succeed lord Berkeley, as captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.

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* Mr. William Finch.

† Governor of the Isle of Wight, and warden of the New Forest.

"Lord Barrington comes into the Admiralty in the room of lord Archibald Hamilton; Mr. James Grenville is to succeed Mr. Bladen at the Board of Trade; and Mr. Thomas Gore is to have Mr. Boone's place of muster-master-general. The behaviour to lord Harrington is already better than could have been expected; so I hope that will soon come right.

"Thus our affairs are so far settled. There seems to be the best disposition in old and new friends to make one strong, solid, and irresistible corps, which, I think, will succeed, if our new friends do not insist too much upon our engaging, at present, that the bill for limiting the officers of the army shall be passed, some time this session. If they do, in the unsettled state things are, it will, I am afraid, create new difficulties.

"I have now troubled you with a pretty long, but true narrative, of this great affair; and I have spoken very freely, both of things and persons. I hope you will approve what we have done: if you do not, it will be a great mortification to me. I should be glad to hear from you; but infinitely more so, to have the pleasure of seeing you. In all situations, your presence is most agreeable to your friends. In our present circumstances, it is absolutely necessary; and, therefore, I must conjure you to make what haste you can to us. For, though your Irish subjects will detain you as long as they can, I should hope you would think near seven months royalty sufficient.

"My brother sends you his best compliments; and I hope you will believe that I am, with the sincerest respect and affection,[†] my Dear Lord," &c.

The result of this imprudent attempt to remove the ministers, produced the natural effect of strengthening the victorious party. In public, the failure of the scheme had been confidently anticipated; congratulations poured in from all quarters; its projectors were overwhelmed with ridicule and contempt;[‡] and the Pelhams having espoused the popular side of the question, rose as high, as their opponents sunk low, in general estimation. The king, sensible of his own weakness, reluctantly submitted to the counsels of his former servants; and, though he still continued to oppose the admission of Mr. Pitt into any official employment in the English ministry, yet he made no objection to his appointment to the lucrative post of joint vice-treasurer of Ireland. He was likewise prevailed upon to restore Mr. Legge, against whom he entertained an equal antipathy, to his seat at the Board of Admiralty. He finally consented to the dismissal of lord Tweeddale, notwithstanding the attachment of that nobleman to lord Granville; and, as the office of secretary of state for Scotland had been found nugatory, if not injurious, it was at this period suppressed.

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[*] Joint vice-treasurer of Ireland. He was appointed to this office, on the 22nd of February.

[†] See Postscript to lord Chesterfield's letter to the duke of Newcastle, dated February 18th, 1746; also extract of a letter from the duke of Cumberland to the duke of Newcastle, dated February 28th, 1746. Illust. Corres.

[‡] Among other *jeux d'esprit,* was "*A History of the Long Administration,*" bound up like

the works printed for children, and sold for a penny. It concluded with the following ironical eulogium:—"And thus endeth the second and last part of this astonishing administration, which lasted forty-eight hours, three quarters, seven minutes, and eleven seconds; which may truly be called the most wise and most honest of all administrations, the minister having, to the astonishment of all wise men, never transacted one rash thing; and, what is more marvellous, left as much money in the T———y, as he found in it. This worthy history I have faithfully recorded, in this mighty volume, that it may be read with the valuable works of our immortal countryman, Thomas Thumb, by our children, grand-children, and great-grand-children, to the end of the world."

CHAPTER X.

1746.

Progress of the war against the Rebels—Victory of Culloden—Letters from the Duke of Cumberland—Suppression of the Rebellion—Escape of the young Pretender—Plan for prosecuting hostilities on the Continent, concerted with the Dutch and the queen of Hungary—Ministers desist from urging the States General to declare war against France—Lord Harrington's letter to the Dutch envoys, and other papers, laid before parliament—Supplies demanded for the expenses of the war—Debate on the Hanoverian troops—Congratulatory addresses on the victory at Culloden—Grant of a pension to the Duke of Cumberland—Acts for disarming the Highlanders, restraining the use of the national dress, and imposing penalties on the nonjuring clergy—Mr. Pitt appointed Pay-master of the Forces, and a member of the privy council—Debates in the House of Peers, on motions for relinquishing the war on the Continent—Supplies—Acts for the conservation of public morals, and for the improvement of manufactures and commerce—Prorogation of Parliament—Trial and execution of the rebel lords.

FORTUNATELY the feuds in the cabinet did not essentially interrupt the proceedings of parliament, or impede the prosecution of hostilities against the domestic enemy. While the royal troops were reduced to inactivity by the battle of Falkirk, the insurgents, pursuing their advantage in a district almost abandoned to their discretion, not only made many successful, though petty incursions, but levied contributions on all who were attached to government, or who refrained from openly espousing their cause.

This state of affairs hastened the return of the duke of Cumberland, that he might crush the rebellion before it again became dangerous, particularly as the French were encouraging the young Pretender, by supplies of ammunition, and even small military detachments, which were sent out in single ships, and landed at different points of the coast. The arrival of the royal duke at Edinburgh, on the 30th of January, reanimated the king's troops, and dismayed their adversaries. After a repose of only thirty hours, the gallant prince put in motion the army, which consisted of ten thousand men, including four regiments of cavalry; and advanced to Falkirk, with the hope of surprising the Highlanders, while engaged in the siege of Stirling castle. But, their forces being reduced to five thousand men, they did not venture to oppose him. On his approach, they blew up their powder magazine, and withdrew over the Firth at Frew, leaving their cannon, and a number of their sick and wounded. They reached Perth, in straggling parties, on the 2nd of February; and, taking the route of Montrose and Aberdeen, arrived, towards the middle of the month, on the banks of the Spey.

The advance of the royal army being retarded by the severity of the season, the rebels drove lord Loudon from Inverness, reduced Fort George, and, in a few days, compelled the garrison of Fort Augustus to surrender. Masters of the country beyond the Spey, with access to mountain fastnesses almost impregnable, and secretly favoured by numerous partisans in the Lowlands, they required only time to organize a most formidable resistance; and, from the general state of the country, it was to be apprehended, that no effectual aid would be given to his Majesty's government.

The duke of Cumberland, therefore, displayed an activity and promptitude equal to the emergency. While employed in repairing bridges and roads, to facilitate his progress northwards, he was reinforced by the six thousand Hessians, who had landed, on the 13th of February, at Leith. Preparations being instantly made, the royal forces were again put in motion, and assembled at Aberdeen on the 1st of March. As a premature advance, at this season, might have given advantage to the enemy, they were distributed over the country, in cantonments, and trained to stricter discipline; while their commander acquainted himself more accurately with the habits and manners of the Highlanders, and devised means to weaken the impression produced upon the soldiery, by the defeats at Preston-Pans and at Falkirk.

He describes the state of the country, at this period, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle.

"My Lord, "*Aberdeen, April 4th*, 1746.*

"I am sensibly obliged to you for your private letter of the 21st of March. Though I could have wished the king's order had been fuller, yet I take the hint, and will do all in my power to put an end to the unhappy rebellion. I really think the *éclat* of it over, but believe there will be left such seed, that God knows how soon it may break out again, if a care and caution, unusual in this island, be not, on this occasion, kept. All in this country are almost to a man Jacobites; and mild measures will not do. You will find, that the whole of the laws of this *antient kingdom* must be new modelled; and for that purpose, by the next dispatch, I shall send a very few undigested hints, but such as lord Leven and lord Findlater approve of. I must now own, that my going down to Scotland was necessary, as it required one of more weight than Hawley, to stand against Scotch influence in court. I am sorry to say, that, though all in this country are as ill inclined as possible, and though their spirit for rebellion is extremely great, yet the managers of this part of the kingdom have made it, if possible, worse, by putting the power of the Crown into the most disaffected hands, for the sake of elections. The duke of Athol has proved himself of no consequence in the king's scale; and all his people that are now about him, are public Jacobites. Were I to enumerate the villains and villainies this country abounds in, I should never have done. In short, there does not remain the least vestige of any government, throughout the whole. The Hessians behave sadly, which is all owing to Crawford and the Scotch, who have their ear. I remain your affectionate friend,

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* Newcastle Papers.

"WILLIAM."

"P. S. Pray make my compliments to Mr. Pelham; and do not imagine, that threatening military execution, and many other such things, are pleasing to do; but nothing will go down without it, in this part of the world."

On the 8th of April, the duke again advancing, passed the Spey without opposition from the rebels, whom he pursued through Banff and Nairn, at which last place he encamped on the 15th. On the 16th he found their army, amounting to nearly seven thousand men, posted on a moor near Culloden House, in the vicinity of Inverness. Both parties having prepared for battle, the Highlanders, about mid-day, opened a fire with their field-pieces; but finding this cannonade inefficient, while their own ranks were thinned by the well-directed artillery of their opponents, they made one of their impetuous charges with the broad sword, on the right wing of the royalists. Though repulsed in this attempt, they rushed a second time, with unabated spirit, against the left, with no better success. In the midst of the discouragement attending these failures, and the loss occasioned by a deadly fire of musketry, the royal cavalry, advancing on their flanks, threw them into irreparable confusion. After a short but desperate conflict, their desultory and ill-armed hordes were completely routed; and the scene was no longer a battle but a carnage.* The young adventurer, with a few attendants, remained on the field, until all hope was lost. Of his followers, no fewer than two thousand were killed, while numbers were cut to pieces or captured in their flight. The victors immediately advanced to Inverness, and secured a small body of French troops, who had taken no part in the engagement. By this decisive blow, the rebellion may be said to have been terminated; for nothing remained, but to disperse the small predatory bands wandering about the country, and to re-establish, in their former efficiency, the functionaries of government.

Indeed, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle, written from Inverness, a few days after the battle, the duke of Cumberland considers the extinction of the rebellion as complete, though he represents the spirit of Jacobitism to be still unsubdued.

"*Inverness, April* 23*rd*, 1746.†

"From your particular friendship, as well as for the general good of these kingdoms, I am very well assured, that you shared my joy sincerely with me, on the complete victory we gained over the rebels, on Wednesday last. I thank God, most heartily, that I was an instrument in the affair, and that the glory of the day was owing entirely to the British troops, who have fully retrieved the little stain of Falkirk, without any assistance from the Hessians, though they might have saved us a good deal of trouble, and were of some use, even in their inactive state.

"The reason of this letter, is on the subject of lord Findlater's journey to town. I have, with a little trouble, persuaded him to go to London, to represent the true state of this part of the island. He is thoroughly master of the laws, as they now stand, and of what will be of absolute necessity to be done by parliament, this summer. I really believe that a month or six weeks will enable me to do all that will be necessary for the military; and I would to God that I could be in town to explain a number of things, that cannot be explained by writing. If we had destroyed every man of them, such is the soil, that rebellion would sprout out again, if a new system of government is not found out for this country.

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* As a proof of the minute attention, which the duke of Cumberland paid to the Highland mode of attack, and the means of obviating its effect, we quote the following remark from a private letter, published in the Scots Magazine.

"Before this, the bayonet man attacked the swordsman right fronting him; now, the left-hand bayonet man attacked the swordsman fronting his right-hand man. He was then covered by the adversary's target, where he was open on his left, and the adversary's right was open to him. This manner made an essential difference; staggered the enemy, who were not prepared to alter their way of fighting, and destroyed them, in a manner rather to be conceived than told."

† Newcastle Papers.

"Lord Findlater, I perceive, is much afraid of the duke of Argyle; so that he must be watched, that he do not make him recant all he has said to me.

"I believe old Lovat* will not escape. I have several parties out for him; and papers, some I already have, and such as will suffice to prove *high treason* upon him. All I have time to add, is, that I believe the greatest blow to the Jacobites in this country, would be, to have the king move all the justiciary courts from Edinburgh to Glasgow; for the former is the nest of rebellion."

In another letter, dated Inverness, April 30th, the royal duke resumes the same strain of invective. Alluding to his exertions for bringing the dispersed fugitives to justice, he accuses one half of the magistrates of Scotland, as aiders or abettors of the rebellion; and declares that the others dared not act, lest they should offend their chiefs, or hang their relations. He also affirms, that the Jacobite principle would not be eradicated, until a new generation should have arisen. In reference to a message from the king, approving his conduct and that of the troops, he adds, "The king's gracious letter says so much more than I deserved, that I am happier and more flattered than I can possibly express; but my greatest pleasure is, in hoping, that the king may have restored his favour to the troops, and that the nation in general find, that their own army is almost as good as a foreign one."

Having dispersed the rebels, and re-established the authority of his father's government, the Duke prepared to leave Scotland; and his last letter from Inverness, to the duke of Newcastle, shews that his prejudice, respecting the real temper of the Scottish people, remained unabated.

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* Lord Lovat, who was afterwards taken and executed.

"My Lord, "*Fort Augustus, July* 17*th*, 1746.*

"I shall only acknowledge the receipt of your two last letters, as I am very much hurried, settling matters before I set out, which I hope will be the day after to-morrow. *Snader* has accepted the command handsomely, for it is not a desirable one; but I am certain you could not have found out so proper a person in the rest of the army, and I do not doubt but that way of acting will be supported by his friends above, and then he need not fear the Scotch, who are dreadful enemies, if they dare attack.

"I am sorry to leave this country, in the condition it is in; for, all the good that we have done has been a little bloodletting, which has only weakened the madness, but not at all cured; and I tremble for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island, and of our family; for I know that when we come to be heard, you will imagine almost every word I say slander, and that I am prejudiced against them; so I am, but by so many different incidents that have happened, that I recollect the whole with horror. But, as I fear I shall often din your ears with it hereafter, I will break off this disagreeable subject, and do what common gratitude requires; which is, my most sincere thanks, for your many kind and obliging offices, since I have had the pleasure of your correspondence, and I shall remain your affectionate friend," &c.

Throughout the whole of this correspondence, indeed, we trace the strongest reprobation of the Scots, and the fullest conviction, that an inveterate hostility against the House of Brunswick was interwoven in all their habits, feelings, and institutions. Soon after this last letter was written, the duke of Cumberland returned to England, and was received with increased affection, by his royal father. He was no less gratified with the applauses of the nation, on the success of his military operations, by which the rebellion had been subdued, and the liberties and religion of the kingdom preserved.

In his reverse of fortune, Charles Edward did not manifest the spirit which had marked the outset of his career, and his daring irruption into England. Destitute of that military genius, which would have appreciated the counsel of his ablest friend, lord George Murray, he relied on advisers, who were either incompetent, pusillanimous, or treacherous, and was unable to vanquish the local prejudices, or to correct the predatory habits of his brave, but desultory followers.* Dejected by defeat, he refused the offers of his more spirited partisans to rally his army, and became a fugitive in the Highlands and the Hebrides; sometimes destitute of food or raiment, and occasionally disguised as a female or a menial, but exposed in every vicissitude, to the severest hardships and privations. For five months he encountered a series of adventures, more painful certainly, but not less romantic, than those of his grand-uncle, Charles the Second, after the battle of Worcester; and he finally effected his retreat into France, on board a vessel bound for Nantes, which landed him at Mortaigne, in the latter end of September.†

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* Newcastle Papers.

In the mean time, the fate of the Netherlands had become critical in the extreme. Early in February, the French, by the capture of Brussels,‡ had obtained access into Brabant, and threatened Holland itself with invasion. But the attention of the English ministry was so engrossed by the rebellion, by intestine cabals, and by the continental schemes, which lord Granville infused into the mind of the king, that the month of April arrived, before specific demands, relative to foreign subsidies, were laid before parliament. At length, when the rebels were ceasing to be formidable, preparations were made, though too tardily, for resisting the victorious progress of the French. Arrangements were concerted, with the Dutch and the queen of Hungary, for assembling a force to maintain the unconquered part of the Netherlands; but, finding that the States General would not declare war against France, the ministers had no other alternative than to consent, though reluctantly, to treat with them as auxiliaries. They also digested, with the empress queen, and the king of Sardinia, a plan of military operations for Italy. The state of these negotiations was, on the 10th of April, communicated to the House of Commons.

On this occasion, Mr. Pelham, by order of his Majesty, presented memorials from the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia, together with lord Harrington's letter to the Dutch envoys, and the answer of the States General. These papers were, the next day, taken into consideration, by a committee of the whole House; and several resolutions founded upon them, were proposed by Mr. Pelham.

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* Johnson's Memoirs of the Rebellion. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 162-242, Letters, Gazettes, and printed documents of the period.

† The Prince has left a journal of his wanderings and escapes, which is no less interesting for variety of adventure, than for the proofs of fidelity, adroitness, perseverance, and courage, manifested by many of his partisans in all ranks of society. It is remarkable, also, that he experienced these affecting proofs of respectful commiseration, from many persons in the humblest station of life, when a reward of thirty thousand pounds was offered for his capture.

‡ See chap. xi. p. 320, for an account of this capture.

After alluding to the causes which had delayed these important affairs, and congratulating the House on the approaching close of the rebellion, he strongly represented the necessity of providing for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities on the continent. In exciting and fomenting that rebellion, the Bourbons, he observed, had shewn what they would do, if they had the power. Hence a successful war would alone enable us to frustrate the designs of that ambitious House, and prevent them from compelling all the princes and states of Europe, to assist in forcing upon us "a sham king, a superstitious religion, and a slavish yoke."

In proceeding to explain the propositions which he had to lay before the committee, he requested to begin with that which was most liable to objection; and announced his intention of moving, that a sum, not exceeding £.300,000, should be granted to his Majesty, for the pay and subsistence of certain Hanoverian troops, consisting of five thousand horse, and thirteen thousand foot, to act in the Netherlands, with the Austrian forces, and those of the States General, for the year 1746.

He also moved, that a sum, not exceeding £.10,000, should be granted for a train of artillery, to attend those troops.

His third proposition was, that a sum, not exceeding £.300,000, should be granted, for enabling the queen of Hungary to support her allies, and maintain fifty thousand men in the Netherlands, for the year 1746; and the fourth, that an additional sum, not exceeding £.100,000, should be granted to the king of Sardinia,* for enabling him the better to maintain and prosecute the war in Italy, during the same period. Having referred to the documents before the committee, for the principles on which these propositions were respectively founded, he deemed it unnecessary to represent how strongly the nation was urged, by interest and self-preservation, to assist the queen of Hungary, the king of Sardinia, and the States General, in prosecuting the war; and he concluded by moving the grant of the sum first mentioned.

This motion was seconded by Sir William Yonge, who expatiated on the danger that must ensue, if no resistance were offered to the ambitious designs of the Bourbons, respecting Italy; and insisted on the necessity of giving the most effectual aid to the empress queen, and to the king of Sardinia. He concluded by commending the Hanoverians, as preferable to all other auxiliaries. "They are," he said, "the troops upon whose service and fidelity we can most depend; they are nearest to the scene of action; and their behaviour, at the late battle of Fontenoy, plainly proves, that there are none better in Europe."

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* In addition to his previous subsidy of £.200,000.

It is remarkable, that, in this debate, the opposition members in general abstained from their wonted invectives against the Hanoverians, to whom they objected, merely as foreign mercenaries, and that they directed their main arguments against the prosecution of the war in the Netherlands. They denied that the balance of Europe was in any danger of disturbance from France; and pronounced the policy of supporting the House of Austria, to be inconsistent with the former declarations of ministers. They observed, that in 1725, at the conclusion of the treaty of Hanover, the doctrine of the cabinet had been, that the wings of the imperial eagle ought to be clipped, lest he should soar too high; and, in 1733, when the House of Austria was exposed to the joint attacks of France, Spain, and Sardinia, ministers asserted, that it would be madness for us to engage in the war, without the cooperation of the Dutch. They then dwelt on the late refusal of the States General, to comply with the demand, so strongly urged in the letter of lord Harrington, that they should declare war, as principals, against France; and inveighed against the folly of supporting a people, manifestly unwilling to make any effort to support themselves. It would be preferable, they argued, to allow them to enter into a neutrality with France, and abandon what remained of the Netherlands, which was not worth defending. They proposed, therefore, that all the British forces in Flanders should be withdrawn; that all the auxiliaries in British pay should be instantly dismissed; and that our attention should be exclusively directed to the war in Italy, as more expensive and dangerous to France, less onerous to ourselves, and requiring from us only subsidies to the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, with the presence of our fleet in the Mediterranean, to favour their military operations. They inforced their arguments, by insisting, that, in the exhausted condition of her finances, England, a country more burthened with taxes than any other state in Europe, was no longer able to support the vast expenses of a continental war. They farther observed, that the papers laid before the House, did not afford sufficient grounds for deciding a question, which so much depended on the cooperation of the Dutch; and demanded the production of additional documents, particularly that dated Nov. 25th, N. S., containing the resolution of the States General.

These observations again called up Mr. Pelham, who expressed his surprise, that any gentleman should consider the documents presented, as inconclusive and unsatisfactory. The sovereign had spontaneously ordered them to be communicated, as sufficiently explanatory; and it would be ungracious not to infer, that those which had been withheld, were either unimportant, or of too confidential a nature to be made public.

He defended the treaty of Hanover, as justifiable, from the necessity of obviating the evils, to be apprehended from the alliance between Spain and the House of Austria; and vindicated the policy of avoiding all participation in the war of the Polish succession, because the equilibrium of Europe did not then appear to be endangered.

He denied that the perils apprehended from the ambitious designs of the House of Bourbon were chimerical; and contended, that, to preserve the balance of power, we ought to resist those designs, whether the Dutch gave or withheld their full concurrence. In censuring the proposal to abandon the Netherlands, he shewed also that we were bound by political interest, as well as by positive treaty, to prevent that important territory from falling into the hands of France.

He even vindicated the conduct of the States General, in declining to declare war as principals. "The Dutch," he observed, "are as fully impressed as we are, with the necessity of resisting the ambition of the House of Bourbon. They would now join us with all their force, if their immediate safety did not require them still to maintain a sort of neutrality; for, as they have only a few fortified towns, to defend them against an irruption of the French armies, and as recent experience shews, that this kind of defence affords no permanent security against a vigorous attack, they are bound, in common prudence, not to provoke hostility from France, until they have an army equal to cope with any force, which that power can direct against them; and on this they cannot now depend. So unfortunate are the present circumstances of the German empire, such is the fatality prevailing over most of its princes, that few or none of them will lend their troops to the Dutch, or to us. Nay, the Dutch have some reason to fear, that if they should declare war against France, some of the most powerful princes of Germany would unite with France against them. We ought not, therefore, to censure the Dutch for their cautious conduct: on the contrary, we have cause to be surprised at the exertions which they have made; for, as auxiliaries, they have been almost as effective as if they had been principals in the war."

"But, can it reasonably be said," he continued, "that we ought now to follow their example, and act the same cautious part? Is our country liable to be over-run, and laid waste by French armies? No: as long as we have a navy superior to that of France, as long as we are masters of the ocean which surrounds us, we may bid defiance to the armies of France, were they ten times more numerous than they are. We have only to consider, then, whether the balance of power may be endangered by the success of those designs, which are now openly avowed by the House of Bourbon. Even supposing that such danger did not exist, yet, being in open war with France and Spain, we ought to bear in mind, that the freedom of our trade and navigation, as well as the safety of our American colonies, undoubtedly must depend on the issue of the contest."

He candidly admitted, that the nation was heavily burthened with taxes; but, at the same time, declared his full conviction, that the honour and safety of the country demanded the continuance of the war, and, if the necessity should arise, even the endurance of additional expense, or, as he termed it, the sacrifice of a part, to preserve the remainder. But, on the present occasion, he had the satisfaction to say, that the sum demanded might be supplied, without imposing any new tax, merely by appropriating the sum of £.810,000, from the produce of the sinking fund.

The dishonour, as well as the danger, which England would have incurred, by withdrawing her troops from the continent, and abandoning her allies, were so evident, that the motion, on the first proposition, was carried in the committee by 255 against 122.* Another debate took place on the 14th of April, when the report of the committee was brought up;

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* No allusion is made to this interesting debate, either by the continuator of Rapin, or by Smollett; nor does any abstract of it occur in the Debates for 1746, in the collections of Debrett and Hansard, though many of the speeches are printed in the London and Gentleman's Magazines for 1746 and 1747. These journals, however, have recorded only part of the discussion; and both have omitted the speech of Mr. Pitt, who, as we learn from a letter of the duke of Newcastle to the duke of Cumberland, dated April 17th, spoke most ably and eloquently. This speech is not given in the anonymous Life of Lord Chatham. Neither does Mr. Thackeray, in his Life of Lord Chatham, make any allusion to it.

and the motion was carried by 199 against 83.* The other propositions of Mr. Pelham, relative to the artillery for the Hanover troops, and the subsidies to the empress queen, and the king of Sardinia, passed without a division.†

The opponents of government had, indeed, lost their principal champion, through the defection of Mr. Pitt, who, though not gratified to the extent of his wishes, yet zealously defended the measures of administration. The duke of Newcastle thus communicates the result of the discussion, on the Hanoverian troops, in a letter to the duke of Cumberland, dated April 17th.

"Our affairs in parliament go better than the warmest of us could expect. A subsidy of one million, viz. £.400,000 for fifty thousand Austrians, £.310,000 for eighteen thousand Hanoverians, and £.300,000 for the king of Sardinia, was carried the other day, by 255 against 122. Mr. Pitt spoke so well, that the premier told me he had the dignity of Sir William Wyndham, the wit of Mr. Pulteney, and the knowledge and judgment of Sir Robert Walpole. In short, he said all that was right for the king, kind and respectful to the *old corps*, and resolute and contemptuous of the Tory opposition. This majority and success does certainly great good in the closet, where I have the honour generally to be graciously received."‡

At the moment of this auspicious result, the news of the victory at Culloden produced an impression still more encouraging. Congratulatory addresses were presented by the Lords, on the 29th, and by the Commons, on the 30th of April, conveying to the king the warmest assurances of their vigorous support, in quelling the rebellion, and in crushing this last effort of a Popish abjured Pretender. The Commons, after applauding the conduct of the duke of Cumberland, declared their readiness to confer on his Royal Highness, "such distinguishing marks of public gratitude, as should be most agreeable to his Majesty, and justly due to his superior merit." § These congratulations were accompanied by votes of thanks to his Royal Highness himself, expressing a due acknowledgment of the eminent services which he had rendered to his country.

On this occasion, the Pelhams evinced their grateful sense of the king's returning favour, and of the successes achieved by the royal duke, in proposing for him a pension of £.40,000, of which £.25,000 was to be granted by parliament, and £.15,000 to be paid from the privy purse. This act of liberality was, in the highest degree, pleasing to the king, who testified his change of sentiment towards Mr. Pitt, by expressing a wish, that the intended motion, in the House of Commons, should be made by him. Such a mark of distinction was not the less gratifying, though the forms of office did not allow its adoption; and the duke of Cumberland was desirous that the motion should be made by Mr. Pelham.* Accordingly, on the 23rd of May, Mr. Pelham, as chancellor of the Exchequer, moved the grant of a pension of £.25,000 to the duke of Cumberland, and his heirs male.† It was carried through the Commons, by acclamation; and experienced an enthusiastic reception in the Upper House, where it was introduced by the duke of Newcastle.

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* Journals of the Commons.

† Ibid.

‡ Newcastle Papers.

§ Address of the Commons, Ap. 30th, 1746.

Amidst these demonstrations of loyalty and gratitude to the royal family, the parliament sanctioned such measures as were necessary for the suppression of the rebellion. A law was enacted for compelling suspected persons in Scotland to appear and give bail for their good behaviour; bills of attainder were voted against lords Kellie, Strathallan, and other chiefs of the rebels; and acts of indemnity passed, in favour of such persons as had exerted themselves for the defence of his Majesty's person and government. Preparatory arrangements were also instituted, for the speedy trial of lords Kilmarnock, Cromartie, and Balmerino, who were already in custody.

The rebellion being suppressed, government omitted no precaution for preserving the tranquillity of Scotland. To secure the peace of the Highlands, a bill was passed, not only for disarming the clans, but for restraining the use of their national garb, which was deemed obnoxious, in its tendency to keep alive party distinctions, to encourage martial habits, and to perpetuate the devotion of the people to the Stuart line. The first of these precautions was absolutely necessary, since the possession of arms, by a turbulent and discontented people, would have been extremely dangerous; but the proscription of the national dress was by many dispassionate men deemed cruel and oppressive, though no opposition appears to have been made to it, in either House of Parliament. By the same act, the masters and teachers of private schools in Scotland, were obliged to swear allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, and to register their oaths.

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* Letters from the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Cumberland, April 24th and 30th; and replies of his Royal Highness, April 30th and May 7th, 1746. Illustrative Correspondence.

† A captious amendment, proposing to insert after "heirs male," the qualification, "being Protestants," was negatived by fifty-four to one.

Another act of great severity was passed against the episcopal clergy, and their followers, who had warmly supported the rebellion. Although the number of these dissenters from the kirk of Scotland was very considerable, yet in not more than three congregations, and those far from numerous, was the service performed by ministers, who had taken the oaths of allegiance, and who prayed for the king by name. The rest of the clergy, officiating in the numerous episcopal chapels and meeting-houses, were non-jurors, and had been ordained, either by Popish prelates, or by Protestant bishops appointed by the Pretender; and most of them were very illiterate. These pastors were naturally inclined to foster in the minds of their followers, an attachment to the Stuarts, under whom episcopacy had been the established religion in Scotland; and to encourage an equal antipathy to the Protestant sovereigns, under whom Presbyterianism had been declared predominant, while the episcopalians had been reduced to the level of other sects, enjoying simple toleration.

The government, therefore, deemed it necessary to propose an act, more effectually to prohibit pastors or ministers from officiating in episcopal meeting-houses in Scotland, who had not duly qualified themselves according to law; and to punish persons attending any meeting-house, where such unqualified ministers should officiate. This act was approved in the House of Commons, but encountered considerable opposition among the peers, as an infringement on religious liberty. It was, however, passed, on the consideration, that pastors who refused to acknowledge the sovereign, or to give a pledge of their attachment to the government, ought to be prohibited from the public exercise of their functions.*

The sense which his Majesty entertained, of the services rendered by the Pelhams, in the late crisis, was evinced by his compliance with their representations in favour of Mr. Pitt. Instead of the post of secretary at war, which was conferred on Mr. Fox, he received, on the 6th of May, the more honourable and lucrative appointment of paymaster of the forces, vacant by the death of Mr. Winnington, and was also created a member of the privy council.†

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* Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 252.

† London Gazette.

The following is a statement of the financial provisions for the year :—*

SUPPLY.	
Navy. — Maintenance of 40,000 seamen, and 11,550 marines, victualling, transports, &c.	£.2,661,534
Army. — Maintenance of 49,229 men, ordnance, guards, and garrisons, in Great Britain, Jersey and Guernsey, &c.	1,761,299
Temporary pay of volunteer regiments during the Rebellion	191,026
Extraordinary expenses on account of the Rebellion, &c.	137,027
Garrisons in the Plantations, &c., half-pay, &c.	391,196
Charge of 1,264 horse and 4,908 foot, Hessians	201,936
Charge for expenses of the 6,000 Dutch troops	21,545
Charge of 5,000 horse and 13,000 foot, Hanoverian troops, &c. ..	310,000
Subsidy to the Queen of Hungary	400,000
———— King of Sardinia ..	300,000
———— Elector of Cologne.	24,299
———— Elector of Mentz ..	8,620
Vote of Credit	500,000
Building Westminster Bridge	25,000
Compensation for loss of horned cattle	12,949
For making good deficiencies, interest, &c.	227,567
	7,173,998

WAYS AND MEANS.	
Land Tax of 4*s.* in the pound, deducting interest on Exchequer bills	1,933,600
Malt Tax, deducting similar interest	616,981
Loan for the purchase of Annuities	2,500,000
Lottery: the interest on such annuities, payable by additional duties on glass, low wines and spirits	500,000
From the Sinking Fund	1,000,000
	6,550,581
Balance	623,417
	7,173,998

Thus only two additional taxes were imposed, namely, that on glass, and increased duties of trifling amount on spirituous liquors.

By adding the civil list, the surplus of taxes, and £.2,301,638 interest on the national debt, of £.56,525,447, exclusive of the debts unprovided for, the sum raised, this year, amounted to between ten and eleven millions.

Of the motions for these supplies, only two appear to have encountered any opposition. The first was the proposal of a grant, on the 5th of May, of the trifling sum of £.21,545 for the expenses of the six thousand Dutch troops. Such was the unpopularity of the Dutch, at this time, that the motion was strongly resisted, and 71 members appeared in the minority against 109. The second proposition, brought forward on the 12th of May, was a vote of credit for £.500,000, to enable his Majesty effectually to suppress the rebellion, to prosecute the war with vigour, by sea and land, and to make good any treaty which might be concluded with the allies for the year 1746. It was triumphantly carried by 124 against 31.*

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* From Postlethwaite's History of the Public Revenue.

Before we close our account of the session, we shall notice two debates, which took place in the House of Lords, and in which the foreign policy of ministers was arraigned, even more vehemently than in the Commons.

As the king had not transmitted, for the consideration of the peers, copies of lord Harrington's letter to the envoys of the States General, and of the other papers presented to the Commons on the 10th of April, lord Oxford moved for their production. They were accordingly laid before the House on the 28th, by the earl of Harrington; and, on the 2nd of May, were taken into consideration.

On this occasion, lord Oxford proposed an address to his Majesty, declaring it to be the opinion and advice of the House, that the prosecution of the war in Flanders, at so vast an expense, tended more to exhaust the nation, and destroy public credit, than to weaken the common enemy; an object which might better be attained, by a vigorous exertion of our naval strength, and by enabling the friendly powers on the continent to imitate the magnanimous conduct of the king of Sardinia, in carrying on the war, as principals, for the deliverance of Europe from the ambitious designs of France.†

After a long and violent speech from lord Oxford, this motion was seconded by the duke of Beaufort, and supported by lords Westmoreland, Halifax, Lonsdale, and Talbot. They employed similar arguments to those advanced in the Commons, for relinquishing hostilities on the continent, and for encouraging by subsidies, the military operations in Italy, as well as for confining the national efforts to maritime warfare. But their language, on this occasion, was far more inflammatory than that of the members in the Lower House. They expatiated on the inordinate expenses of a continental war; complained that the nation was wasting its last blood and treasure, in impracticable enterprises; and lord Oxford, in particular, even asserted that the public debt, which, by an extravagant computation, he estimated at sixty-four millions, was nearly one-fourth of the value of the whole kingdom. They lamented that the country was exhausted by the rebellion, and no longer able to act as a principal in a war, for the support of a people, unwilling to help themselves, and who were privately treating with France. Hence they affected to commend the resolution of ministers, as announced in the letter of lord Harrington, to extort a declaration of hostilities from the States General; and condemned their present conduct in receding from that policy. They ridiculed the argument, imputing inability to the Dutch; and declaimed against the inconsistency of practising the very same connivance, for which lord Granville had been so severely blamed. Denouncing the general principle of hiring foreign troops, they particularly censured the recal of the Hanoverians into British pay; not only reviving the old complaint, that the engagement had been contracted on disadvantageous terms, without the consent of parliament, but declaring that those troops were especially obnoxious, from the jealousy and discontent which their cooperation would necessarily excite. Lastly, they dwelt on the unpopularity of an engagement, which would create in the national mind an apprehension that those troops would be retained, even after a peace, and perhaps a small body of them introduced into the country, which might be gradually increased to an amount, dangerous to the liberties of the people, and even to the Protestant succession.

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* Journals of the Commons.

† The address also reprobated the extreme impolicy of the British cabinet, in maintaining so large an army on the side of the Netherlands, while the Dutch, although they had lost the greater part of their barrier, had not only refused to declare war against France, but were actually negotiating for themselves, at the court of Versailles.

The duke of Newcastle and lord Sandwich were the only members of administration, who spoke against the motion. They defended the policy pursued by government, with arguments similar to those which had been employed by Mr. Pelham and his friends, in the House of Commons. The charge of inconsistency in their negotiation with Holland, they could not directly repel; and, therefore, contented themselves with stating the general reasons, which prevented the Dutch from breaking their neutrality, and which they represented to be so strong, as to induce the servants of the Crown to countenance that resolution.

To the assertion, that the Dutch were privately negotiating with France, the duke of Newcastle replied, that so far from considering that circumstance as a reason for relinquishing the war, he regarded it, if true, as a decisive argument for vigorous proceedings, as the only means of preventing them from concluding a separate treaty.

Notwithstanding the specious reasonings of opposition, the majority of the peers were convinced of the dishonour and impolicy of abruptly withdrawing the British forces from Flanders, and leaving the allies at the mercy of France. The motion was therefore negatived, by 81 against 26; but twenty peers recorded their dissent, in a long and violent protest,* which embodied all the arguments of opposition.†

On the 12th of June, lord Lonsdale moved an address, representing, that in consequence of the failure of his Majesty's strenuous efforts, for the common cause of Europe, at a time when his own kingdom was in danger, he should be pleased to defer sending any of his British troops beyond seas, until domestic tranquillity was restored. In support of this motion, he argued, that the proposed reinforcements would cause a diminution of our national force, equal to twenty-five thousand men, and declared his belief, that only two regiments of foot, besides the guards, were left in England, and only a few weak battalions in Scotland. He insisted on the futility of sending only seven regiments to Flanders, when the army in that quarter, estimated at one hundred thousand men, really amounted to no more than forty thousand; while the French had in the field one hundred and twenty thousand men, a force double that of the allies, even with the Hessian and Hanoverian contingents. He contended, that no dependence could be placed upon the Dutch, who had suffered Antwerp to be taken, and had not raised a single man. The reasons assigned for their inability, he suspected not to be serious, but affirmed, that, at all events, the addition of seven regiments would neither enable, nor induce them, to continue the war; and, if compelled to negotiate, they must submit to terms dictated by France. After ironically observing, that as ministers did not effectually prosecute the hostilities, their sole intention was to make peace, he adverted to an expedition of six regiments, about to sail under the command of general St. Clair. He conjectured that its destination was America, and its purpose conquest; when ministers must be aware, that, as a much larger force was embarking at Brest for Quebec, to defend the French settlements, such conquests as might be made by our petty expedition, must either be restored at the conclusion of peace, or become the cause of a protracted conflict, until France should consent to relinquish them; and he condemned the impolicy of leaving the nation defenceless, for the sake of prosecuting so useless and so ruinous an enterprise.

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* See this protest in the Journals of the Lords, and in Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 1409.

† The only account of this debate is given in some short notes by lord chancellor Hardwicke, which are printed in Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 1407, and which contain chiefly the arguments of the Peers in opposition.

Adverting to the theatre of war, he said, "France, by the conquest of Flanders, is mistress of Holland, and may, therefore, dictate terms to the Dutch. Holland reduced to a peace, Germany rendered neutral, and the House of Austria necessarily withdrawn from the contest, the king of Sardinia must follow the example, leaving England alone, to combat France and Spain, in a disastrous warfare on her own soil. Such, he concluded, is the state, to which a weak, vacillating, and disjointed administration has degraded this once flourishing country."

In reply to this philippic, the duke of Newcastle combated the objections urged in the proposed address, as resting on two erroneous principles, the defenceless state of the country, and the inutility of sending abroad an army to support foreign measures.

The first of these principles, namely, the defenceless state of the country, he said was unfounded ; for the rebellion was as much suppressed, as was possible, by a military force, and would be entirely extinguished by the acts of the legislature. "Already," he observed, "the duke of Cumberland has announced the rebels to be in a state of total dispersion ; and England is manifestly secure against foreign attack, or internal commotion. We shall shortly have twenty-four sail of the line and six frigates at sea, under Admiral Martin, besides a number of armed vessels, for the defence of our coast. After the departure of the troops for Flanders, the land force will be amply sufficient ; for there will be seventeen thousand five hundred soldiers in England, and nineteen regiments of infantry, and six of cavalry, in Scotland. The other principle, namely, the inutility of sending troops abroad, to support foreign measures, is equally groundless ; because the employment of those troops will avert the great source of apprehension, that England may be left alone, to contend against France and Spain. The force of the allied army in Flanders has been under-rated. The seven battalions, with the Hessians, will amount to ten thousand men ; the Austrian contingent may be computed at forty thousand, and the Hanoverians at ten thousand, making a total of sixty thousand, to which must be added twenty thousand Austrians, already arrived at Cologne, and five thousand, drawn from the neighbouring garrisons. Allowing for a possible deficiency of five thousand, in the Austrian contingents, the whole aggregate force will reach eighty thousand effective men. This army, when complete, will effectually protect the Dutch, encourage them to continue hostilities, and ultimately obtain for them, advantageous terms of peace. The reinforcements from England will convince them of his Majesty's desire to furnish more effectual aid, whenever it shall be in his power, and enable the allies to improve their advantages in Italy." He defended the policy of an expedition to America, for the protection of Cape Breton, which would be especially requisite, if the squadron at Brest were really destined for Canada; and deprecated, as dishonourable, the loss of Cape Breton, at this particular time. He concluded by observing, that, if the garrison were not opportunely reinforced, the public would consider such a surrender as effected by connivance with France, which no minister would dare to sanction with his open consent.

After a short reply from lord Lonsdale, expressing his doubts that the Austrian corps had reached Cologne, the question, on the proposed address, was negatived without a division.*

On the 18th of June, a motion was made in the House of Commons, for a similar address, to dissuade the king from sending any more troops to the continent. The discussion of this proposal, and the division upon it, tended only to manifest the weakness of opposition, and the increasing strength of the ministry; for it was negatived by the great majority of 103 against 12.†

Notwithstanding the disorder caused by the rebellion, the laws of this session evince an unremitted attention to the national industry and morals.

To restrain the vice of profane swearing, prevalent among all orders of people, a bill was enacted, imposing a fine, proportionate to the rank of the offender.

The manufacture of sail-cloth, so essential to the interests of a maritime people, had already been encouraged by various acts of parliament, especially by two, passed in the ninth and thirteenth years of this reign, requiring distinct stamps on foreign and British sail-cloth, to prevent frauds on exportation; and imposing on every ship, built in Great Britain or her colonies, the obligation of having one complete set of sails, of either home or colonial manufacture. As these acts were on the point of expiring, they were now prolonged for the term of seven years.

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* The account of this debate is taken from lord chancellor Hardwicke's notes, printed in Hansard, vol. xiii. p. 1413. See also Journals of the Lords.

† Journals of the Commons.

To obviate the inconvenience, occasioned by the carelessness of shipmasters, in unloading ballast, a bill was passed, for the better preservation of havens, roads, and navigable rivers, imposing a penalty on the offence of throwing gravel or rubbish, within the limits of the tide.

The interests of the American colonies were promoted, by various enactments for encouraging the growth of coffee and sugar. Regulations were also introduced, to correct the practice of maritime insurance, which had degenerated into a species of gambling.

To improve that important branch of commerce, the linen trade, a company was erected by royal charter, dated July 5th, 1746, with power to raise a joint stock of £.100,000, under the title of the British Linen Company. The purpose of this incorporation was, to supply the British traders to Africa and America, with such linens as they had been hitherto obliged to purchase of foreign nations. The principal residence of the company was fixed at Edinburgh, and its first governor was Archibald, duke of Argyle.*

It was not until the 12th of August, that this long and memorable session of parliament was closed, by a speech from the throne. After gratefully and piously adverting to the success against the rebels, the king spoke with confidence of affairs abroad, as presenting a more hopeful aspect; and announced, that he had taken the earliest opportunity, which the safety of his own kingdoms permitted, to send such succours to the States General, as had raised the army in the Netherlands to a much more efficient state, than had been expected at the commencement of the campaign. He thanked the Commons for their prompt supplies; and on dismissing the two Houses, expressed his conviction, that the respective members would, all in their several stations, zealously endeavour to restore and preserve the peace of the kingdom, to heal the wounds which an unnatural rebellion had inflicted, and to encourage and cultivate in his subjects, that spirit of loyalty to the existing establishment, which had been so strikingly displayed. "The impression," he added, "shall ever remain on my mind, and be demonstrated by the continuance of my vigilant exertions, to make them a happy people."†

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* See Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. ii. p. 252.—This beneficial Company has answered the expectation of its founders, and is now one of the national banks of Scotland.

† Journals of Parliament.

It remains for us to record the fate of the three rebel lords, who, on the 28th of July, were brought to their trial, before the House of Peers. After a process, conducted with the usual solemnities, they were severally found guilty of High Treason. Lords Cromartie and Kilmarnock admitted the justice of their sentence, and sued for mercy ; but Balmerino pleaded not guilty, and declared that he was not at Carlisle, at the time specified in the indictment. He also objected to that indictment, in point of law, as being improperly laid in Surry. But his pleas were over-ruled, and sentence of death was passed upon him, together with his ill-fated companions. Cromartie was finally pardoned ; but Kilmarnock and Balmerino were beheaded, on Tower Hill, on the 18th of August. Several rebels of inferior note, suffered about the same period, in due course of law. With these unhappy victims, and with the subsequent execution of lord Lovat, public justice was satisfied, and the last embers of the rebellion were extinguished.

CHAPTER XI.

1746.

Campaign of 1746—*Successes of the French in the Netherlands—Capture of Brussels, Antwerp, and other fortresses—Weakness and retreat of the allied army—The French reduce Charleroy and Namur—Defeat of the allied forces at Roucoux—Occupation of the Netherlands by the French—Successes of the Austrians and Piedmontese in Lombardy—Recovery of Milan, Guastalla, and Parma—Victory of Placentia—Death of Philip V., and accession of Ferdinand—Retreat of the Spaniards and French from Italy—Reduction of Genoa by the Austrians and Sardinians—Secret overtures made by the Dutch to France—Sanctioned by the British ministry—Arrangements for a Congress at Breda—Separate negotiations between England and Spain—Views of Mr. Pelham—Ineffectual attempts to secure the cooperation of Prussia—Letters from Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole—Failure of the negotiations; and preparations for a new campaign—Differences between the duke of Newcastle and his brother, on the plan of operations—Jealousies in the cabinet—Secret influence of lord Granville—Resignation of lord Harrington, and appointment of lord Chesterfield—Regret of Mr. Pelham at the change.*

WHILE the British cabinet was agitated by feuds, and occupied not only in exertions for suppressing the rebellion, but in disputes with Holland on military arrangements, the French zealously improved the advantages, offered by the disunion of the allies. Relinquishing all useless projects in Germany, they directed their whole force to the Netherlands, as the field on which the war must be ultimately decided. Marshal Saxe, who had not, as usual, quitted the army at the close of the preceding campaign, had fixed his head quarters at Ghent, where he meditated an enterprise of no less importance than the capture of Brussels. With the utmost secrecy, he suddenly drew a considerable body of troops from Oudenarde, Aeth, Tournay, and Maubeuge; and, on the 30th of January, advancing with the forces from Ghent, invested Brussels, before his approach was even suspected. An extensive and almost open capital, thus taken by surprise, was unable to offer effectual resistance; and by its capitulation, on the 20th of February, the French became masters of the Dutch train of artillery, and of considerable magazines; and the garrison, consisting of eighteen battalions and eight squadrons, were made prisoners of war. The allies, reduced to forty thousand men, by the draughts of British detachments that had been sent to England, and by the loss of the garrison at Brussels, and hopeless of farther reinforcements from Austria and Holland, retired to a position behind the Demer, which they fortified, in the hope of preserving Antwerp. The advantages, which they had thus lost in the opening of the campaign, could not be subsequently recovered; for, within the space of two months, the French prosecuted their operations, with a well-appointed force of one hundred thousand men. On the 4th of May, the king of France entered Brussels, in triumph, and his presence was soon signalized by new successes. On the 6th, Louvain was abandoned, at his approach; and the intermediate posts being successively reduced, the city of Antwerp admitted a French detachment on the 21st. At the close of the month, its citadel surrendered, and the king of France, after visiting this important fortress, returned to his capital, leaving the army to reap new laurels.

Too weak to oppose the advance of their adversaries, the allies had retired to Terhyde, in the neighbourhood of Breda, to wait for reinforcements. Here they were at length joined by ten thousand Hanoverians, six thousand Hessians, a small body of British troops from England, and twenty-five thousand Austrians. The command was also transferred, from marshal Bathiani, to prince Charles of Lorraine.

These tardy succours were not sufficient, either to restore the balance, or enable the allies to obstruct the career of an enemy, flushed with victory, and superior in numbers. In the latter end of June, the important fortress of Mons was invested by the French, and its capitulation, on the 10th of July, was speedily followed by the reduction of St. Ghislain and Charleroi. The allies then made an effort to save Namur; but, being out-numbered by their opponents, were compelled to retire behind the Maes, for the security of Maestricht. Namur, which had so long withstood the perseverance of king William, and had been respected even by Marlborough, made but a brief resistance; for, after a siege of six days, the town surrendered on the 19th of September, and on the 29th the citadel also capitulated.

Prince Charles, in the interim, had been joined by farther reinforcements, and particularly by a British detachment of nine battalions, under Sir John Ligonier. The proximity of the two armies led, on the 11th of October, to the battle of Roucoux on the Yaar, which, after a vigorous struggle, terminated in the repulse of the allies. The British forces conducted themselves with their usual bravery; and the safety of the army was justly ascribed to the protection of the cavalry, commanded by Ligonier. The losses in the engagement, and the lateness of the season, suspended all farther operations; and the contending armies soon afterwards withdrew into winter quarters. The French established themselves in their new conquests, and thus secured the greater part of the Austrian Netherlands.*

In Italy, the war presented a more favourable aspect. Strengthened by thirty thousand Austrians, the combined forces were greatly superior to the enemy: their progress was soon marked by the recovery of Asti, Milan, Guastalla, and Parma; and the victory of Placentia on the 17th of June, gave them the entire ascendancy.

At this time occurred an event, which materially affected the operations of the war. Philip V. king of Spain, dying on the 9th of July, was succeeded by Ferdinand, a son by his first wife, Maria Louisa, daughter of the late king of Sardinia. By the accession of a prince, so different from his father in principles and character, the predominant influence of the dowager queen, Elizabeth Farnese, was instantly annihilated; for, Ferdinand, being less anxious concerning the interests of his brother, than for the prosperity of Spain, ordered his troops to withdraw from Italy without delay. The French, unable to maintain the contest alone, imitated the example of their allies; and the united forces of Austria and Sardinia reduced Genoa, on the 5th of September, and commenced preparations for the immediate invasion of Provence, with sanguine hopes of success.†

During these military proceedings, the contending powers evinced a correspondent inclination to terminate hostilities; and one of those negotiations ensued, which are often productive of a treaty for peace. From the very commencement of hostilities, the Dutch, in their quality as neutrals, had been enabled to maintain the forms of diplomatic intercourse with the court of Versailles; and their apprehensions from the progress of the French arms, had prompted them to make various overtures for the restoration of peace. So early as the year 1744, they had endeavoured, by the agency of their minister, count Wassenaer Twickel, to avert the attack of the barrier-fortresses ; but could only obtain from the French cabinet, the offer of a neutrality for the Low Countries. Though such an arrangement was utterly inadmissible, they did not desist from their endeavours, and proposed a plan of general pacification, comprising, in its conditions, the restitution of the conquests made by the French ; the confirmation of the guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction by France ; and a renuntiation on the part of the emperor Charles VII. of all the claims which he had advanced to the Austrian succession. This plan being rejected by France, a new overture was made, in which the British cabinet acquiesced, as the only means of preventing the Republic from entering into a separate accommodation. The agent selected on this occasion, was an intimate friend of the pensionary Vanderheim, colonel Larrey, who repaired privately to Paris, in November 1745.

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* For the general account of this campaign, have been consulted the Gazettes and periodical Journals; Continuation of Rapin vol. xxi. p. 263. History of the House of Austria, chap. xxviii. Annales de Marie Thérèse, p. 80, and various contemporary authorities.

† History of the House of Austria, chap. xxviii. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, anno 1746. Memoirs of the Kings of Spain, chap. xlvii.

The French court also rejected this overture ; and, to work on the fears and cupidity of the Dutch, revoked the treaty of commerce concluded in 1739. By this decisive measure, they caused the negotiation to be revived in a more formal shape ; for, early in 1746, count Wassenaer Twickel was sent as embassador to Paris, where he was soon joined by M. Gilles, the greffier, or principal secretary of the Republic. They were admitted to conferences with the marquis D'Argenson, the French minister, from whom, in March, they received a project of preliminaries. The terms then offered, were peremptorily rejected by England, as exorbitant and dishonourable ; but the Dutch negotiators attended the king of France, during his progress to Brussels, in May, and obtained from D'Argenson another sketch of a preliminary treaty. Its conditions were, the restitution of Cape Breton to France ; the cession of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in favour of Don Philip, and his heirs direct and collateral ; the offer to guaranty a barrier to the Dutch, provided the Republic would guaranty France from an attack in that quarter, or, in other words, agree to the neutrality of the Netherlands ; the renewal of the treaties with England, of 1713 and 1717, for the guaranty of the Protestant succession, without reference to the descendants of the Pretender ; and the acknowledgment of the grand duke Francis, as emperor, by all the Bourbon courts. A claim appears also to have been advanced, for preserving the fortifications of Dunkirk in their existing state, or for retaining Furnes fortified, as an equivalent.

These propositions, when communicated to the British cabinet, created a remarkable diversity of opinion among the ministers. Lord Harrington was anxious that they should be accepted, as the basis of a treaty, lest the Dutch should be induced to make a separate peace; an apprehension which was participated by lord Chesterfield, embassador at the Hague. Mr. Pelham also, though he strongly objected to some of the articles, entertained so little hope of success, in continuing the war, that he earnestly recommended the acceptance of the general plan; and concurred with lord Harrington in the opinion, that it should be withheld from the courts of Vienna and Turin, until the preliminary arrangements should be concerted.*

On the other hand, this course of proceeding was strongly opposed by the duke of Newcastle† and the lord chancellor. Against the neutrality for Flanders, they argued, that it could not be concluded without the consent of the queen of Hungary, as sovereign; and, that if concluded, it would destroy the connection subsisting between Austria and the maritime powers, as well as between the maritime powers themselves, and would only serve to afford a barrier to France, in the part where she was most vulnerable. They opposed any agreement relative to Dunkirk,‡ except on the conditions of the treaty of Utrecht, and of the triple alliance of 1717, in both of which it was stipulated that the fortifications should be destroyed. They contended, that the appropriation of Tuscany for Don Philip, would be injurious to the new emperor, who had received that territory, in compensation for Lorraine, and detrimental to the commercial interests of the maritime powers, in the Mediterranean. Lastly, as nothing was to be deprecated more than jealousy and distrust among the allies, they insisted, that this proceeding ought to be instantly communicated to the courts of Vienna and Turin.

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* This fact is given on the authority of a letter from the duke of Newcastle to the lord Chancellor, dated September 17-28th, 1748:

"I will add but one thing more upon the general point. I take the present question to be the same with that, upon which your Lordship and I differed with my lord Harrington, my lord Chesterfield, and my brother, about two years ago. They always said, they were not for making a peace, without the court of Vienna; but that they were so unreasonable, that they would hamper and obstruct all negotiation, and that, therefore, we should not make a communication of the whole to them; that we should settle some points first with France, and then we should bring them in. Your Lordship and I always insisted, that we should make an ample communication of the whole to our allies, and take them along with us; and that it was time enough to act without them, when we found that they would not agree to reasonable conditions, and that then we should be justifiable in so doing."

† The objections were submitted by the duke of Newcastle to a cabinet council, on the 16th of May; and a minute is preserved of them in the Newcastle Papers, from which this account is taken.

‡ It is but justice to observe, that Mr. Pelham, however anxious for peace, agreed with his brother in objecting to this condition, which implied the restitution of the Port of Dunkirk; and we find the lord chancellor declaring, that to an article so mischievous to the interests of England, the great seal should never be put, while in his hands. [M. S. Minutes of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, on D'Argenson's Project of Peace.—Newcastle Papers.]

As the negotiations, even if successful, could not produce a speedy accommodation, they recommended that urgent instances should be made to the Pensionary, for strengthening the army in the Netherlands; and that a promise should be given, for the immediate return of the six thousand Hessians, with an assurance of such farther succours as could be spared from England.

The question was warmly debated between the duke of Newcastle and lord Harrington, in the presence of the king. Lord Harrington endeavoured to alarm his Majesty, by representing that the allied army in the Netherlands would be defeated; that the Dutch would be awed into a separate peace; and that, France being relieved from all danger on the side of the Netherlands, the electorate of Hanover would again be exposed to an invasion, while no adequate assistance could be sent for its protection.

The king, on this occasion, acted with equal spirit and moderation. He disregarded the dangers which were said to menace his electorate; and, though he strongly approved the opinion of the duke of Newcastle and the lord chancellor, he endeavoured to reconcile the jarring sentiments of his ministers, by recommending a compromise. The suggestions of his Majesty produced the desired effect; and, after a conference between the two noble secretaries at Claremont, at which Mr. Pelham assisted, it was finally agreed, that the objections urged against the French project, by the duke of Newcastle and the lord chancellor, should be communicated to the Pensionary; and that the proposed conditions should be imparted to the courts of Vienna and Turin.

Accordingly, lord Harrington submitted to the king a new draught of the intended communication; but, as some of the clauses appeared to be of too conceding a nature, his Majesty erased them, with his own hand, in the presence of the duke of Newcastle. The alterations being completed by lord Harrington, the communication, which was still couched in terms the most conciliatory that could be allowed, was transmitted to the Dutch ministers; and, at the same time, though without their approbation, to the courts of Vienna and Turin.*

Meanwhile, the king of France, availing himself of the anxiety for peace, which was manifested by the States General, dispatched the marquis de Puisieulx to the Hague, with secret credentials; and the effect of his presence was soon indicated, by the earnest solicitude of the Pensionary and his friends, for the appointment of an agent on the part of England. At length, to prevent the Republic from being lured into a separate negotiation, the king of England, on the 20th of June, announced his intention of sending a minister, to treat with plenipotentiaries from France, at any place not in the possession of that power.

While the transaction remained in suspense, the same diversity of opinion continued to prevail in the British cabinet; and we find the duke of Newcastle, in a letter to the duke of Cumberland, justifying the principle on which he and the lord chancellor had hitherto acted.

"Sir, "*Newcastle House, July 3rd*, 1746.

"I cannot let this messenger go, without taking the usual liberty of troubling your Royal Highness, with the few incidents that have occurred here, that could not be put in my public dispatches. The great alteration of affairs in Italy and Flanders, has not yet produced that agreement in opinion, amongst your Royal Highness's friends and faithful servants, that was to be wished. We still differ, with relation to the secret negotiation carrying on by the Dutch minister, with the court of France. However, lord chancellor's opinion and mine prevail; and orders are sent to Mr. Trevor, upon that principle, though your Royal Highness may imagine, not quite in the manner, we should send them ourselves.

"We have, at present, this comfort, that no inconvenience has happened from our advice; that all those dismal consequences that were foretold, viz. the certain destruction of Bathiani's army; the immediate separation of Holland; the impossibility of obtaining such terms afterwards, if then rejected, have not happened. On the contrary, a visible and material alteration for the better, every where: the French and Spanish army in Italy defeated, and upon the point of being totally subdued; Bathiani in a condition, at least to defend himself; and a probability, by the Pensionary's own confession, of gaining, by these advantages, better terms from France. Nothing, I thought, was so much to be apprehended, as a disunion or diffidence amongst the allies; and, therefore, we have prevailed to have D'Argenson's project of peace, and all that has passed upon it, communicated to the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia. This, Holland has not yet consented to; but, however, we have done it, and Mr. Trevor would have us believe, that the Dutch will make their separate peace upon it."

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* The account of this whole transaction is taken from two letters, which passed between the duke of Newcastle and the Chancellor, dated May 21 and 22, 1746, in Illust. Corres.

The conferences, however, continued, through the agency of count Wassenaer Twickel and the greffier Gilles, who attended the king of France, on his return to Versailles; and the offer of England, to enter into the negotiation, was promptly accepted. Breda being selected as the place of meeting, M. Puisieulx was accredited on the part of France; lord Sandwich on that of England, at the special recommendation of the duke of Newcastle; and Wassenaer Twickel, on that of the States, as Gilles had been recalled to fill the office of Pensionary, vacant by the death of Vanderheim.

In the arrangements for this negotiation, the wishes of the king, and the opinion of the duke of Newcastle, so far prevailed, that lord Sandwich received instructions to insist on the admission of plenipotentiaries from Austria and Sardinia. That demand occasioned a pause, at the very opening of the conferences, which took place on the 30th of September, at Breda; for the French plenipotentiary resisted the proposal, on the ground, that as the allies of France confided their interests to his management, so those of England ought to act on the same principle. On the other hand, the empress queen refused to depute a minister, unless with the assurance, that he would be admitted to the conferences.

At length the controversy was so far accommodated, that count Harrach was dispatched to Breda, on the part of Austria; count Chavannes on that of Sardinia; and Macanaz, as a private agent for Spain. The negotiation was still confined to the plenipotentiaries of France, and those of the maritime powers; but no progress was made in adjusting the preliminaries; though the forms of diplomatic intercourse were maintained, during the remainder of the year.

Collaterally with these pacific arrangements, some communication was opened, between the courts of London and Madrid, through the intervention of the king of Portugal, whose daughter Barbara was the queen of Spain; and so highly was the amicable disposition of Ferdinand appreciated, by his conduct in recalling his troops from Italy, that his overture was readily accepted, and Mr. Keene, late British minister at Madrid, was deputed to Lisbon, to conduct the negotiation.*

But the pretensions of the different parties appeared so irreconcileable, as to afford little hope of a satisfactory termination of the war, to those most interested in the event. Mr. Pelham, in particular, was convinced, that a confederacy so divided in views, and exhausted in means, could not recover the advantages lost in preceding campaigns, or cope with the compact force of France. He, therefore, saw the necessity of an accession of strength, and naturally directed his attention to the king of Prussia, whose military resources, superior skill, and advantageous situation, would enable him to turn the scale. In this opinion he was confirmed by his friend Mr. Walpole, who had long laboured to impress on the king and cabinet, the policy of gaining so considerable an ally. But that aim was thwarted by numerous objections, arising as well from the difficulty of appeasing the hostile feelings of Frederic and Maria Theresa, as from the fears and jealousy of the Dutch, and the want of adequate inducements to secure the cooperation of a monarch, who was interested in preventing the humiliation of France. Even had these objections been removable, another obstacle, no less serious, existed, in the personal antipathy of George II, to his nephew the king of Prussia.

The sentiments of Mr. Pelham on public affairs, during these transactions in the field and in the cabinet, are unreservedly expressed, in his confidential correspondence, which we now submit to the reader. He anticipates the disasters, which, as we have shewn, attended the campaign in the Netherlands; augurs no favourable issue from the negotiations at Breda; and speaks in a tone of great despondency of the difficulty of raising supplies, for the continuance of a war, which he deprecates as burthensome, unequal, and impracticable.

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* Mr. Keene's Dispatches. Memoirs of the Kings of Spain, chap. xlviii. Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chap. xxx.

Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole.

"Dear Sir, "*June* 12*th*, 1746.

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"There was a debate in the House of Lords this day, upon a motion of lord Lonsdale, who would have addressed the king, to defer the sending abroad any troops, till it was more clear that we are in no danger at home, which he would by no means allow to be the case at present. The duke of Newcastle spoke* well, for one that was determined to carry on the war. Granville was present, but said nothing; flattered the duke of Newcastle, when the debate was over; and gave a strong negative to lord Lonsdale's motion.

"There are two mails come in from Holland; I have not seen the letters; but, by a private one, which I have from Trevor, I conclude things are in a manner over. He says, the Pensionary thinks himself ill-used; and, I hear, he has declared, that he will have no more to do in the secret negotiation, but leave it to the committee. This, Trevor looks upon, as a determination to make up, even separately, and laments it much in his letter to me. He concludes with saying, 'That he should be inconsolable for the part he has happened to have in this negotiation, did not his conscience and conviction still bear him up, joined with the presumption, that he is not the only Englishman of common sense and common honesty, who would prefer a tolerable peace to an intolerable war.'

"Thus things stand, my dear Horace, abroad; and if I were to write for an hour, and rack my brain to the utmost, I could not say one word, that would recompense this ill news, by any thing I can observe at home. I heartily wish you all happiness and comfort where you are; nothing but a total distraction can disturb that; but we, that are rowers in the ship, cannot expect that quiet. We must pray for better times, though we cannot expect those prayers will be heard; for in truth we do not deserve them.

"My neighbour† looks big; and, I hear, is triumphant in his cups. Some say, we shall have a motion in the House of Commons, but I do not believe it. Lord Chancellor has been employing his time, in forming bills for the regulation of Scotland. I hope they are good ones. I have no farther news at present; for it can be none to assure you that I am, with great truth and affection," &c.

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* See the speech here referred to, in p. 316.

† Lord Granville, who lived in the adjoining house to Mr. Pelham.

Mr. Pelham to Sir Thomas Robinson.

"Dear Sir, "*July* 18*th*, 1746.

"I could not conceive, that Mr. Frankland would have thought it worth a letter, to tell you that I was desirous of serving you, in such a trifle as he asked of me. I am ashamed that there was occasion for it; all I can say in my defence, is, that I found the Treasury greatly in debt, when I came there, that the revenue of the Crown is greatly diminished by the present war, and the expenses of the government as greatly increased. After this short sketch of the condition of my province, you may easily think what I wish for; but not so ardently, as to forget the interest of my country, or her allies. But we must not look too high; if we do, I fear time will reduce us to fall too low. Will the death of the king of Spain open a new scene; and can we hope, in time, to avail ourselves of that incident? England has done her part, and even now exerts herself to the utmost. What ally has she, that she does not pay for? and have not two exasperated great powers, encouraged and promoted attacks,* even within her own circle? I hope, however, the court where you are, is satisfied we are not easily dismayed; and that our credit has supported itself, almost to a miracle. How, otherwise, could we have furnished them with such vast sums of money, as we have done this year, and, at the same time, increased our subsidies to other princes also.

"I say this to you, partly in my own justification; because I know I am looked upon, in some places, as rather tardy in promoting what is necessary, as they call it, for the support of the common cause. Wasner,† I believe, will not say so now; for I have procured him £.100,000 advance, after the payment of £.150,000 before, when I know, the money we paid has been anticipated by draughts from your Court, without considering, that, by treaty, the whole subsidy was to go to the maintenance of fifty thousand men, in the Low Countries.

"You see my politics by this short letter; and, I believe, I guess at yours, by the close of your last, June 29th. May the time you wish for, happen soon; and when it does, I hope we shall have both of us ease and cheerfulness, to recollect some former times, when our hearts were lighter, but I hope not more firmly attached to each other, than at present. What you wrote to me about, some time ago, concerning Mr. Lascelles, is not yet come to a decision, but which ever way it goes, it shall be my endeavour that you shall be no loser, for I am," &c.

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* Alluding probably to the rebellion, which was fomented by France and Spain.

† The Austrian minister in England.

Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole.

"Dear Sir, "*July* 29*th*, 1746.

"I thank you for both your letters of the 18th, with the two inclosures from Scotland. I guess your friend; he is an honest man, and as I have often heard you say, a sensible one; but now his Royal Highness is come, all Scotch politics will probably have their force from him. I have had two conversations with him; he seems to have considered that country thoroughly, and, I really believe, has a right notion of them. He has no partialities; though, I am afraid, some prejudices. In short he sees them all selfish, most of them on the north side of the Spey, Jacobites. I wish we do not find that the proper measures to secure the government interest *now*, will naturally throw the power, two years hence, into the anti-ministerial interest at that time.

"The trials of the three rebel lords began yesterday. They are to receive sentence to-morrow. Lord Balmerino pleaded *not guilty*; but his plea was soon over-ruled, and he was found guilty afterwards, by all the lords present, who were one hundred and forty at least.

"Your other letter is of much greater consequence to the public, at this time, than any formalities that attend the trials of these unhappy, wicked men. I wish I could as easily see my way, through the difficulties of our foreign affairs, as I do in the others nearer home. I have the good fortune to agree with you, in most of your observations on the present state of our affairs abroad; and have so far benefited by your good advice, as to make use of your ideas in a certain place. When I state them, they are not objected to; but, in the progress, I soon find that there is a secret view behind, that overcomes all plain reasonings that can be offered.

"The letters that came in, this day, from the Sicilian abbot,* mention the great joy there was at Madrid, on the expectation of their being relieved from the government of a Parmesan queen. But, at the same time, he says, there is no alteration in the ministry; that the new king seems to resolve to act as a just and severe prince, rather than as a gracious one; that no particular favourites have any influence with him, not even his own queen; that the queen dowager is settled in the palace of the Duchess d'Ossuna; and that there were four couriers sent away, the one to France, the others to Portugal, Naples, and the Infant's army, the latter of which was charged with letters of notification to the king of Sardinia.

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* For an account of the Sicilian abbots, who furnished much important intelligence to the British cabinet, see Memoirs of Lord Walpole, and the Memoirs of the Kings of Spain, passim.

"At Paris they begin to slacken in their intended succours for Italy; and already talk of double marriages with the court of Turin.

"Our armies in Flanders are in sight of one another. If we have a battle, it will probably be on or near the plains of Ramilies. I heartily wish we may have as good an account of the action of that day, as we had of one forty years ago, at the same place. But my phlegmatic temper tells me, we shall have no action at all; for, if the French have not a mind to fight us, we cannot attack them, unless at great disadvantage, and why should they run the risk of a battle, when they can take town after town, and render the garrisons useless for the time to come. Charleroi yielded in three days after it was invested; the terms of capitulation are not yet come to us. I send you all the news I have, imperfectly related, for I write in a great hurry.

"We are to nominate a plenipotentiary, soon, for the secret congress that is to be held at Breda, or some other neutral town. I believe, I told you, in a letter, some time ago, that whoever knew any thing of the matter, would not care to go. That has proved true; and the person thought of at present, for this commission, is lord Sandwich. The king seems to like him very well. The reason to me is plain; he thinks he is a man not likely to give up Cape Breton, without which, the king knows, there can be no peace. He thinks also, that as he is a young man, inexperienced in affairs, it will justify the sending him without any positive or final instructions, which will, of consequence, leave every thing *ad referendum;* and his Majesty will, of course, have it in his power to say *no,* whenever it shall suit either his interest, or his humour. I believe, the man will do the best he can; but, if we do not design to do right ourselves, send an angel upon the errand, and it will still come to nothing. I hope I shall find myself mistaken, but I fear my forebodings will prove true; and, if they do, what a situation are we all in, and your humble servant in particular! How can we raise six millions, besides the land-tax and the malt, which, I can demonstrate to you, we must do, the next year, if we carry on the war abroad, in the manner we have hitherto done; and, at the same time, make provision for the government at home, and our own domestic security.

"I should tire you with reading, and myself with writing, if I were to go on upon this subject. I pray, therefore, for a battle, and that that battle may be a decisive one; such a one, as must either reduce France to accept of tolerable terms, or as will open our own eyes, convince mankind that theory is not practice, and that big words, and flattering compliments, will neither raise armies nor pay them.

"I must now ask your forgiveness, for troubling you so long; and for putting you to the pain of reading this scrawl, which, when you have gone through it, will prove only that I know nothing, but at the same time convince you, that I have a great pleasure in receiving your instructions, and that I am truly, with affection and respect," &c.

Mr. Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle.

"*August* 10*th*, 1746.*

After mentioning his satisfaction, that the duchess of Newcastle is better, he proceeds:—"I am sorry to say, every foreign post confirms me, more and more, in the sentiments I have been in for some time, both as to the necessity, and I am sorry to say it, little probability of finishing this war. The court of Vienna is plainly averse to it, for reasons too evident. I doubt, that another court is equally so, for reasons I cannot comprehend.

"Forgive me what I say, and believe me, most affectionately," &c.

Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole.

"DEAR SIR, "*Greenwich Park, Aug.* 23*rd*, 1746.†

"I am got here, for a day or two, with my family; and shall then go to Sussex, to be present at our assizes, and other public meetings, which will not take me up above a week in the whole; and then return to the slavery of London, and Kensington.

"I thank you, kindly, for your favour of the 13th. You understood me right as to Scotch affairs; but I question much, whether your expedients, though right in themselves, will do at this time. We have abundance of heads, and every one actuated by his own passions or particular views. The Duke means well; and, could every thing be decided in the manner of the battle of Culloden, would execute very well too. I have the honour, I flatter myself, to be very well with him, and shall take care to use the little interest I have with him, cautiously, in order the more essentially to serve him and the whole; for upon him the whole depends.

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* Newcastle Papers.

† Walpole Papers, and Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chap. xxix.

"Other people* are at work already against a new parliament, and condescend to make their applications, even to private persons, by whose means, they hope to procure such a personal dependency, as may force their own way, to whatever they shall desire. This will have its effect, especially when it is supported by a good *revenue*, against an almost bankrupt treasury, an uncertain administration, &c. &c.

"So much for domestics; with this addition only, that I have spoken to the king, that one of our commissioners of the revenue in Ireland, may succeed Tommy Brudenel, in the Board of Trade, who, I find, by common consent, will be lord Duplin, and that will make room for poor Trevor to succeed in Ireland. I have been the more solicitous about this, as I plainly see, he is undone as a foreign minister. He has nobody to support him but myself; for, though lord Harrington both thinks well of him, and wishes well to him, yet, you know, we do not love to burn our fingers with other men's affairs.

"There was a Dutch mail came in, yesterday in the afternoon, which, I am informed, brings little material. There was a talk, at the Hague, of another victory in Italy, near Tortona; it is far from improbable that something may have happened in the pursuit, to our advantage. I hope you forgave my using Mr. Roberts's hand, to carry to you the good news we received, of general Botta's† great success. I had but just heard it, and my hands were full, but I could not deny you the pleasure of hearing so essential a piece of news, as soon as was possible.

"Ossorio and Wassenaer both assure us, that the armies of their respective masters will follow the enemy, into France itself; and, by that means, cause such a diversion, or make such a havoc, as shall enable our plenipotentiaries to act with proper dignity at Breda. I heartily wish, they may be rightly informed; but, in the mean time, I must tell you, the Empress Queen has absolutely refused to send an embassador to this *petit congrés;* and we have as absolutely insisted, that she shall. Such a *piece* has come from Vienna, as you, perhaps, have seen many a time, but as I never read, with attention, before. One would have thought, that they had been the conquerors every where; and, that, instead of receiving from, they had paid subsidies to Great Britain; that they were so good allies, that, forgetful of their own particular interests, they thought of nothing so much as procuring us a free navigation in the American seas, and maintaining to the crown of England; that inestimable fortress of Louisbourg. You easily understand all this; for, the same language was held at Vienna, even before the last victory in Italy. The king of Sardinia certainly talks well; and will, I dare say, consistently with his own security, effect what is purposed.

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* Alluding to the prince of Wales.

† The Austrian general who took Genoa.

"In the mean time, dear Horace, what shall we do, another year? The Dutch have, by Mr. Buys, declared to lord Sandwich, that they cannot, on any acount, think of another campaign; and, if they cannot, where shall we find ground to fight upon, or money to pay our troops? Let us, therefore, profit by our present ameliorated situation; drive the enemy, if we can; and negotiate at the same time. M. Puisieulx was to set out, as to-morrow, from Paris, for Breda; and it was said, that the duke de Huescar, the Spanish embassador at Paris, was to go thither also, to assist at these conferences. This confirms my opinion, which was, that the new king of Spain would do every thing he could, for peace; but, that it was impossible to imagine, that he would, as yet, negotiate separately from France, especially as that crown, also, seems disposed for putting an end to the war.

"Our armies continue on each side the Mehaigne, in sight of one another. Nothing but skirmishes have as yet passed; but a general action is expected every day. Pray God it end well! You know, I conclude, that the French have surprised Huy, and are in possession of Liege. This may a little inconvenience our army as to provisions, &c.; but otherwise, I suppose, is not of much consequence.

"What you will make of this long letter, I cannot tell: it is the substance of what I know, and as such I send it to you, for your own information only. I know your discretion too well, to think myself in any danger of having what I write to you, discovered. I own, I am full of the public, at present; I know you are always so. To whom, therefore, can one unburthen so properly, as to one whose experience will enable him to make proper reflections; whose zeal for the public entitles him to know its concerns; and whose friendship will prompt him to excuse errors, and cover those weaknesses, which, I am sensible, I too often fall into, for want of the assistance of those, on whose judgment and integrity I have, all my life, depended.

"Adieu, dear Horace, and believe me no indolent servant to the public, and your most sincere friend," &c.

Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole.

"DEAR HORACE, "*October 4th*, 1746.[*]

"Lord Orford spoke to me in behalf of his nephew, lord Malpas,[†] before he left London. I was determined to do what I could for him, then; but, as you have interested yourself in his behalf, and as the manner in which you do it, makes me determined to go farther than I thought I should ever be brought to do, in a military affair, I will, next Tuesday, speak to the King, as well as to the Duke, and muster up all my rhetoric, to move the passions, and recal the memory of past services. Lord Orford told me of his reception, upon his last audience; and I verily believe the king shewed to him, that he had not forgot the long and laborious service your brother went through, on his account. If every day does not convince his Majesty of the wisdom, as well as integrity of that service, he must be lost to all sense and reason; for I am certain we have experience of it, from the reverse that we see, in the present times.

"My gloomy objects, and melancholy reflections, are but unentertaining subjects for a friendly correspondence; but so it is, and your own judgment will best point out to you, where it lies. Affairs abroad have, every day, a worse aspect. Spain does not, to me, seem disposed to separate herself from France. When a general peace is obtained, possibly then she may think of cultivating a more strict union with the maritime powers; but she will not run the risk of losing her present hold of France, for the uncertain effect of other measures. I have seen one letter from the Sicilian priest, and we have had another from Keene, at Lisbon. The correspondent treats the king and court of Spain, as wavering and uncertain, even to the degree of great weakness; but he and Taberniga both agree, that a settlement must be had for Don Philip; and, I find, our politicians here think it impossible to expect that, after the successes our allies have had in Italy. We talk of irruptions into France; the queen of Hungary has indeed given orders for it, and Ossorio says, his master is as willing as her Imperial Majesty. But if it is not already done, can it be begun this year, and if not this year, are we to expect it the next?

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[*] Walpole Papers.

[†] Son of lord Cholmondeley, and grandson of Sir Robert Walpole.

"The conferences at Breda carry a very low scent. We insist on the admission of plenipotentiaries from our allies. France says, hers repose confidence in them; and, therefore, does not seem inclinable to admit of any others, but our own and the Dutch. A courier was sent to Paris, by Puisieulx, for farther orders on this point; and, to the shame and scandal of all princes and states, this courier was seized near Antwerp, by some Austrian Hussars, rifled of his papers, and carried away prisoner, notwithstanding he produced a pass from Mr. Gilles, the new Pensionary, signed at *Breda,* the very place agreed to by all parties, for opening the conferences. This has put the French plenipotentiary into a great rage, swearing that we must be in it, and crying out aloud for satisfaction. How this will end, the Lord knows; but to me, it looks as if our Breda affair would not be of long duration, and then what will become of us? Count Saxe has collected all his troops together, which make a force of three to one in our numbers. If he does offer to fight, we must be beat, or run away; where shall we have winter quarters? and if we have none, whither can the Dutch go for protection?"

Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole.

"DEAR HORACE, "*Arlington Street, October* 11*th*, 1746.

"I have just time to tell you, that I obeyed your commands as to lord Malpas. I need not tell you, that I used all the arguments of compassion that could influence good nature, and all those of past services and unalterable attachment, that could have any weight with a generous, or grateful mind. But, alas! those qualities are not the growth of every breast. Great civilities and kind expressions were used in return; but I soon found, that my recommendation, in military matters at least, has but small effect. I followed my blow with his Royal Highness; and, by what I can collect from both parties, you had better turn your thoughts another way.

The insurmountable objection of giving no countenance to rank, obtained by commissions in the noble regiments, stopped my mouth in the latter place, and some other things, that I can better explain to you when I see you, than trust to a letter. Take no notice of this; for, if you do, perhaps some jealous persons may carry it farther than I mean it.

"Our foreign news you see enough of in the Gazette. All will not convince us: we are to labour on, in impracticable schemes, until this rich country becomes so poor a one, that nothing can go on at all. By our last letters from Holland, we are as much put into despair upon our descent on France, as we were before elated. I doubt, we have done the enemy little hurt; and it is said, from good hands, that we were retiring on board our ships, as fast as we could.* No letters are come, directly from Lestock or St. Clair; what we have is from Van Hoey, and other French correspondents.

"The parliament meets the 18th of next month; but as little prepared are we, as ever. I hope we shall see you in town, some time before the parliament meets; though I can scarce flatter myself, that you will leave your agreeable retreat, whilst the weather is good, for a noisy, inconsistent, and turbulent town. I am," &c.

"P. S. Our letters from Lisbon give us little hopes of separate measures; and the contradictory views of Vienna and Turin, give me as little hopes of an irruption into France by Provence.

Extracts of a letter from Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole.

"*October* 25*th*, 1746.

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"I have not, for some time, expected any good fruit from our conferences at Breda; indeed, never since lord Sandwich went there; not from any prejudice or opinion of want of ability in lord Sandwich, but, as I knew he went with a disposition to please those that sent him, and as I saw their view was, rather to convince the court of Vienna, that we would do nothing without their consent and participation, than to give satisfaction to Holland, that we did really, and *boná fide*, mean to make up this burthensome, unequal, and impracticable war, whenever we could obtain honourable and decent terms of peace."

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* He alludes to a fruitless descent on the coast of Britanny, by the troops under general St. Clair, which was made with the intention of surprising Port L'Orient, and destroying the stores and ships of the French East India Company. It was of too trifling importance, to deserve more particular notice. See Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 269.

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"Our conferences at Breda are at a stand; the French not allowing the admission of the Austrian plenipotentiary, and we as firmly insisting that he shall be admitted. In this situation, every one called out for a plan, either of peace, or for another campaign. None, you may imagine, was louder for this than myself; having for some years experienced the hard work of calling for supplies, and at the same time not being able to say how they would be employed, or what proportion our allies would, or could furnish, on their parts. His Grace, who is all military, and will take the word of an Austrian minister for true sterling, as lord Granville used to put it off for such, though he knew at the same time, it was errant brass, has prepared one, and shewn it to the king; got his approbation easily, as it was founded on his own principles; and then, by the king's order, shewed it to lord Harrington, lord chancellor, and myself. Having seen it before, you may imagine how his lordship took such a communication; and that, not the better for having discovered that the duke of Newcastle, and lord Sandwich, had kept a correspondence, ever since the latter went to the Hague, without ever communicating, or owning any thing of it to him.

"My dear Horace, how easily do we forget our own complaints against others, whenever we have an opportunity of putting in practice, the same, or much more extraordinary measures, ourselves. I have, however, kept things from breaking out as yet; and the great desire a certain person* has, to keep his employment, and to try to recover his lost credit, will, I conceive, keep things from a public rupture, some time longer. The plan has no harm in it: it promises for us eighteen thousand Hanoverians, ten thousand British, and six thousand Hessians, in Flanders; a subsidy of £.300,000 to the queen of Hungary; and, I suppose, as much to the king of Sardinia; for which the first is to have fifty thousand men in Flanders, exclusive of garrisons, the same number in Provence, and a sufficient body of troops in Italy, to keep Spain in awe, in case she should not make up with us, before the next campaign. The king of Sardinia is to join the

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* Lord Harrington.

Austrian army in Provence, with thirty thousand men, and also to furnish some proportion for the defence of Italy. The Dutch are, by this plan, desired to furnish only twenty thousand national troops, and the five thousand Bavarians, now in their pay, for which we are charged with the greatest part of the subsidy. There is, also, some mention made, of securing a body of troops from the Czarina, the expense of which is to lie chiefly upon us; but Holland is supposed to be willing to pay her part.

"I do not doubt but you say, all this is very well, but will it ever be? Can we expect from the Austrians such a support for £.300,000, when we have not been able this year to procure half of it, for £.550,000? Will the king of Sardinia march with thirty thousand men into France, next year, after notice given, when he has shuffled, and at last got his neck out of the halter, this year, even when there was no enemy to oppose him?

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"All I know of St. Clair, &c., is in the Gazettes. One of our ships has taken a French man of war, the Mars, of 64 guns, and brought her into Plymouth. Our stomachs are ready prepared for drams; this is a good one."*

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In the state of affairs, so strikingly delineated in the preceding letters, Mr. Pelham was chagrined by a change in the cabinet, which he had laboured anxiously, in vain, to avert. Lord Harrington had irreconcileably offended the king, by refusing to coalesce with lords Granville and Bath; and, though his attachment to the Pelhams procured his restoration to office, yet by too great an anxiety for peace, he lost the confidence of the duke of Newcastle. The prejudices of the sovereign were accordingly suffered to operate against him with their full force; while his noble colleague endeavoured to circumscribe his influence in foreign affairs, particularly in the pending negotiation, by maintaining a confidential correspondence with lord Sandwich. This encroachment on his province convinced him that his disgrace was approaching; and, as the only expedient to avoid a public mortification, he adopted the course of making a voluntary retreat.

Mr. Pelham, who, by his interest in the closet, had procured the re-appointment† of lord Harrington, in the beginning of the year, viewed this transaction with pain and anxiety, though he stood in too delicate a situation to interfere, even had there been a hope of success. These sentiments are expressed in his correspondence.

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* The letter, from which these extracts are made, is printed entire in the Memoirs of Lord Walpole, to which we refer the reader, should he be desirous of perusing the parts omitted.

† See Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Chesterfield, p. 295.

Mr. Pelham to Mr. Trevor.

"Dear Sir, "*October 29th,* 1746.*

"You will see by your public dispatches, that lord Harrington resigned the Seals this day, and that lord Chesterfield is his successor, as Secretary of State; though the particular department is not yet determined, between my brother and lord Chesterfield. This event, you may easily imagine, gives me great concern, and puts me under some difficulty; for, as I truly think lord Harrington both an able and an honest minister, so I have as great a regard and friendship for lord Chesterfield, as I can have for any body; and am equally convinced, that his talents, and intentions for the public service, will answer the expectations of every well-wisher to his country. But you must see what affects me: lord Harrington goes out, on account of the supposed precipitate measures some people are for carrying on, in the present negotiations of war and peace: you know my sentiments on that head; and I shall, therefore, leave you to make your own inferences.

"I would not leave you quite a stranger to the present question; but, what more particularly calls upon me to write to you now, is, the regard and friendship I have for you. You cannot but expect, your residence in Holland will be still more disagreeable to you, than it has hitherto been. No friend of mine has any personal ill will to you; but certain premises must produce certain consequences. I would, therefore, give you a hint, that may probably put you out of all difficulty, and remove every thing that is, or may be disagreeable to you.

"Lord Sandwich is now at the Hague, and will be constantly coming forward and backward from Breda thither. If you take a natural, but not complaining opportunity, to write to the duke of Newcastle, that, as things now stand, you cannot conceive your residence at the Hague material to the public service, and that your own private inclinations would be to return, I will take care that you shall have that leave, in the most honourable and friendly manner that you can wish. Your employment† in

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* Hampden Papers.

† Mr. Pelham had procured for Mr. Trevor, the place of Commissioner in the Irish Board of Trade.

Ireland is sure; probably will be signed the next week; and I think you may take notice of that also. I cannot write more particularly to you, but my intentions towards you, you must judge, are good; and, I can assure you, they are very sincerely meant so. If any questions are asked, you may say, that this event will most probably make no alteration in the public system. And, indeed, I shall be surprised if it does, for the substantial part of the ministry is still the same. I wished to have seen the bishop of St. David's* before I wrote to you; but, as he is in Sussex, and as I thought this hint would allow of no delay, I could not defer assuring you, one post, that I am," &c.

Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole.

"DEAR HORACE, "*October* 30*th*, 1746.

"You will possibly not be much surprised, after my last letter to you, to hear that lord Harrington resigned the Seals yesterday, in form; but you will be surprised to hear, that the king very readily gave them to lord Chesterfield. His Majesty would have had my brother take the northern province; but, for reasons which I will acquaint you with, when I see you, his Grace keeps where he was. Upon the whole, I am sorry for this; but am glad that Chesterfield is taken, rather than any other. I shall see you soon; I cannot, by letter, farther explain this, than what you know already; probably, Harrington will go to Ireland; but, as yet, that is not determined. I am in great haste; but never so much so as not to assure you, that I am most truly yours," &c.

A letter, also, from Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, will farther shew the regret of Mr. Pelham, at the resignation of lord Harrington.

"*October* 28*th*, 1746.

"This morning lord Harrington resigned the Seals. It was unknown to be intended, till to day; and Mr. Pelham, who is as much chagrined, as his brother and the king are pleased with it, was at that very time laying schemes to prevent it. I have not seen Mr. Pelham since; but I hear, he is very much disordered with it, and was a little surprised, that lord Chesterfield, who came from Bath but last night, readily accepted the offer of succeeding Harrington. Lord Chesterfield has been more open and violent for peace, than any of them; and to take the Seals from one, who cannot hold them, because he is not very warlike, surprises some people, but not me."

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* Dr. Trevor, afterwards bishop of Durham, brother of Mr. Trevor.

The duke of Newcastle, notwithstanding his displeasure against lord Harrington, endeavoured to soften his fall, by obtaining for him some official situation, both honourable and lucrative; and in this attempt he was strongly seconded by his brother. In the first instance, they hoped to procure for him the place of President of the Council, which was likely to be vacant, on the removal of the duke of Dorset to the government of Ireland, in the room of lord Chesterfield, conformably with a promise previously made to him. But lord Harrington, conscious of the king's antipathy, was unwilling to accept a post, so near the royal person; and insisted, that the only compensation, consistent with his honour, and due to his past services, was the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland. The two brothers readily acquiesced; and, after much difficulty, extorted the consent of the king. But they had another obstacle to encounter. The duke of Dorset pertinaciously refused to waive his claim to the promised office; and the correspondence which passed between the duke of Newcastle and the lord Chancellor, on this occasion, places their embarrassed situation, and the friendship of Mr. Pelham for lord Harrington, in an interesting point of view.

The Duke of Newcastle to the Lord Chancellor.

"My Dear Lord, "*Newcastle House, November 1st*, 1746.

"The great share which your lordship has in the administration, and in the conduct of affairs, and the particular affection I flatter myself your lordship has for me, will, I hope, justify the liberty I take, in representing to your lordship, the necessity of your immediate interposition, with your weight and influence, to prevent the unavoidable ill consequences, that must otherwise arise, from the dispute about the lieutenancy of Ireland. Mr. Stone saw the duke of Dorset twice yesterday, and could get only the same stubborn, obstinate, and unkind answer; relying upon his promise; and that if he had not now the lieutenancy of Ireland, he would discharge this ministry from any future regard for him. Your lordship heard what passed the other night at my office, upon this subject. Yesterday morning, as I was going to court, I was stopped at my lord Harrington's, by my brother, who told me that though he had intended to take no part in this dispute, yet, as every hour, and every man he saw, convinced him of the necessity of giving Ireland to lord Harrington, he gave me leave to make use of his name *every where*, in support of that advice; that it was necessary, to avoid innumerable inconveniences; that all the world thought so; that otherwise lord Harrington, who had been offended, would be universally pitied; and, in short, he seemed of opinion, as I really am, that the contrary cannot be supported. Lord Gower and the duke of Argyle have both declared their opinion to lord Harrington; and lord Gower told me, he was ready to say it any where.

"I went afterwards into lord Harrington's room, who said, in my brother's presence, to me:—'My Lord, I have no reason to take amiss our difference of opinion; but the private correspondence made it impracticable for me to stay. Therefore, as you are thus the cause of my going out, it is the more incumbent upon you, if you have any regard for me, to prevent my destruction; which can only be done, in my circumstances, by my having Ireland; for I cannot take the president's office.'

"I answered:—'If I could shew him the private correspondence, and was at liberty to acquaint him with every thing about it, he would not think of it as he does; that I was very desirous to have him satisfied as to Ireland;' and then stated the difficulty about the duke of Dorset, and his claim of a promise, which he and every body interprets not to exist, the present case being an exchange, and not a vacancy. My brother and he pressed me to go immediately to Kensington, and get it done. But when I came, the king was in great pain, and desired I would not come in, if I had nothing *very particular;* and so it now stands.

"I must therefore beg your lordship, to appoint a meeting with the duke of Dorset, either this evening or to-morrow, and conjure him to yield to the disposition of the lieutenancy in favour of lord Harrington, for all the reasons that ought to influence a public and a private friend. You will have the goodness to let his Grace know, that my brother and I own, that we promised him Ireland, that is, our assistance in case of a vacancy; that in the present case we do not, the world does not look upon this, as a vacancy: but, if it was, can a promise be binding, which must be attended with such evident destruction, both public and private, as this will?

"I beg a line from you by Monday morning, to let me know what you have done."

Reply of the Chancellor.

"My Dear Lord, "*Sunday Night, Powis House,*
Nov. 2nd, 1746.

"Your Grace does me a great deal of justice, as well as honour, in the particular and private motives alleged in your letter, to induce me to interpose with the duke of Dorset, upon the great point now in dispute. There is no part I would decline, however conscious of the weakness of the instrument, wherein the interest or ease of yourself or Mr. Pelham is concerned. I say nothing of the public, because those considerations are obvious to us all. It was impossible for me to see his Grace yesterday; but I sent him a billet, to appoint me an hour this evening, at his own house, but he chose to come to mine. Our conversation lasted two hours, in which I laid before him, as well as I was able, all the arguments, both public and private, that I have either learned from others, or that have occurred to me on the subject. To these I added, as much expostulation as was decent. He heard me with much patience, and answered with great temper and politeness. It is now so late, that I have not time to repeat here every thing that was said, either on the one side or on the other; and, as he frequently referred in his discourse to what he had said to your Grace, or Mr. Stone, you must be already possessed of all the material parts. In fine, my lord duke continues absolutely inflexible; relies upon the promise which, he says, was made to him, and renewed, upon his giving way to my lord Chesterfield; and will by no means admit that this is not a vacancy, within the meaning of that engagement. He professes to be thoroughly persuaded, that, if this promise had been urged in its proper force, to my lord Harrington, at the beginning, he would have acquiesced in the president's place, as he enjoyed it before; and that his *insisting* has grown and gathered strength, from the yielding, or want of firmness, which he has met with, in others. Upon the whole matter, nothing I could urge could make any way, or procure any appearance of a disposition to depart from what he called his resolution. I am," &c.

It required all the influence of the brother-ministers, and even the interposition of the king, to induce the duke of Dorset to forego his claim.

The arrangement was, however, effected, by their perseverance ; and, on the resignation of lord Chesterfield, the earl of Harrington was appointed to the government of Ireland.

The deference of the duke of Newcastle to the royal will, in the removal of lord Harrington, seems to have rendered the king more tractable; for, after a faint attempt to restore lord Granville, he consented to transfer the seals to the earl of Chesterfield, against whom he had hitherto fostered a strong resentment, for his former invectives against Hanoverian predilections. Accordingly, on the 4th of November, his appointment as Secretary of State appeared in the Gazette.

The duke of Newcastle was, at this period, particularly well disposed to lord Chesterfield, on account of his assistance in forming the coalition, called the Broad Bottom Administration, and of the able and zealous support, which he had given to the measures of government. Mr. Pelham was, for the same reasons, friendly to the new secretary, and felt an additional interest in his promotion, from the sincere and ardent desire he had testified, for the conclusion of peace.

CHAPTER XII.

1746—7.

Opening of Parliament—Strength of government, and influence of Mr. Pelham—Liberal grant of supplies—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act continued—Abolition of Heritable Jurisdictions in Scotland—Trial and Execution of Lord Lovat—Imprisonment of the Journalists for printing the trial—Publication of the speeches in the Upper House prohibited—General Act of Grace in favour of the Rebels—Close of the Session—Preparations and arrangements of the allies, for an early and vigorous campaign—France gains or neutralizes the States of Germany, and the northern Powers—Prevents the expected defection of Spain—Weakness of the allied army, on opening the campaign—Fruitless endeavours of Mr. Pelham to make overtures for peace—The French invade Zealand—Revolution in the Dutch Government—The Prince of Orange nominated Hereditary Stadtholder—Military operations near Maestricht—The allies defeated at Lauffeld, and driven behind the Maes—Investment and surprise of Bergen op Zoom—Operations in Italy—Invasion of Provence by the Austro-Sardinian army—Genoa recovers its liberty—The allied forces retreat from Provence and blockade Genoa—Compelled to raise the siege by the advance of the Bourbon forces—Naval successes of England—Operations in the East Indies—Embarrassed situation and views of France—Her overtures for Peace—Arrangements for the meeting of a congress at Aix la Chapelle—Difference of opinion and collision of interests among the allies—Resolution of the King and the Duke of Newcastle, for the continuance of the war, in opposition to the wishes of Mr. Pelham—Correspondence of Mr. Pelham on the state of Foreign affairs.

ON the 18th of November the king opened the session of parliament, by a speech from the throne, in which, after briefly noticing the progress the enemy in the Netherlands, he expatiated on the successes of the allied forces in Italy, and on the recent invasion of Provence. He then adverted to the conferences held at Breda, as an experiment, instituted, with his consent, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the enemy would agree to such terms, as might be deemed consistent with the honour of his Crown, the safety of his dominions, and the engagements existing, between him and his allies, whom he was determined never to abandon. As it was requisite to be prepared for war, while treating for peace, he declared that he was concerting the most strenuous measures for another campaign; and expressed his confidence that Parliament would supply the means, for an early and effectual prosecution of hostilities, both in the Netherlands and in Italy.

To the Commons he communicated, with expressions of regret, the information, that the resources, assigned for the support of his civil government, had for several years failed to supply the amount of revenue contemplated by parliament; and testified his reliance on their zeal, to provide a prompt and effectual remedy for the deficiency.

The usual addresses, moved in both Houses, were carried without a division. The lords and commons concurred in acknowledging his Majesty's judicious arrangements for the restoration of domestic tranquillity, and promised their strenuous cooperation, in furtherance of any expedient which he might deem requisite for the prevention of evils, similar to those by which the public peace had already been disturbed. The great successes of the Austrians and Sardinians in Italy, and the proposed irruption into France, were regarded as highly auspicious to the common cause. The paternal solicitude of his Majesty, to procure for his people a safe and honourable peace, was gratefully acknowledged; and, as the obstinacy of the enemy might render it necessary to arm for another campaign, the most zealous aid was promised, in fulfilling such provisional engagements as his Majesty might have contracted with his allies. The Commons, in particular, pledged themselves to grant timely and competent supplies for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities, both by sea and land, or for the establishment of a general peace, on secure and honourable terms, should the enemy be disposed to prosecute the negotiation with sincerity.

On the very first day of the session, and immediately after voting the address, the Peers unanimously passed a bill, introduced by the duke of Newcastle, for the farther suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, during the term of three months, and sent it down to the Commons. It was there opposed most vehemently, by Sir John Hinde Cotton, who had been recently dismissed from the service of government, and by the violent Tories and Jacobites, with whom he was connected. They argued, that the rebellion being suppressed, no reason existed, for delaying to restore this great bulwark of our liberties. They did not hesitate to divide the House in every stage of the bill; but the grounds assigned, and the brief period to which the suspension was limited, appeared so reasonable to all who were not biassed by party considerations, that a large majority voted for it on each division,[*] and it was finally carried by 143 votes, against 34.

On the 21st the king proceeded to the House of Peers, for the express purpose of signifying his royal assent; and thus the enactment of a bill, so necessary for the complete re-establishment of domestic tranquillity, was effected in the short space of three days.

Notwithstanding the disasters in the Netherlands, and the alarm excited by the deficiencies of the civil list, the union of parties gave such strength to the minister, that his financial measures encountered little opposition. On the different questions of supply, no debate is recorded; nor does it appear, from the Journals of the Commons, that any division took place, except on the motion for discharging the arrears of the civil list, amounting to £.456,700, on which occasion, only 25 opponents could be mustered, against 123. Indeed, public opinion was so strengthened in favour of government, that even the grant of £.410,000, for continuing the eighteen thousand Hanoverians in British pay, and that of £.500,000, as a vote of credit to his Majesty for the purpose of prosecuting hostilities, were carried without opposition.

When Mr. Fox, as secretary at war, moved the usual grant in the committee of supply, for guards and garrisons, he gratified the House by the communication of a royal message, announcing that his Majesty had disbanded two troops of his life guards, and had reduced three cavalry to dragoon regiments, by which the annual expense of £.70,000 was saved to the nation. Although this was but a trifling reduction of the public expenditure, it was generally applauded, as evincing the earnest desire of the sovereign, to alleviate the national burthens; and the Commons voted an address, expressing their grateful thanks to his Majesty for this act of economy.[†]

The different heads of the annual Supply, and the various expedients, devised for the Ways and Means, are enumerated in the following Table.[‡]

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[*] Division on the second reading, 134 to 35; On the commitment 61 to 15; On the third reading 72 to 16. For passing the bill, 143 to 34.—Journals. Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. p. 285. Hansard, vol. xiii.

[†] Journals of the Commons, December 8th.

[‡] From Postlethwayte's History of the Public Revenue.

SUPPLY.	
NAVY. — Maintenance of 40,000 seamen, and 11,550 marines; freight of transports, victualling, Greenwich Hospital, &c. including £.1,000,000 towards the discharge of the Navy debt	£.3,780,910
ARMY. — Maintenance of 33,030 men for home service, and 15,196 for Flanders; ordnance, extraordinary expenses on account of the Rebellion, garrisons in the Plantations, &c., ...	2,303,938
Charge of 1,264 horse and 4,908 foot, Hessians	161,607
Charge of 5,000 horse and 13,000 foot, Hanoverians, including artillery	410,000
Subsidy to the Queen of Hungary	433,333
———— King of Sardinia ..	300,000
———— Elector of Cologne.	24,299
———— Elector of Mentz ..	8,620
———— Elector of Bavaria	26,846
Vote of Credit	500,000
Building Westminster Bridge	30,000
Compensation for the loss of horned cattle	70,000
For making good deficiencies, interest, compensations, &c.	1,423,235
	£.9,472,788

WAYS AND MEANS.	
Land Tax of 4*s.* in the pound, after deducting £.143,867 for interest	£.1,936,132
Malt Tax, after deducting for interest £.192,296	587,703
By contributions for the purchase of annuities (the interest of which was payable by duties on houses, windows, &c.)	4,400,000
By Lottery: (the interest payable by duties on coaches and other carriages)	1,000,000
Sinking Fund	1,000,000
Surplus of additional duties on spirituous liquors	112,508
Balance	436,445
	£.9,472,788

By adding, as usual, the expenses of the civil list, the surplus of the taxes, and £.2,301,638, interest on the national debt of £.59,356,597, the sum raised within the year scarcely fell short of thirteen millions; and the only additional taxes were, increased duties on houses and windows, and on coaches and other carriages.

Such was the general confidence in government, and in the skill and integrity of Mr. Pelham, that his plans of finance were generally approved, and the subscription-lists for the loans were filled with such eagerness, that, to use the words even of a writer hostile to the ministry, "the nation, so far from being impoverished by its enormous expenses, both at home and abroad, seemed to possess inexhaustible wealth."*

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* Smollett, b. ii. chap. ix. § 17.

The only question remaining to be noticed, as having excited general interest in parliament during this session, was a bill for the abolition of Heritable Jurisdictions in Scotland, which formed part of a series of laws, for abridging the exorbitant power of the feudal lords in that country, and thus diminishing the means, by which insurrection might be revived. Independently of other considerations, this act was necessary to improve the system of domestic government; for, in Scotland, the administration of justice was not, as in England, regulated by the supreme authority of the Crown, but in many cases belonged either by right, custom, or purchase, to certain great families, who were thus enabled to harass their vassals with every species of legal vexation, and to reduce them to the most slavish dependence. The various denominations of these Heritable Jurisdictions, alone, manifest the extent of the evil; they were regalities, justiciaries, shrievalties, stewartries, baillieries, offices of forester and water-baily, coronerships, and clerkships. This anomaly did not escape the framers of the act of Union in 1706; but the government of that day could not venture to propose a remedy, lest they should increase the odium attached to the great measure then in progress; and it remained a stigma upon the judicial system, until the course of events, and the gradual assimilation of the two countries, facilitated its removal.

In contemplation of the intended reform, the House of Peers had, on the 5th of August, in the preceding year, issued an order for the lords of Session in Scotland, to draw up an account of these Heritable Jurisdictions, and to prepare draughts of bills, for securing the regular administration of justice, by the king's courts and judges.

The lords of Session, in reply, declared it to be their opinion, that the administration of justice could not be confined to the king's courts and judges without abolishing several kinds of Heritable Jurisdictions; but, at the same time, observed, that, as these jurisdictions were, by the articles of Union, secured to the proprietors, as rights of property, it would be illegal to appropriate them, without offering a proportionate compensation.

A bill, founded on these representations, was accordingly introduced by the lord chancellor, on the 17th of February, with a speech, which clearly developed the necessity, principle, and object of the measure. To inforce his arguments, he alluded to the patriotic example of the duke of Argyle, who, though possessing a superior share of these jurisdictions, had offered to forego his rights, for a reasonable indemnification. In the course of his speech, the lord chancellor emphatically asked, "Is the thing necessary to be done? Do your lordships agree in deeming it fit, that the administration of justice should be confined to the king's courts and judges? If you are of that opinion, pursue, then, those means which, the courts of Session tell you, can alone realise your views.* Take away the Heritable Jurisdictions."

An objection was, however, raised, that, as the bill included the offer of compensation to the actual possessors of the rights in question, it would become a money-bill, and must consequently originate in the House of Commons. It was accordingly withdrawn, and introduced into the Lower House, by the attorney-general, on the 7th of April, when Mr. Pelham, in the name of the king, recommended that it should be taken into consideration. After an animated debate, the motion for the second reading was carried by 99 against 74; and another discussion arose, on the proposal for the third reading.

The opponents of the bill argued, that it would greatly increase the power of the Crown; that it was a breach of the Union; a violation of property; and an illegal extinction of established rights and privileges, which were neither dangerous nor inconvenient, and had not in the smallest degree tended to excite the late rebellion.

The friends of government proved the necessity and policy of this judicial reform, by exposing the flagrant injustice and tyranny committed in those petty courts, and demonstrating the mischiefs produced by their exemption from the control of the Crown. They also shewed, that the proposed remedy for such abuses, would involve no violation of property, since those in whom the jurisdictions were vested, would respectively receive their due measure of indemnity. Among the supporters of the bill, Mr. Lyttelton particularly distinguished himself.† After an able refutation of the objections that had been urged, he concluded by declaring, "It is not a breach of the Union, it is not an infliction of penalties on the innocent and well-deserving; but it is a bill to secure and perfect the Union; to carry the authority of the king into every part of the United Kingdom; and thereby to establish a firmer peace, a more regular order, a surer protection, a closer and stronger bond of allegiance; and to put an end to all those dependencies that unite men, not as subjects of the same king, or fellow-citizens of the same state, but as followers of particular lords, endowed with an influence, alike incompatible with liberty and government. In effecting these purposes, the bill will, at the same time, strengthen the constitution, secure the crown to his Majesty, confirm the establishment in his royal family, and render more desperate the cause of the Pretender; for, all disorders in the state, all deviations from the rule of true policy, and from the genuine spirit of the English constitution, naturally tend to a change of government; and, if not opportunely and wisely prevented, will sooner or later produce or facilitate such a change. These are the objects of a measure, against which such unreasonable prejudices have been conceived; and, therefore, I cannot better commend the policy of the bill, than in the words of a great lawyer and statesman, Sir John Davies, in his excellent work on Ireland: '*There can never be concord or unity in any one kingdom, but where there is one King and one allegiance.*'"

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* Lord Chancellor Hardwicke's MS. Notes, published in Hansard's Parliamentary History for 1747, pp. 1 to 51.

† See his speech, which was originally printed from his own copy, in Hansard's collection, vol. xiv. p. 1.—Debrett's Debates, vol. ii. p. 81; and the periodical publications.

On the 14th of May, the debate was resumed; but the bill finally passed by a majority of 137 against 53.* It was then sent to the House of Lords, where it encountered similar opposition.

On the second reading, counsel were heard against the bill, on behalf of the duke of Queensberry, the earl of Eglintoun, Archibald Douglas, esq., and other persons of weight in Scotland. It was opposed by the duke of Beaufort, the earls of Moray, Westmoreland, Sutherland, and Morton; and was supported by the earl of Chesterfield, lord Berkeley of Stratton, the earl of Findlater, the marquis of Tweeddale, the duke of Montrose, and particularly by the duke of Argyle, who, in a long and argumentative speech, ably combated all the objections which had been adduced. The sentiments of four Scottish peers, so high in rank, and so strong in influence, from their extensive domains, made a deep impression on the House; and the bill was finally carried without a division, but a protest was entered on the Journals, recording the objections of ten English peers.†

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* The claims for compensation were at first estimated at the exorbitant sum of £.600,000, but afterwards reduced to £.152,000.

† Journals of the Lords. Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 1—57; where this debate is given, from the Notes of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.—Continuation of Rapin, vol. xxi. chap. ix.

This law produced the most beneficial effects; and, with the abolition of wardships, and other collateral regulations, passed this session, may be regarded as a main source of the prosperity and good order, which subsequently prevailed throughout Scotland.

In the course of these parliamentary proceedings, the Peers were employed in the trial of lord Lovat, who was impeached by the Commons, for High Treason, in having taken up arms in favour of the Pretender. Being found guilty, he was condemned on the 4th of April, and on the 8th, beheaded.

We particularly notice this trial, because it occasioned a proceeding, which considerably restrained the liberty of the press, and suspended, for a time, the usual reports of the debates in the Upper House of Parliament.

For some years, the publication of the speeches, made by members of either House, had been prohibited, during the sitting of parliament, and in 1738, the Commons unanimously voted the extension of this prohibition, during the recess.* So far from producing the intended effect, this resolution only stimulated the public curiosity; while it rendered truth more difficult of access, as it compelled journalists to adopt a subterfuge, in giving their parliamentary reports. The Gentleman's Magazine inserted the debates, as those of the Senate of Lilliput; and the London Magazine represented the speeches, as if spoken by the members of a political club, under Roman appellations; the names of the orators, by each contrivance being easily discoverable, through the slight alterations by which the law was evaded. These periodical works having published, in March, an account of lord Lovat's trial, and the chancellor's speeches on the occasion, the respective printers were summoned to the bar of the House of Lords, and committed to prison. Having expressed their contrition, and promised to offend no more, they were liberated, after a severe reprimand from the chancellor, on payment of the fees, which were very considerable. This exertion of privilege occasioned a chasm in our domestic history, which is but imperfectly filled, by detached and scanty reports of proceedings in the House of Lords, by the notes of lord chancellor Hardwicke, recently published in Hansard's Parliamentary History, and by the brief, though spirited accounts, contained in the Posthumous Memoirs of Lord Orford.

It does not appear, that the Commons adopted a similar course, to prevent the publication of their debates; but a traditionary rumour seems to imply, that when such a proposal was made, Mr. Pelham, with his usual good sense and good humour, observed: "Let them alone; they make better speeches for us, than we can make for ourselves." The accounts of the debates in the Commons, were, therefore, continued, with little interruption, in the respective Journals, though under fictitious names; and enable us to record the arguments of opposition, as well as those with which the minister and his friends supported, or elucidated the measures of administration.

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* Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. l.

The last day of the session, June 17th, was marked by an act of grace, emanating from the spontaneous clemency of the sovereign. A bill, bearing the sign manual, was presented in the House of Peers, by the duke of Newcastle, offering a gracious, general, and free pardon, to all who had been concerned in the late rebellion, and had returned to their allegiance. Being accepted and read, while the Lords, according to precedent, stood uncovered, it was passed unanimously, and was conveyed to the Commons, by the lord chief Baron Parker, and Mr. Baron Clive. It was there received, read, and passed, with the same homage, and returned to the Peers.* This merciful act was hailed with applause, by all ranks of people, and gratefully welcomed by the numerous outlaws, whom it restored to their country, their friends, and their families.

The king terminated the session with a speech, commending the zeal, promptitude, and liberality, of both Houses, in the dispatch of public business, and announcing his intention to appeal to the loyalty and affection of his people, by a speedy dissolution of parliament.

"After the examples of justice, which have been found necessary," he observed, "I have with great pleasure taken the very first opportunity of doing what is most agreeable to my inclination, the passing an act of grace. The beneficial result which I thence anticipate, is, to heal, in some measure, those wounds, which have been made, and to re-establish the quiet of the kingdom; since, by this act, the generality of those, who have been deluded from their duty, will find themselves restored to security, and to the protection of the laws, which they had endeavoured to subvert. A just sense of this early mercy, will, I hope, induce them to make such a return of loyalty and gratitude, as so strong an obligation requires."

In foreign affairs, the British ministry manifested a disposition to act, with greater vigour than they had hitherto displayed; and the result of the conferences at Breda, was expected to inspire the Dutch with similar energy. From the court of Vienna, encouraging assurances were received; and it was hoped, that the liberal addition of £.100,000 to the former subsidy, would enable the empress queen, to augment and equip her army for the field, at an early period.

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* Journals of the Lords and Commons.

In consequence of these expectations, lord Sandwich had been constituted minister plenipotentiary to the States General, during the conferences at Breda; and, early in December, the duke of Cumberland had repaired to Holland, to animate the Dutch, and accelerate the arrangements for the prosecution of hostilities. A magnificent plan of operations, which was speedily adjusted, shews that the British ministry hoped to anticipate the French in this campaign, with a superior army, and to repair the losses, occasioned by their former delays and indecision.

A convention was concluded between England, the States General, and the courts of Vienna and Turin, at the commencement of the year. Great Britain and the States General respectively engaged to furnish forty thousand men, including a corps of four thousand five hundred Bavarians. The empress queen was to supply, in the Netherlands, sixty thousand men, besides ten thousand, as a garrison for Luxemburg.[*] In Italy, sixty thousand Austrians were to be united with thirty thousand Piedmontese, for an invasion of Provence; and fifteen thousand Austrians were to be employed, in watching the king of Naples.

At the same time, England, in conjunction with the empress queen, had concluded a defensive treaty with Russia, by which the empress Elizabeth agreed to furnish thirty thousand men; but, by some fatality, the requisition of the British cabinet was not sufficiently early, to secure the immediate cooperation of so remote a power. Attempts were also again made, but without success, to induce the Dutch to enter as principals into the war.

At this period, the French monarch had gained or neutralised all the states of Europe, that were not belligerent, except Russia. By a subsidy of four hundred thousand crowns, he had induced Denmark to renew the treaty of defensive alliance with France, signed in 1742, notwithstanding the recent compacts, and the matrimonial connection of the prince royal, with Louisa, daughter of George II. By bribes and intrigues, he had overthrown the English and Russian influence in Sweden; secured the committee of the diet, which had usurped the management of affairs; and reduced the aged king Frederic, to a state of abject humiliation. He still farther strengthened his interest, by promoting a marriage between Adolphus Frederic, lay bishop of Lubec, adopted heir to the king of Sweden, and Louisa Ulrica, princess of Prussia; and afterwards concluded a treaty, by which he indirectly gratified Sweden, with a subsidy of one million eight hundred thousand livres.

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[*] See Conventions laid before parliament, Jan. 22, 1746-7. Journals of the Commons.

He had, in the preceding year, also, purchased the neutrality of the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, by a subsidy of two millions of livres; and the connection was cemented by a contract between the dauphin and Maria Josepha, princess royal of Saxony, whose nuptials were celebrated at Versailles, on the 9th of February, 1747.

In the elector palatine, with whom a subsidiary treaty had been concluded, in the winter of 1745, France found an efficient ally. Through his influence, the elector of Cologne accepted a subsidy, and promised a deceitful neutrality, even while receiving the money of England. The duke of Wirtemberg was also gratified with the acknowledgment of his rights to nine lordships in Alsace, which had been contested, since the institution of the system of re-union, under Louis XIV; and, through his assistance, a neutrality was established in the circle of Suabia, of which he was co-director.

The French monarch still refused to acknowledge the title of the emperor Francis; and, by his connections with Prussia, Saxony, the Palatine, Cologne, and Wirtemberg, conciliated or awed the German States. He even reduced his forces on the side of Alsace and Lorraine, to prove that he meditated no aggression on Germany; and, by the combined effect of all these expedients, he retained the body of the empire in neutrality, notwithstanding the elevation of a hostile prince to the imperial throne. Although he could not induce the court of Spain to renew the family engagements, which had subsisted in the former reign; yet he baffled all the efforts of England, to detach Ferdinand from the Bourbon cause, and stimulated him to persevere in the demand of an establishment in Italy, for his brother, Don Philip.

These advantages in Germany and the North, enabled France to make her principal effort on the Netherlands, for the purpose of forcing, or awing the maritime powers, into a peace.

In consequence of the arrangements at the Hague, for an early campaign, the duke of Cumberland, who was again intrusted with the command, took the field in February. But the British court soon discovered, that they had over-rated the zeal and means of their allies; for, munitions of war were scantily provided, and the Dutch and Austrians were lamentably deficient in their promised quotas. The confederate forces were, therefore, harassed for a month, by useless movements; while Marshal Saxe retained his troops in quarters, provided with every requisite, and was prepared to resume the contest with effect, on the advance of the season.

The evident inability of the allies to withstand the French in the Netherlands, in addition to the disasters of the preceding campaign, again discouraged Mr. Pelham, and revived the anxiety of many members of the cabinet for peace. The duke of Newcastle alone opposed the sentiments of his colleagues; and, his views being sanctioned by the king and the duke of Cumberland, it was determined to risk another campaign, as they apprehended that no terms of accommodation could be proposed, which would not be dishonourable and disadvantageous to England. It was also hoped, that the differences between Austria and Sardinia, which had occasioned the failure of the former irruption into Provence, might be adjusted, and another invasion attempted with success. Sanguine expectations were entertained, that by enforcing the fulfilment of the convention, concluded in January, between England, the States General, and the Courts of Vienna and Turin, the duke of Cumberland might still have under his command, in the Netherlands, an army superior to that of the French.*

Unfortunately, these expectations were totally disappointed, by the disunion, apathy, and weakness of the allies; and still more by the superior vigour and activity of the French. To increase that disunion, the king of France endeavoured to alarm the Dutch into a separate negotiation; and for this purpose, by a formal declaration, issued on the 17th March, he suspended the conferences at Breda. The army of marshal Saxe was put in motion; and on the same day a document was published, by the French minister at the Hague, announcing, that, as the Dutch had formerly sent twenty thousand of their troops into the plains of Lisle, without declaring war, the King of France would now send his troops into their territories, not to provoke a rupture, but to counteract the ill effects of the protection, which they had afforded to the queen of Hungary. This menace was immediately followed, by the irruption of twenty thousand men under Count Löwendahl into Zealand, and by the reduction of the frontier fortresses, Sluys, Sas-van-Ghent, and Hulst.

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* These facts are taken from an official document, written by the duke of Newcastle in March 1746-7—Newcastle Papers, MS.; and from a letter from the duke of Newcastle to the duke of Cumberland, March 17th, 1746-7, in the Illust. Corres.

An aggression so decisive, roused the Dutch from their apathy. Convinced that they had temporised too long; and, suspecting, from the declaration of the French commander, that this irruption was made with the connivance of the predominant party in the republic, they imitated the conduct of their ancestors, when invaded by Louis XIV., by restoring to the House of Orange the hereditary Stadtholdership, and the concomitant offices of captain general, and admiral. The revolution commenced in Zeeland, and spread so rapidly, that in the beginning of May, all the other provinces had concurred; and William Charles Henry Friso, prince of Orange, was solemnly inaugurated in all the offices and dignities, formerly held by king William, and was, in fact, placed at the head of the republic.

It was calculated, that this event would produce a new era in the war, and increase the British influence in Holland, through the matrimonial connection of the prince of Orange, who had espoused the princess Anne, daughter of George II. But, in these hopes, the allies were fatally disappointed; for, the French party, though overpowered, still retained the means of shackling the operations of government; and the prince of Orange himself, when placed at the head of the Dutch forces, injured, rather than served the common cause, by his ignorance of military affairs, his punctilious temper, and his jealousy of his brother-in-law, the duke of Cumberland, under whom he was unwilling to act.

An inferior army, composed of heterogeneous troops, differing in language, habits, and sentiments, weakened by premature efforts, and commanded by generals at variance among themselves, was ill calculated to contend with a force, numerically superior, united by national character and feelings, led by an able and victorious chief, provided with every requisite, and animated by the presence of their monarch. After some manœuvring on the part of the French, apparently for the purpose of investing Maestricht, the contending armies came in contact, in its vicinity, on the 2nd of July. The confederate forces, who had advanced to the Demer, endeavoured to take up a position between Bilsen and Tongres, with the view of covering the fortress. But, being anticipated by the French, who in the mean time had occupied the heights of Herdeeren, overlooking those two villages, and commanding the high road to Maestricht, they extended their line in the direction of Val or Lauffeld. This position, situated between Herdeeren and Maestricht, was occupied by their left wing, consisting of the English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, while the Dutch and Austrians formed the centre and right, stretching between Gross and Klein Spawe, towards Bilsen. In this situation, they were attacked by the enemy; and the chief brunt of the action fell on the village of Val or Lauffeld,* the possession of which was contested, with the utmost bravery and perseverance. As the Dutch, who formed the centre, gave way, and the Austrians, who composed the right wing, were unable or unwilling to advance to the scene of action, the left wing was exposed to the attack of the whole French army; and the duke of Cumberland, seeing the gallant troops under his command overpowered by numbers, was compelled to order a retreat, which was effected with great skill and success, to a position behind the Maes. Such was the ardour of the conflict, that the contending commanders themselves were both in danger of being made prisoners, and the loss on either side was nearly equal.†

The British cavalry, headed by Sir John Ligonier, not only checked the advance of the enemy, but effectually covered the retreat; though their gallant leader, in a desperate charge, was hurried into the midst of the enemy's ranks. In this situation, he endeavoured to pass for one of their own officers, and even led the French troops, with great alertness, to the attack, in the hope of effecting his escape; but, unfortunately, the order of the Bath being observed under his coat, he was recognized as a British officer, and obliged to surrender.‡

The duke of Cumberland, in his dispatches, imputes no blame to the Austrians;§ yet their comparative inactivity in the battle, exposed them to great censure; and the cowardice of the Dutch excited a still more indignant feeling. Indeed, the king of France, in allusion to the engagement, is said to have observed, that *the British not only paid all, but fought all.* In his letter to the queen, he also characterised the Austrians, as *benevolent* spectators of the battle.[*] Its result, therefore, must have increased the disunion, which had long subsisted, between the English and their Austrian and Dutch confederates.

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* In consequence of these two names being attributed to the same village, this engagement was called, sometimes the battle of Val, and sometimes that of Lauffeld.

† Marshal Saxe afterwards owned to Sir John Ligonier, that the victory had cost him eight thousand foot, one thousand horse, and a very considerable number of officers. In the Illustrative Correspondence, the reader will find a spirited account of the battle, in a letter from Sir Everard Fawkener, military secretary of the duke of Cumberland, to Sir Thomas Robinson, dated 16th July, 1747.

‡ This circumstance is taken from information communicated to Mr. Walpole by colonel Yorke, who was aide-de-camp to the duke of Cumberland.—Walpole Papers, MS.

§ In an official dispatch to lord Chesterfield, dated July 3rd, 1747, His Royal Highness observes:—"The great misfortune of our position was, that our right wing was so strongly posted, that they could neither be attacked nor make a diversion; for, I am assured, that marshal Bathiani would have done all in his power to sustain me, or attack the enemy."

After various demonstrations of an intended attack on Maestricht, the French commander suddenly detached count Löwendahl, with a force of thirty thousand men, who, rapidly traversing Brabant, invested Bergen-op-Zoom. Such was the strength of this fortress, the masterpiece of Cohorn, and so ample were the means combined for its defence, that no apprehension was entertained for its safety. It was connected with an intrenched camp, occupied by twelve thousand men, and the works were defended by a competent garrison. The trenches were opened on the 15th July, and it was not until the beginning of September, that slight breaches were effected in the rampart; but the governor, baron Cronstrom, who was in the eighty-first year of his age, presuming too much on the strength of the place, neglected the necessary precautions, and it was taken by surprise, on the 15th of September, the garrison making but little resistance, and the troops in the intrenched camp retiring, as soon as the attack began.[†] The news of this unexpected capture excited as much exultation among the French, as consternation among the allies, and aggravated the jealousies and dissensions existing in their cabinets and in their army. It was, however, the last event of the campaign; for, soon afterwards, the respective troops retired into winter quarters; the French occupying their new conquests, while the English, Dutch, and Hanoverians remained in the neighbourhood of Breda, and the Austrians were cantoned in the Duchy of Limburg.

In Italy, the campaign was wholly ineffective. At the close of the preceding autumn, the aspect of affairs had improved; but success produced the usual effect among the confederated powers. After vehement discussions, the invasion of Provence was commenced, with the cooperation of the British fleet, by an Austro-Sardinian force under general Brown, who passed the Var, and, on the 30th November, 1746, laid siege to Antibes. This enterprise was, however, frustrated by a sudden insurrection, which restored the independence of Genoa, and by the disputes between the Austrian and Sardinian commanders. After a fruitless bombardment of Antibes, the confederates recrossed the Var, on the 3rd of February, 1747, and, returning to Piedmont, secured the passes of Italy against the French.

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[*] Memoires de Richelieu, tom. 7. p. 111. Continuation of Rapin, vol. 21, p. 312. Dispatches from the duke of Cumberland, in the Gazette. Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Mareschal de Saxe.

[†] Grantham Papers, MS.—In a letter to Sir Thomas Robinson, November 7, 1747, Sir Everard Fawkener says, " Bergen op Zoom is a subject to make one mad, if any thing had been done; but the ordinary forms of duty, which never fail in times of the greatest security, were now in this critical time, neglected in the most scandalous manner!" Hence it was surmised, though, perhaps, without foundation, that the place was surrendered through treachery.—See History of the House of Austria, chap. cvii.

The failure of this expedition contributed to dispirit the allied forces, and to increase the differences between the courts of Vienna and Turin, in which their respective troops seemed to participate; for they were more intent on inculpating each other, than on annoying the enemy.

Much time was wasted in a fruitless blockade of Genoa by the Austro-Sardinian forces, until the combined French and Spanish armies, under marshal Belleisle, again made an effort to carry the war into Italy. One body, advancing through Nice and Montalbano, compelled the allies to relinquish the blockade of Genoa; and a second corps, under the chevalier de Belleisle, brother to the marshal, menaced Turin, by attempting to penetrate through the valley of Susa. Their career was, however, arrested at the pass of Exilles; where the chevalier was killed, in his desperate attempt to force the Barricades; but the divisions among the allies prevented them from improving this advantage, and, after some unimportant movements, both parties retired to winter quarters, early in October.

Thus ended a campaign, for which such magnificent plans had been conceived, in the sanguine expectation of brilliant success. Its result proved, that the Dutch, Austrians, and Sardinians, were unable, and unwilling to continue the war with effect; and portended, that the prolongation of hostilities must lead to new disasters. In fact, the only countervailing advantages were derived from the exertions of Great Britain, on her own element. She had baffled the attempts of the French to recover their American possessions, and interrupted their commerce by her cruizers; she had ruined their navy in two successful combats; first, by the victory of admiral Anson, off Cape Finisterre, in which he took six ships of the line, several frigates, and great part of a numerous convoy; and, secondly, by that of admiral Hawke, off Belleisle, who captured six ships of the line, out of nine.

In the Mediterranean, also, the British flag rode triumphant; for not only the treasures drawn by Spain from America, but the advantageous trade of the French, with their colonies in the West Indies, were either intercepted, or exposed to continual depredation.

In the East Indies, the French had indeed reduced Madras, the principal British settlement on the coast of Coromandel; but at this time the great naval superiority of England was on the point of being manifested; for an expedition was already prepared, of sufficient strength, not only to recover the captured settlement, but to take Pondicherry, the chief post held by the French in India.

During these events, great fluctuations occurred in the English cabinet. Mr. Pelham, who had never ceased to deprecate the fruitless sacrifices required by the war, was now more than ever convinced of the impolicy of prosecuting it, in conjunction with weak, selfish, and divided allies. He was confirmed in the opinion, that either the accession of Prussia must be obtained, or peace must be concluded, on the most favourable terms that could be procured. His views of foreign policy had been adopted by many members of the cabinet; but were firmly opposed by the king, the duke of Cumberland, and the duke of Newcastle.

Fortunately, at this period, the wishes of Mr. Pelham were promoted, by a change in the plans of the French themselves. Notwithstanding their successes in the Netherlands, they began to feel, that the advantages of conquest were dearly purchased, by the ruin of their trade, the exhaustion of their finances, and the impending loss of their colonies. The king, wearied with the toils of war, was absorbed in licentious pleasures; while his able commanders, Saxe and Löwendahl, found their victories no adequate protection against the envy of the native generals, and the prejudices entertained against their religion and country.

Spain, also, was averse to the continuance of hostilities, and had already manifested her anxiety to renew her commercial relations with England. Disregarding the common forms of diplomacy, Ferdinand sent one of his ministers, General Wall,* to London, on a secret mission. He was a catholic gentleman of Irish descent, and disposed to reconcile England with Spain, on terms honourable to both nations, a disposition which accorded with that of the British ministers. The French court, aware of this clandestine overture, were apprehensive that it might terminate in a separate accommodation.

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* Continuation of Rapin, Vol. 21, p. 337.

The continued support of the German states, still allied with France, could not be purchased, except at a heavy price. The recent treaty between England, the States General, and the Court of St. Petersburg, by which the Empress of Russia agreed to supply an auxiliary force of thirty thousand men, threatened to bring into the field a new and dangerous enemy; while the French court could regard the king of Prussia, only as an ally engrossed by his own interest, and ready to change sides, whenever it suited his selfish views. Influenced by these considerations, they were seriously inclined to peace; and advantage was instantly taken of the capture of Sir John Ligonier, at Lauffeld, to open a direct communication with him on the subject. When he was presented to the king, on the field of battle, his Majesty, after expressing great admiration of his heroic courage, affected to lament the fruitless sacrifice of so many brave men, and to wonder that no attempt was made for the restoration of peace. He also invited the gallant general to his table, and treated him with peculiar attention. Ligonier was afterwards admitted to a familiar conversation with marshal Saxe,* who expatiated on his royal master's desire for peace, and alluded, generally, to certain conditions, on which it might be concluded. The captive general was then released, with a request, that these suggestions might be laid before the duke of Cumberland, through whose hands marshal Saxe wished that the negotiation might pass, and hoped that his Royal Highness would receive full powers, for the purpose, from England.

A correspondence ensued, between Sir John Ligonier and marshal Saxe, with a view to elicit a fuller explanation of the demands of France; and the result of these communications was conveyed to the king, and the duke of Cumberland. His Royal Highness was naturally desirous of authority to negotiate, that he might have the honour of terminating the war; and the king, influenced by paternal affection towards his favourite son, shewed great anxiety to gratify his wish for such a distinction.

This overture, however, greatly perplexed the British cabinet. From the unexpected manner in which it was made, there was great reason to consider it as illusory; yet the ministry could neither reject nor disregard it, without incurring the imputation of having neglected an opportunity to terminate an unsuccessful war. Nor was the conduct of the negotiation itself, unattended with embarrassment. They justly feared, that a secret correspondence with France, would create dangerous jealousies among the allies; and that the inexperience of the duke of Cumberland, in diplomacy, might enable the French negotiators to inveigle him into the signature of preliminaries, of which great advantage might subsequently be taken.

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* See letter from Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole, dated July 30th, 1747, in which many additional circumstances respecting this curious conversation between the two generals are detailed. P. 368 of this chapter.

For these reasons, it was finally resolved to accept the overture of marshal Saxe; but, to obviate the risk likely to be incurred, in entrusting the negotiation wholly to the duke of Cumberland, the ministers prevailed on the king, to consent that lord Sandwich should attend his Royal Highness, at head-quarters, to assist him in his farther correspondence with the French commander. It was also decided, that the cabinet should not commit itself, by any official or written communication.

In the mean time, a more specific overture had been received from marshal Saxe. In a letter to Sir John Ligonier, dated August 5th, he transmitted a series of conditions, drawn up by the marquis de Puisieulx, the successor of D' Argenson, in the department of Foreign Affairs. After stating, that the king had not made war from ambition, and had continued it only for the sake of his allies, a determination was expressed to restore his conquests, for their advantage. For France herself, the only conditions required were, that Cape Breton should be restored, in exchange for Madras, and the other conquests in the East Indies, and that the fortifications of Dunkirk should either remain as they were, or Furnes be retained to protect the maritime frontier. No difficulty was apprehended with regard to the restoration of Genoa and Modena, to the same state as before the war; and a demand was made for a guaranty, similar to that of France, for securing Silesia to the king of Prussia. England was invited to communicate her wishes concerning navigation and commerce; and the readiness of the French king to restore all his conquests, was adduced as a proof of his sincere desire for peace, and of his determination to employ every effort for obtaining the concurrence of Spain. All other details were artfully dismissed, as involving no difficulties.

In consequence of this communication, the correspondence was continued, through the same channel; and lord Sandwich hastened to head-quarters, to conduct the negotiation, under the auspices of the duke of Cumberland. A proposal was made for an interview between His Lordship and Puisieulx, at Liege; and the French still endeavoured to exclude the ministers of the other allies from any share in the transaction, by urging the necessity of a private conference, in the first instance, and by proposing that all accounts of what had passed should be concealed.

The British cabinet, however, did not accede to these insidious propositions; and a communication of the proceedings was frankly made to the Austrian commander, marshal Bathiani, as well as to baron Reischart, the Austrian plenipotentiary, who was permitted to accompany lord Sandwich to head-quarters, though he was not admitted to the conferences.

On the 10th of September, the proposed interview between lord Sandwich and Puisieulx took place. In the discussion of the terms, at this conference, difficulties arose concerning the restitution of Cape Breton, the repair of the fortifications of Dunkirk, the extension of the guaranty of the protestant succession, and the establishment for Don Philip. With respect to the first condition, Puisieulx declared, that, without the restitution of Cape Breton, the king of France would keep possession of the Netherlands. On the second condition, he required, that his royal master should be at liberty either to repair the fortifications of Dunkirk, or to retain Furnes, to which concession lord Sandwich strongly objected. As to the farther extension of the guaranty of the protestant succession, by excluding the posterity of the pretender, the French minister announced his master's consent, provided an equivalent should be granted for that concession; but lord Sandwich insisted on this condition without any terms, particularly as the point had been conceded, in the plan delivered by D' Argenson, in May, 1746. With respect to the establishment for Don Philip, lord Sandwich declared, that his master would never force his allies to give any thing to that prince; to which Puisieulx answered, that this was an essential condition, and could not be abandoned. In the course of the conference the French plenipotentiary frequently repeated, that the paper delivered by marshal Saxe to general Ligonier, must be considered as the ultimatum of France. Lord Sandwich finding it impossible to effect any positive arrangement in this private conference, proposed that matters should be referred to a congress, to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, to which the marquis de Puisieulx assented.*

Although nothing was decided between the two ministers, their interview may be regarded as highly important. Mr. Pelham, who had hitherto considered his brother as too lukewarm in his efforts for peace, was extremely satisfied with his recent conduct, and regarded the advances already made by France, as affording a favourable opportunity for continuing the negotiation. The opinion of Mr. Pelham was strongly supported by the chancellor, who observes, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle, dated July 26th, 1747, "The governing reason, that weighs with me, is, that I do not at present see the resources for carrying on the war, or mending our condition; and, if there is none, it will grow worse and worse. For, I own, I despair of seeing a better concerted plan, more timely entered upon, or a stronger force, for another campaign, than we had, this. Indeed, I can hardly carry my hopes so high, as to see so great an army got together again." At the suggestion of Mr. Pelham, therefore, lord Chesterfield, who concurred with him in opinion, drew up the outline of a treaty, to be shewn to the French minister. At the same time, a communication was made to the Dutch, to the king of Sardinia, and to the empress queen, who were earnestly invited to concur, both in promoting the peace, and in making efficient preparations for the next campaign, if the negotiations should fail.

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* Lord Sandwich's minutes of a conference with M. Puisieulx.—Newcastle Papers, MS.

Meanwhile, the intercourse between England and France, was continued; and the proposal that a congress should be forthwith held at Aix-la-Chapelle, was agreed upon by both powers.*

The communications between the British and French ministers, seem to have excited great jealousy in Holland; for the prince of Orange, anxious to signalise himself in the war, sent his confidential adherent, count Bentinck, to London, with proposals for a new campaign, and with unbounded promises of assistance from the Republic. Considerable opposition was also experienced from the empress queen, who foresaw that an accommodation would lead to new sacrifices on her part, for the establishment of Don Philip in Italy. The king of Sardinia was equally averse to a peace, from a conviction, that France would support the interests of Genoa, and that, consequently, his claims to the marquisate of Finalé would be rejected.

This resistance occasioned considerable delay in the preliminary arrangements; but, as the cabinets of France and England were disposed for peace, a regular, though tardy preparation was made, for a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle.

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* The account of this negotiation is taken from various manuscript documents, in the Newcastle Papers, particularly the correspondence between Marshal Saxe and Sir John Ligonier, from July to October.—Minutes of a letter from the Earl of Sandwich to the Earl of Chesterfield, containing an account of his conference with M. Puisieulx, MS. I have also consulted Flassan's "Diplomatie Française," vol. V., who has given a regular and succinct account of the negotiation; and, by the assistance of the above documents, I have been enabled to correct some occasional inadvertencies, into which he has fallen.

A few letters are here introduced, which strikingly display Mr. Pelham's sentiments on the state of foreign and domestic affairs, and his extreme anxiety for the conclusion of a war, conducted with an equal want of skill, concert, and energy.

Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole.

"DEAR HORACE, "*July* 30*th*, (*Aug.* 10*th*) 1747.

*"I should have acquainted you with the various incidents, that have happened since I had the pleasure of seeing you; but the subject was too melancholy for me to write upon, or for you to read. Your last, which I had the honour of, yesterday, points out our true condition, as exactly as if you were yourself upon the spot, and as much in business as ever. Our victory in Italy, the possibility of raising the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, and the great words and vain assurances of the prince of Orange, every now and then furnish us with fresh spirits, and deceive us into an opinion, that this war is still to be supported, and carried on, with a prospect of success. But when we have none of these drams to cherish us, but are reduced to the plain naked demonstrable truth, I find we are as ready to hearken to any advice, that may possibly extricate us out of our difficulties, as any of those, who have never flattered themselves with either the glory or advantage, of five expensive losing campaigns. You may probably have observed in the newspapers, that some kind of opening towards a peace was made to Ligonier, during his captivity in the French camp.

"The first was this: Ligonier was received with all the politeness and marks of distinction, that were possible to be shewn to one of the highest rank; and the French king himself ordered that he should be entertained at marshal Saxe's quarters. The consequence was, that the marshal had many confidential discourses with him; and, upon the whole, told him that the king did not love war; that he, the marshal, as little desired to continue it; that the whole French nation hated him; that, were one misfortune to befal him, the king himself could not protect him; that he had already all the honour he could wish for, and all the rewards for his services that he desired, or the king could grant; that, in this situation, Ligonier must believe, broken as he was also in his constitution, that he must wish for peace; and, withal, that he knew his master did so too.

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* Though this letter is printed in the Memoirs of Lord Walpole, yet it is too characteristic of Mr. Pelham's sentiments, to be omitted in this series.

"After some farther conversations to the same purport, he told Ligonier, that the king of France desired he would return to the duke of Cumberland, and assure his Royal Highness, in his name, of his desire to put an end to the war; that, he thought, could not but be done by them two, at the head of their respective armies; that he knew the '*droiture*' of the Duke too well, to imagine he would engage in any thing without his allies: but, as the two armies would probably remain in a state of inaction, there would be time for his Royal Highness to receive the opinion of our allies; and he doubted not but they would wisely trust their interests in his Royal Highness's hands; with many other engaging compliments to the Duke. That as to the king of France, Saxe said, he looked for nothing for himself; that he should be willing to restore all Flanders, as it now is, excepting Furnes, which he should expect to keep, if we insisted on the total demolition of Dunkirk; but if we would let that harbour remain as it is now, he would then desire nothing but the restitution of Cape Breton. That Genoa ought to be restored, if taken, to the Republic; and the duke of Modena reinstated in his own dominions. That Spain must be included and considered; but, as this was one Frenchman talking, and another Frenchman writing, I cannot be particular on that head; but to me it appeared, that what was said of Spain, was more to save their honour, than essential in itself.

"This has been the political subject in the closet, ever since. I am clear, the king was pleased with it, and as clear, that the Duke was not averse to having his share in this negotiation. But the prince of Orange having most warmly protested against it, and having written a volume of pedantic reasonings upon the subject, some of us, the duke of Newcastle and lord Sandwich in particular, hesitated a good deal; and, at last, an answer was sent, not over complaisant in manner, and, in my opinion, excessively cool in the matter. Notwithstanding this, France does not give it over, but still keeps up the same polite way of acting, though in a very odd style, that they began it in. We have, of course, meeting upon meeting; and our whole time is taken up in defending and blaming, without taking the determinate measure of, *for*, or *against*.

"I have now opened to you the great secret of the times, which, like all others, where many are intrusted, is known in general, though not in particulars. Abroad we are not in the least better: the disagreement between our Duke and the Stadtholder is evident, though not prudently managed by the former. The queen dowager of Spain is sent from Madrid, to one of the four towns, mentioned in the late king's will. It is supposed, she will go to Toledo, as the cardinal infant is ordered to his bishopric. These things look well; but still nothing is come to Kew, as we know of.

"I have not failed to inculcate the notion of Prussia, both at home and abroad; but that nail will not go: we must either make peace, or this war must still be maintained, at a greater expense, by this country only; for assistance from others we cannot, or will not have."

Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole.

"Dear Horace, "*August* 14*th*, 1747.

"I received your letter of the 12th, yesterday, and have read it over, several times. There is not a word in it but what is true, yet the great plan of it cannot be followed. It is, I am afraid, too late, if we were willing; and we should not be willing, if it were not too late. You say little, as to the overture made by France to the Duke; I suppose, therefore, you have no confidence in it. Be that as it will, we have managed it so, that I doubt it will come to nothing, though messages pass forward and backward still: each side professes their sincerity, and yet both act as if they suspected each other. I am myself of opinion, that something might have been made of it; but, I fear, we have not taken the way. Bergen-op-Zoom holds out, it is true, and the French lose more men before it, than we do, both in the town and lines; but what then? They can spare them, and do not value their loss. Every post brings us news of their progress; and, between you and I, Cronstrom himself says, it is impossible to save the town, but from exterior succour; we have no troops to send them, at least not enough to do any good. Can the Duke's army, already beaten once this year, and far inferior to that of the enemy, think of marching to raise this siege, by an action, or recover it when lost, or save the remainder of that low country by inundation within, and by a battle without?

"This is the true errand that count Bentinck is come over upon; add to that, preparations for another campaign, by taking thirty thousand Russians into the pay of the maritime powers, which he, in the name of the Stadtholder, and, as he says, of the whole Republic, offers to do. We ask him, how they will be able to do it, if they are willing. He talks of surprising taxes, such as two per cent on all moveables, and all personal estates, as far as any man is worth, regulation of the Post Office, taken into the hands of the government, for a fund, as far as it will go. This they compute at many millions sterling; but the more sober people of Holland think, first, that it is difficult to raise; and, secondly, that it will not answer, when raised. All this while, they own their country at the last stake. They do not expect to keep Bergen-op-Zoom; and when that is gone, they propose retiring to the island of Tolen, and defending themselves, by the river and inundations, till the Duke can come to succour them. Where is Marshal Saxe's army to be, all this while? In short, Dear Sir, it is too late to look back. We might have had, last year, a better peace than we shall be able to obtain this; and this, a better than we shall get the next. We fight all, and we pay all, it is true; but we are beaten, and shall be broke. His Majesty is frightened, and talks reasonably upon any subject, but the one, you, and every reasonable man, think most material. You would have him court Prussia, rather than be necessitated to take a bad peace. He had rather take any peace from France, than court Prussia to carry on the war. You judge so rightly of what France will do with regard to Prussia, that the general guaranty of Silesia, was one of the points in the last paper, delivered by the marshal Saxe to Ligonier. We were silent upon that head, in our answer, which, I doubt not, will be made use of against us, in case the negotiation breaks off. I observed it at the time, but to no purpose.

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"The queen dowager of Spain is ordered to one of four towns, from Madrid. This gives us spirits; but it does not appear that France will lose her hold in that court, notwithstanding. The court of Portugal, such as it is, is entirely French; and Spain is as desirous of getting some settlement for Don Philip, as the queen mother could be. Perhaps they may take up with a less; and they hope to get that from France, which they will do, and we shall then not have the merit of what we shall be obliged to come into, at last.

"I think of the parliament, as you do, and have told my master so. I am sure they will approve of any measures, the king's joint administration shall lay before them; but we must be convinced ourselves, before we can set about to persuade others. I say, this parliament is composed of as true Whigs, and friends to this government, as any since the Revolution; that they are elected by the common consent of the people; but they are not servants, they are friends: they must, therefore, be treated as such; they must see, the interest of their country is pursued; they may be led, but they cannot be drove. I, and some others, have inculcated your ideas, they take place in part, but not in the whole. It is that, has made me so zealous for peace. I wrote the Duke so; and, by the general turn of his letters, I think he is of my mind.

"I doubt, I see the king of Prussia beginning, already. He complains of the Austrian troops, in, I think, the Duchy of Montfort; and, though he acknowledges the sovereignty of the States, has sent a small detachment to protect the people. Storms are gathering in the North. A treaty has been long negotiating, as, I conclude, you know, between France, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. The latter begins to shake; and it is whispered, as if Bremen and Verden were to be the sacrifices there. So that our electorate, as well as our kingdom, has its apprehensions.

"If all these considerations cannot move a *certain person*, will the representation, in writing, of a few private men, some of whom perhaps will unsay in the closet, what they have consented to out of it, avail at all? No, dear Horace, believe me it will not. We have nothing to do, but to make up the present quarrels, get a little breathing time, and then, perhaps, some people may come to their senses, or some senses may come to them.

"I shall conclude with telling you, that I plainly perceive from Bentinck, as well as from the correspondences which I have seen, that our two young heroes agree but little. Our own* is open, frank, resolute, and perhaps hasty; the other† assuming, pedantic, ratiocinating, and tenacious. The one sees the danger at his own door, and demands assistance like a conqueror; the other more circumspect, and full as resolute, not to give, what he does not think it safe to part with. In what a situation, then, are we! We must pray for the best; for, direct it we cannot. I doubt, you think me indiscreet in trusting to paper, what I shall never repent trusting to you: if it comes safe to your hands, I am satisfied. Let me know it does so, for till then I shall have my fears."

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* The duke of Cumberland.

† The prince of Orange.

Mr. Pelham to the Duke of Cumberland.

"Sir, "*September 8th*, 1747.*

"I lay hold of the opportunity of general Huske's returning to the army, to express my most grateful acknowledgments to your Royal Highness, for the honour of your letter. Your Royal Highness would be oftener troubled with my correspondence, if I had any thing agreeable to send to you from hence, or, if I could imagine, any thought of mine could in the least contribute to the future glory or ease of your Royal Highness; but that is not the case. All I can say, is, that, as long as your Royal Highness will honour me with your protection, I am determined to abide by you. I look upon you, Sir, as the bulwark and true support of his Majesty, his family, and your country: but, what can you do alone? You cannot conquer countries, raise armies, or pay them. All that your Royal Highness could do, you have done, to make the best use of what you have: that, every one, whose opinion you would value, is persuaded of. Huske has been a true and conscientious relator of every thing; and the king, who was before greatly disposed to think, that whatever measures your Royal Highness thought proper to take, were right, is now thoroughly convinced of it.—His Majesty has frequently said, even to me, that he was satisfied, no one could have done better, in your situation. Few would have done so well.

"Your Royal Highness will not be surprised, that I write in this style, when I tell you, that we had, this morning, an express from commodore Mitchel, that Bergen-op-Zoom was taken by storm, the 5th, in the morning, and the garrison put to the sword. We have no account of any farther particulars; nor is there any news of this fact, come from other quarters. But it is not to be supposed, any man in his senses would have sent an express, with such a melancholy story, if there had not been a moral certainty of the truth of it.

"We know nothing of what is become of our army, in the lines, nor what Mr. De Chanclos is doing with his corps; but we have some intelligence, that the French do not intend to content themselves with this place only. It is said, their next attempt will be upon Breda, which place, Mr. Bentinck says, is in a very good state of defence. He speaks with the more certainty, as it is a town immediately belonging to the prince of Orange, and not under the care and direction of the Generality. But, Sir, he speaks this upon the same principles which he does other things, proceeding more from his zealous, and good intentions, than from any thorough information, of the strength and ability of his country. I doubt, we shall find the fate of that town a little sooner determined, than our sanguine expectation will give us leave to think. Bentinck seems a thorough honest, well-intentioned man, but a great enthusiast in his way, attached, from opinion and affection, to the Stadtholder; and, therefore, looking on every thing as good or bad, practicable or impracticable, as, in his judgment, it tends, more or less, to the strengthening that particular interest.

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* Pelham Papers.

"This unhappy state of the Low Countries, joined to the uncomfortable prospect, which lord Sandwich's last letter brought us, of any happy issue being likely to arise from the conference at Liege, puts your faithful servant under great difficulties, and melancholy apprehensions. We are told every day to exert, to arm, and to augment. The advice, Sir, is certainly good; but are we not almost brought to the necessity of answering, as king William said, to the man who advised him to change hands, 'tell Windham to change hands,' who had but one. Is not our case, Sir, near to that? Have we not gone almost as far as we are able? are there many more troops to be had? The Russians, the king has ordered, to be taken into our pay, if they will come. To the Danes, intimations are given also; but is there the least reason to think, his Majesty will be successful in that generous attempt? And, last of all, in case he should succeed, what will they cost, and how shall we get the money?

"I doubt, I take too great a liberty in writing thus freely, to your Royal Highness. Your experienced goodness emboldens me to do it; and, as I have already said little short of this to the king, I could not find myself quite easy, till I had taken the same freedom with your Royal Highness, also. Does your Royal Highness think, the French would have persisted in this siege, which, though they have been successful, has cost them dear, if they had not farther views? and can they find any way so sure, to accomplish those views, as by giving us some disturbance here? I hope, therefore, you will not have it out of your thoughts, to reinforce this country a little. Many of the troops allotted for the defence of England and Scotland, have been sent abroad; and I doubt, we do not find the latter mended in their affection, or subdued in their power; for I hear, the Jacobites are more insolent than ever. The former has, indeed, shewn great zeal for the king, and chosen a good parliament; but the lurking Jacobite spirit begins to shew itself. Many insolences and petty riots have broken out; and those who, in open rebellion, thought it best not to appear, begin now to pull off the mask.

"I hope, your Royal Highness will forgive this long, and possibly injudicious letter; but I trust to your known candour, and flatter myself, your Royal Highness will believe, it does not proceed from a conceited, or over-meddling disposition in me, but from a full conviction, that our situation is bad, and a desire, that you should know how it appears to be, in the opinion of some faithful, and ever zealously devoted servants of his Majesty. I am," &c.

Mr. Pelham to Archibald, Duke of Argyle.

"My Lord, "*September* 22*nd*, 1747.*

"I direct this letter to the care of the post-master at Edinburgh, concluding that your Grace will have left Inverary, before this can get thither. I am not so regular in the correspondence with your Grace, as I should be, but as I have nothing agreeable to send you from hence, and have not lately had any particular matter, to trouble you with, I suppose you are as well without it. It is useless to enumerate false steps: we must look forward, and do the best we can, which, God knows, is bad enough. The removing two regiments from Scotland, for the relief of a town and country, that could not, or would not, defend themselves, seemed to me bad politics, but we were to satisfy our new allies, the Dutch, for so I must call them, as they call themselves; the new government, at any rate. They make great promises, which I believe they will perform, as far as they are able; but how a country, divided into faction, with the greatest part of their frontier in the possession of a powerful enemy, and a great part of its lands under water, can furnish millions of money, and thirty-thousand additional forces, I am at a loss to find out. However, this is the scheme, and another campaign we must have, unless France will come to such terms, as would not have been thought, by some people, bad ones for us, had we been conquerors, instead of being beaten, every year.

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* Campbell Papers.

" Our internal, your Grace knows as much of as anybody ; and, of the dangers we have to apprehend from that, and from the position of our enemy's force, you are a better judge. The first thing I thought of, was, to get a commander-in-chief in Scotland, who knew something of his profession, and was a man of temper and integrity ; such a one I hope we have found ; for, as Bland was wounded at the late affair of Lauffeld, he went to Aix-la-Chapelle, and from thence is come to England. We all agreed, he was the best, and, if I remember right, your Grace thought he would do as well, or better than any other, of his rank and quality.

" I have talked thoroughly to him, upon the state of things with you. He seems to judge rightly of them ; and will, I am sure, take your Grace's advice in any thing, where you shall think proper to give it him. He is apprised of the conduct and views of some in the opposition, and has one quality, which you know I am very partial to ; he will neither cheat the soldier, nor the public. I wrote a free and confidential letter to the Justice Clerk, to which I have had a very friendly answer. I hope, he does not take that amiss, which I am necessitated to do : if I did not acquaint him with what is the talk here, I should neither be able to defend him against false reports, nor do justice to him, by preventing the foundation of true ones. I find, by the idle papers that are published, I am to be fallen upon, for the removal of lord Sutherland ; your Grace remembers, how cautious I was in that whole affair. I am at ease, therefore let them do their worst. We have a new parliament, and a good one. If we do not furnish matter against ourselves, I have not the least apprehension of any thing they can furnish, to hurt us. I hope soon to see your Grace here ; and am," &c.

Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole.

" DEAR SIR, " *October* 15*th*, 1747.*

" I am ashamed that I have not thanked you, for your kind and instructive dispatch, which I received so long ago. But what can I say, that you do not know ? There is nothing so evident, as that you are in the most parts in the right; and yet nothing more certain than that your advice will not, or cannot be followed. You have wrote to the duke; has he answered your letter to your mind?* if he has, it is very different from what I have the honour to receive from him. I touched upon your own string, and some other points, that affect me much. I had a kind answer, civilly differing with me, but not answering one material argument; and no notice at all taken, of what seems to make the greatest impression upon you. The armies are, it is said, going into winter-quarters; and of consequence we shall soon see His Royal Highness here: I wait for it much, that we may know the truth of his situation abroad, and that he may see with his own eyes, what ours is here.

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* Walpole Papers.

"The Republic of Holland are about changing their constitution into an Hereditary Stadtholdership. We are much pleased with it here; and it takes up so much of the thoughts of those abroad, that they do not seem to me to think of the country that is to be governed, only who and what shall be governors. I will not trouble you with more of my nonsense. I shall soon have the pleasure to see you here, and then we can talk, lament, and blame, but not correct."

Soon after the period when this last letter was written, apprehensions were entertained by the British cabinet, that the pertinacity of the empress queen, would rekindle the war with her formidable antagonist, the king of Prussia. When the Russian troops, subsidized by England and the States, were preparing to march into Germany, the king of Prussia had manifested an alarm, lest the empress queen, encouraged by this accession of force, should endeavour to recover Silesia and Glatz; and he was the more uneasy, as Holland had not then concurred in the guaranty of Silesia. He therefore made instant preparations for the resumption of hostilities. But the British cabinet acted, on this occasion, with great spirit and prudence. They obtained from the Dutch, their immediate acquiescence in the joint guaranty of Silesia, and dispatched an embassador to Berlin, to tranquillize the king of Prussia, by assuring him, that, in conjunction with the States, they would strenuously oppose any attempt of Austria, to recover that Duchy. This wise measure had the desired effect; and the king of Prussia, without hesitation, relinquished his hostile intentions.*

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* Mr. Walpole wrote several letters to the duke of Cumberland, urging the necessity of making peace. Some of these letters are inserted in the Memoirs of lord Walpole, chap. xxx and xxxi. The letter to which Mr. Pelham here alludes, is, probably, that dated August 26th, 1747, see chap. xxxi.

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* This account is taken from a letter of the Lord Chancellor to the Duke of Newcastle, December 29th, 1747, which is inserted in the Illustrative Correspondence.

CHAPTER XIII.

1747—1748.

Favourable opening of the New Parliament—Financial arrangements—Liberal supplies in support of the war—Speech of Mr. Pelham on the New Poundage duty, to defray the interest of a loan of 6,930,000*l.—Beneficial acts and proceedings of Parliament—Amendment of the act for disarming the Highlanders, and regulations relative to the Episcopal clergy of Scotland—Close of the session, by a royal speech, announcing the signature of the Preliminaries—Resignation of Lord Chesterfield, and appointment of the Duke of Bedford, as Secretary of State.*

THE new elections proved generally more favourable to the interest of government, than could have been expected, in the midst of an unsuccessful war. The exertions made by the prince of Wales, to strengthen his party, and the inveterate hatred which he bore to the Pelhams,* seem to have constituted the chief difficulty; but, as some of his principal adherents, namely, lord Archibald Hamilton, and lord Middlesex, had resigned in June, and as his purposes were not yet matured, the complexion of the House of Commons was of the most encouraging kind, and afforded the minister just ground for those cheerful anticipations of a favourable session, which appear in his letters at the close of the preceding chapter.

Parliament assembled on the 10th of November, soon after the return of the king from Hanover; and Mr. Onslow was unanimously re-chosen Speaker.

In the royal speech, the king, after a brief retrospect of the causes of the war, slightly noticed the reverses in the Netherlands, as mortifying to the hopes of the public, but not imputable to Great Britain. He then dwelt on the naval victories; adverted to the injuries which had been inflicted on the marine and commerce of France; and exulted in the change of government in Holland, to which he attributed the vigorous measures, adopted by the States General against the enemy.

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* See proofs of this inveteracy, in a Letter from the prince of Wales to Sir Thomas Bootle, dated June 1747. Illust. Corres.

Alluding to the arrangements for a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, as evincing his sincere wish for peace, he strenuously urged the necessity of powerful armaments, as the only means for securing it on honourable terms. He appealed to the House of Commons for the grant of adequate supplies, and recommended the adoption of every salutary expedient for confirming the Protestant establishment, and extinguishing the spirit of rebellion; adding, that at no preceding period were unanimity, firmness, and dispatch, more necessary for the safety, honour, and true interest of Great Britain.

Both Houses vied in the loyalty and zeal of their addresses. The Lords applauded the generous and public-spirited views, with which the king had entered into this just and necessary war; and assured his Majesty, that his people were the more strongly animated to support it, by the machinations of his enemies, not only against the liberties of Europe, but against his government, which was the basis of their happiness. The reverses in the Netherlands were described as instances of the uncertainty of war, which, as his Majesty had justly observed, did not affect the honour of the British nation. The naval victories furnished a grateful theme of consolation; and the revolution in Holland was regarded as promising a stricter union of councils, between his Majesty and the States General, for the common good of both powers. His Majesty's desire of peace, on honourable terms, was considered to be most wisely manifested, by his anxiety for a vigorous prosecution of the war, in which the Peers assured him of their cheerful concurrence. They also pledged themselves to consider what farther precautions might be adopted, for securing the Protestant establishment, and extinguishing the spirit of rebellion, as well as for diffusing that sound knowledge among the people, which was the best safeguard of their loyalty.

This address passed unanimously; and that of the Commons, which expressed the same sentiments, was carried without a division. It included an assurance, that adequate supplies should be immediately granted, for enabling his Majesty, in conjunction with his allies, to carry on the war with vigour.

Indeed, notwithstanding the vast sacrifices already made, the most liberal provision was voted for the expenditure of the year. Such was the popularity of the ministry, and such the zeal of Parliament, that in the House of Peers not a single division took place, on any proposal of government, throughout the session; and, in the lower House, the financial arrangements, proposed by Mr. Pelham, were triumphantly carried.

The supplies, with the ways and means, are stated in the following summary.*

SUPPLY.	
Navy. — Maintenance of 40,000 seamen and 11,550 marines, freight of transports, victualling, Greenwich Hospital, &c. including £ 1,000,000 towards the discharge of the navy debt ……	£.3,640,351
Army. — Maintenance of 49,939 men, for home and foreign service, including ordnance, garrisons in the Plantations, &c. extraordinary expenses, and compensations to the colonies ……	2,693,789
Charge of 1,264 horse and 4,908 foot, Hessians ……	161,951
Charge of 5,000 horse and 17,070 foot, Hanoverians, including artillery ……	470,223
Subsidy to the Queen of Hungary	400,000
———— King of Sardinia..	300,000
———— Elector of Mentz..	8,620
———— Elector of Bavaria	26,846
Proportion payable by Great Britain for 30,000 Russian auxiliaries, £.317,881. Proportion of Great Britain for 4,800 of the troops of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, £.57,792. deducting £.65,674 for savings in forage, &c. ……	309,999
Vote of credit ……	500,000
For building Westminster Bridge	20,000
Compensation for proprietors of heritable jurisdictions ……	152,037
For loss of horned cattle ……	62,000
For making good deficiencies, interest, and other charges ……	1,073,529
	9,819,345
Balance ……	629,170
	£.10,448,515

WAYS AND MEANS.	
Land tax of 4*s*. in the pound, after deducting £.159,727 interest ..	£.1,920,272
Malt tax, after deducting for interest, &c. £.181,756 ……	598,243
Contributions for the purchase of annuities, and a lottery of £.630,000 the interest payable by an additional duty of 12 pence in the pound, on tonnage and poundage ……	6,930,000
From the sinking fund ……	1,000,000
	£.10,448,515

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* From Postlethwayte's History of the Public Revenue.

To this sum must be added the civil list, 800,000*l.*, the surplus of the taxes, transferred to the sinking fund, and 2,429,765*l.* interest, on a national debt of 64,593,797*l.*, which will make the whole expenditure for the year amount to not less than thirteen millions five hundred thousand pounds; and this was provided for, without any other additional tax, than the increase of one shilling in the pound, on the duties of tonnage and poundage.

This was the largest sum raised within the year, since the reign of queen Anne; and, though it will not bear a comparison with the vast expenditure of subsequent times, yet it was of great magnitude, if we take into our estimate the difference in the value of money, and the comparatively limited population and resources of the country, at the time when Mr. Pelham guided the helm of state.*

The principal portion of these supplies, as appears by the table, was met by a loan of £.6,300,000, raised by transferrable annuities, and a lottery of £.630,000, the interest on which two sums, at four per cent, was provided for, by an increase of twelve pence per pound, on all goods and merchandise, imported into Great Britain.

To the grant of this large loan, no objection was offered; and such was the public confidence in the minister, that two millions of the loan were subscribed, within a few hours, before it was known from what source the interest would be drawn.

But when Mr. Pelham proposed the poundage duty, in a committee of supply, he encountered considerable opposition from members in the mercantile interest; his speech, however, was calculated to obviate the leading objections likely to be urged against the measure.

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* We have already observed, that Smollett considered the sum of ten millions, which was raised in the year 1744, as incredible; and we find so able a statesman as lord Bolingbroke observing, "Our parliamentary aids, from the year 1740 exclusively, to the year 1748 inclusively, amount to 55,522,159*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*; a sum that will appear *incredible to future generations*, and is so almost to the present." (Reflections on the present state of the Nation, 1749, edit. 1773. Vol. 4. p. 137.) Even Davenant, that skilful writer on finance, in the time of queen Anne, predicted, that when the annual sum raised amounted to five or six millions, England would be on the verge of a bankruptcy.

It may a little abate our confidence in the anticipations of financiers, to recollect that in 1816 was raised no less a sum than 127,143,396*l.*, and that, in the same year, the national debt amounted to 792,033,426*l.*, besides the unfunded debt of 48,725,359*l.* We may observe farther, that 27,000,000*l.* of taxes were abolished between the conclusion of the peace in 1816, and the year 1826; that in the year 1823, the whole amount of the public debt, funded and unfunded, amounted to 832,810,000*l.*, and that the expenditure in 1826 was 56,328,421*l.*; while the income for the same year rose to 57,043,000*l.*—See the different Reports of the House of Commons, and the speeches of Mr. Robinson, chancellor of the Exchequer, now lord Goderich, on the opening of the budget, particularly that of 1826.

He observed, that war on the continent was burthensome to this country at all times, but particularly at present, when so many taxes were mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and when it was difficult to provide a fund for new loans. He did not regret the large sums, formerly expended by this country, in preserving the liberties of Europe; but he wished that we had not been so parsimonious, during the interval of peace, and that we had refrained from diminishing the taxes, until the revenue had been freed from all incumbrances, as we might thus have been prepared, without imposing new burthens on the people, to maintain the same glorious cause.

He considered the country to be engaged in two different wars; one against Spain, for preserving the freedom of trade and navigation; the other against France and Spain, for the preservation of Europe; our success against Spain being essentially necessary to our success against France. Into both these just and necessary wars, his Majesty had entered, by the advice of parliament, and with the hearty concurrence of the people. As a proof of the popularity of the war, he adduced the grant of £.6,300,000, to be raised by transferrable annuities. A sum, he said, considerably exceeding the whole amount, was subscribed, though the contractors were not apprised of the fund, that was to be provided for their payment.

With respect to the creation of this fund, he stated, that among the many resources that presented themselves, he considered the most eligible to be that of a new impost of twelve pence poundage, on all goods imported into Great Britain, or the colonies, with a drawback in case of exportation.

After specifying certain regulations for the duties on merchandise, from China and the East Indies, he proposed some indulgences in favour of the dealers in tobacco and sugars, as considerable articles of commerce, on which the prosperity of the colonies depended.

He farther proposed, that prize goods should no longer be landed duty-free, to the depreciation of produce imported from the colonies; but should be subject to the duties and drawbacks, imposed on other commodities, contemplated in this bill.

Having explained his reasons for adopting the present mode, of raising a fund, to pay the four per cent annuities, on the capital voted by the committee, he expressed his readiness to relinquish it, if a better plan could be devised. He, however, deprecated all captious objections, unaccompanied by the suggestion of some eligible substitute. He defended the principle of both the wars, in which the country was actually engaged, as consistent with reason and justice; but added, with the spirit of a true patriot, that even if the case were different, we must extricate ourselves with arms in our hands; " for, I trust, that this nation will never be forced to fall on its knees, and cry for mercy, to any earthly power."

"To use our arms with effect," he concluded, " we must be amply provided with resources, and these cannot be procured without adequate securities. To object to the plan now suggested, for raising those securities, without offering a better, would answer no purpose, but that of alarming the people, and giving an advantage to our enemies, which might be attended with the most fatal consequences, in this dangerous crisis."

The principal opponents of the motion, were Mr. Velters Cornwall, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Beckford. Mr. Cornwall dwelt principally on the impolicy of the war; Mr. Martin, on the injury which the proposed tax would probably inflict on the manufactures and trade of the country, by enabling foreign merchants to undersell those of England; and Mr. Beckford not only objected to the tax, on both these grounds, but expatiated on the detriment it would occasion to the sugar plantations, in particular. He concluded, with proposing as a substitute, the deduction of one half, from the salaries of all placemen, pensioners, and beneficed clergymen, enjoying an income of above £.100 per annum. The close of his speech contains a summary of the arguments advanced against this financial arrangement.

" It is impossible to foresee, much more to enumerate, all the ruinous consequences of the tax now proposed; and, therefore, I shall merely recapitulate what has been said, in a few inferences. This new tax will entirely ruin our foreign commerce and manufactures, in a short time after the restoration of peace, and the French will again be enabled to become our rivals. The issue of the war on the continent is not of such consequence, as to warrant us in incurring that tremendous risk. Should the French push their ambitious projects too far, the continental powers might, and certainly would form an efficient league, without our assistance; and should all our allies on the continent make peace, we are able to continue the war, by sea and in America, against the whole House of Bourbon, until we can reduce them to reasonable terms; and, if we continue to support the war on the continent, in the manner we have done, we may find many resources for that purpose, especially the fund I have mentioned, which will not be so pernicious as the tax proposed by the right honourable gentleman ; therefore, I hope he will excuse me, if I give my negative to that measure."*

The arguments of the minister prevailing against these exaggerated objections, the bill, after a few trifling amendments, was passed on the 11th, and being approved by the peers, received the royal assent.† This great financial expedient falsified the unfavourable auguries of its opponents ; and proved, not only that the spirit and energy of the nation were unabated, but that its resources were unimpaired. Such an effort, towards the close of an expensive contest, must have contributed greatly to discourage the enemy, and to render them more favourably disposed to peace.

Another of the Ways and Means was a bill, confirming and amending an act, passed in the last session, for imposing additional duties on houses, windows, and lights, to raise the sum of £.4,400,000 by annuities chargeable on those duties. The motion for the second reading was carried by 114 against 55 ; and in the committee it was warmly and repeatedly opposed. On the report, an amendment, moved by the opposition, was negatived by 99 against 23 ; and the bill was eventually passed without a division.‡

In matters not connected with finance, little scope was afforded for the tactics of opposition ; but one question arose, which was calculated to excite public animadversion, and embarrass the ministry. In the course of the war, France had suffered greatly from the severity of the seasons, and from the depression of agriculture, caused by the military levies from the peasantry. She was consequently dependent on England and Holland, for a considerable supply of provisions ; and an indirect commerce was thus fostered, to the great advantage of the landed interest. Such a traffic afforded the enemies of government a plausible pretext to work upon the popular feelings, through the medium of the press, by asserting that it was carried on with the connivance of the ministry, and that the only means for preventing it, and for reducing the enemy to a peace, would be a total prohibition of the export of corn.

The prevalence of this opinion excited great alarm among the country gentlemen and opulent merchants, in consequence of which, a resolution was suddenly and unanimously passed, in the House of Commons, on the 26th of January, declaring, "that the exportation of corn to foreign ports is beneficial to this kingdom, and ought not, at this time, to be prohibited."

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* Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 148.

† Journals of the Lords.

‡ Journals of the Commons, March 21—30. Of the animated discussions which this bill must have occasioned, we can find no account in any of the periodical journals.

To prevent the evil consequences of this precipitate resolution, the government found it necessary, to issue a proclamation, conformable to an article in the declaration of war, announcing, "that all common trade and traffic, to or from the dominions of France, and the exportation or importation of goods, merchandises, or commodities to France and its dependencies, without the royal licence, was a high misdemeanor, and would be punished with the utmost severity of the law." This proclamation removed the suspicions against the ministry, and at the same time pacified the country gentlemen; because, though it limited the prohibition of grain to the ports of France, it did not absolutely forbid all exportation.*

Another legislative precaution, was a bill for prohibiting the insurance of French ships and merchandise. It was proposed, by Mr. Nugent, and appears to have been introduced, in compliance with the popular inclination, to embarrass the trade of the enemy; by which feeling, the bill, though false in principle, and pronounced hostile to the mercantile interest, was carried through both houses with little opposition. It diminished a profitable branch of business, in which the public were gainers, rather than losers; but it fully answered the purpose immediately intended, by still farther impeding the commerce of France.

Another question of considerable interest arose, on a bill, introduced by Mr. Nugent, for the naturalization of foreign protestants.† Its object was, to supply the waste of people, occasioned by the war, and to favour the introduction of new branches of trade and manufacture. It was, however, highly unpopular, especially in the city of London, which opposed it by a strong remonstrance; and the minister, unwilling to discourage the loyal spirit of the people, professed to take no interest in the fate of the bill, though he approved the general principle. It was therefore rejected, on the second reading, by 187 against 103.

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* Extract of a letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Sandwich, dated Jan. 29th 1747-8.

* * * An unlucky accident has happened in the House of Commons, relative to the exportation of corn. Some officious designing fools had given out, that in order to prevent carrying corn to France, there must be a total prohibition of all exportation. The country gentlemen, and some others, were so alarmed at this, that, without considering the consequences, or knowing what had passed in Holland, they came to a resolution against prohibiting the exportation of corn; but this is only general, and cannot authorise the carrying it to France, which, as all commerce is, is prohibited by the declaration of war. This has given me a good deal of concern; but we will try if we cannot find out some method to set it right, by strengthening the prohibition to France, and probably by adopting what you proposed, for obliging all ships to go to the places for which their clearances are taken out."

See also Contin. Rapin. vol. xxi, p. 342. Journals of the Commons.

† February 4th. Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiv. 147.

In compliance with the recommendation from the throne, at the opening of the session, various regulations, relative to Scotland, were introduced, and embodied, in an act to enforce that which was established in 1746, for disarming the Highlanders, restraining the use of their national dress, and rendering more effectual the provisions, relative to the functions of the episcopal clergy. The whole of this act passed the House of Commons without opposition; but the clause relative to the episcopal clergy was strongly resisted in the House of Peers. It declared, "that no letters of orders, not granted by some bishop of England, or Ireland, should, after the 29th of September, 1748, be deemed sufficient to qualify any minister of an episcopal meeting in Scotland, even though registered according to the former act." This clause was strongly disapproved by twenty prelates, who were present, including bishops Herring, Sherlock, Secker, and Butler, on the ground that it superseded episcopal ordination, which, they contended, could not be annulled, even by deprivation. It was also censured as an act of cruelty toward those ministers, who had conscientiously qualified themselves, according to the former bill. In this sentiment, several of the lay lords concurred, particularly lords Bath, Sandys, and Morton. It was as warmly defended by the dukes of Newcastle, and Argyle, and particularly by the lord Chancellor, as necessary for the support of the government, and for the punishment of disaffection. But, notwithstanding all their efforts, the clause was rejected in the committee, by 32 against 28. Some compromise, however, appears to have been effected between the advocates and opponents of the bill; for, when the report was brought up, on the ensuing day, the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Salisbury, and of Bath and Wells, absented themselves, and the clause was restored, by 37 against 32.* A bill was also passed, for affording relief to those persons, whose title-deeds had been lost or destroyed during the Rebellion.

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* See the account of this debate in Hansard's Parl. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 270, from Lord Chancellor Hardwicke's notes.

Mr. Pelham was not inattentive to the commercial interests of the nation; and among the enactments of this session, we find two, by which they were essentially promoted. A bill was introduced, for encouraging the culture of Indigo, in the American plantations, and another for permitting the export of tea, free of inland duties, to Ireland, and to the British Colonies in America. An act was also passed, for explaining and enforcing the statute, prohibiting the importation and use of French cambrics and lawns.

Among other legislative arrangements, we must not omit to mention an act, for the better regulation of naval courts-martial; and the revival of another for preventing frivolous and vexatious arrests, which had been suffered to expire, leaving a dangerous license in the hands of sheriff's-officers and bailiffs, to abuse the liberty of the subject. This act was rendered perpetual.

The king closed this tranquil and satisfactory session, on the 13th of May, by a speech, announcing the cessation of hostilities, in consequence of the recent signature of preliminaries of peace. He declared that, in the negotiation, he had pursued the true interests of Europe, as well as of his own dominions; that he had acted with unreserved confidence towards his allies; and that the zealous support of parliament, for prosecuting the war, had greatly contributed to this happy result.

In the midst of the session, a new change had occurred in the cabinet. The anxiety of lord Chesterfield for peace, and some differences of opinion on that subject, had interrupted the harmony, which existed between him and the duke of Newcastle. This misunderstanding was aggravated by the attentions, which lord Chesterfield paid to the king's favourite, the countess of Yarmouth, through whose agency he hoped to influence the mind of his Majesty. The duke of Newcastle was not slow in discovering and resenting the manœuvres of his colleague; and he not only forbore to allay the prejudices, which the king still entertained against him, but encroached on his department, by corresponding privately with lord Sandwich, and thus assuming the superior direction of the negotiations. The endeavours of lord Chesterfield, to accelerate the restoration of peace, gave his noble rival such decided advantages with the king, that he soon found himself treated with mere formal civility, in the closet, and destitute of influence to obtain the slightest personal favour.* Like lord Harrington, he anticipated his own dismissal, and, on the 6th of February, suddenly resigned the seals. An active cabal ensued among the members of the cabinet, who affected to be scrupulous in recommending a successor, while they all secretly hoped to influence the decision of the king. The duke of Newcastle laboured for the promotion of lord Sandwich, who, at this period, coincided with him in principle, and in whose favour their private correspondence had inspired a deep interest. The duke, however, was disappointed; for the office was conferred unexpectedly on the duke of Bedford, and lord Sandwich succeeded that nobleman at the head of the Admiralty.

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* Maty's Life of Lord Chesterfield.—Memoirs of Lord Walpole, chap. 34.

The sensation produced by this event, and the circumstances which attended it, are minutely described in a letter from Mr. Fox to Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.*

My dear Sir Charles, *War Office, Feb.* 17, *O. S.* 1747-8.

"As this letter will go by Mr. Legge, I will give you a freer account, than prudence would let me send by the post, of the situation of the court here, and of the causes of the late alteration.

"Lord Chesterfield, who was as much for peace as lord Harrington, when he succeeded him, and who might have foreseen all the reasons he has had to complain, certainly thought that with lady Yarmouth's assistance, he could gain such a footing in the closet, as should be much faster and surer than lord Harrington's, without that *appui;* and at length bring him to what he aimed at, real and effective, superior, if not supreme power with the king. In the means, he succeeded fully, having gained lady Yarmouth's good will, and had all the help she can give, most cordially. In the end, he failed entirely, having brought his Majesty to no more than civility, familiarity, and, perhaps, liking to his conversation, upon trifles, and matters not essential.

"The business lay between the duke of Newcastle and lord Sandwich; and lord Chesterfield's province was most offensively encroached upon by them, of which, I do not doubt, you can furnish yourself with many instances. Their politics falling in with the views and intentions of his Royal Highness the Duke, who has not only more sense, but more court art too, than all the ministers put together, they had his protection strongly. I need not describe

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* Hanbury Papers.—Sir Charles Hanbury Williams was envoy at Dresden, and Mr. Legge was now sent in the same character to Berlin.

Mr. Pelham to you: you will be able to tell yourself his distressed and uneasy mind upon this occasion. His inclination to peace no secret; the prevalence of the other opinion, of which his brother, singly, among the cabinet counsellors, declared himself, as little so. Lord Chesterfield had long solicited the rank of colonel, for George Stanhope, earl Stanhope's brother. I thought the king intended it; and, not for Mr. Stanhope's sake, who by no means deserves it, but for lord Chesterfield, who much desired it, I was glad of it. But his Majesty gave away five regiments, and made two aides de camp, with rank of colonel, and omitted Mr. Stanhope. This, I am persuaded, is as great an ingredient as any, in that combination of circumstances, that determined my lord to resign. He looked upon it as a declaration of his no-favour: he felt from it a despair of getting favour; and without such hope, would not bear the reproach, or incur the danger, of acting against his opinion, under others' influence, in the northern province, any longer. When he resigned, his Majesty was infinitely civil; pretended to be very sorry;* and was very glad. His lordship puts it upon his health; and to shew his good humour, asked a place† for his brother John, which will be given him. This is for the mere public; to others he does not scruple to say, that as he could neither serve the public nor his particular friends by it, he thought it at least very unnecessary, to keep his employment. The fracas, the cabals at court, were great, on this occasion.

"The duke of Grafton, the duke of Devonshire, Mr. Pelham, and all who either disliked lord Sandwich, or had declared a contrary opinion from his, and thought it would be too great an addition to the load of going on, in a way they did not like, to have the very agent and causer of it so distinguished, though they did not openly give him the exclusion, yet virtually obstructed his promotion, to which his Majesty was by no means inclined, rather, I should say, very averse. Lord Sandwich was the man, the Duke and his Grace of Newcastle intended. You know how it has ended; for which, by conjecture only, I account thus. The duke of Newcastle, who, I think, never could mean to make the duke of Bedford his colleague, thought of making him a shoeing-horn to lord Sandwich. He talked of the duke of Bedford for it; and then said, he was sure his Grace would expect it, and would acquiesce in nobody, but our friend lord Sandwich. He was right in the first; but as to the last, the duke of Bedford meant Sandwich, only in the second place, and himself in the first, which I think might easily have been foreseen; and though his Grace of Bedford says, he takes it only for six months, nobody who knows him, and the king, thinks Sandwich has a better chance for his nomination six months hence, than he had now.

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* See No. 107, of Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son, in which he observes, "The king parted with me most graciously, and, I may add, for he said it himself, with regret."

† At the board of Admiralty.

These two dukes, then, are secretaries; and so sensible (like lord and lady Mary Coke*) of the opinion of the world, that, like them, they are resolved to disappoint it; but, like them, will only shew how just it was. All I can believe from that resolution is, that, knowing that every body fixes, as the period of their agreement, six weeks at farthest, they, by force of resolution, may make it last three months; but

> "Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret,"

will sooner or later be as true here as any where, or I am much mistaken.

"You will expect, I should say something of myself, as having been so much named on this occasion. You will believe that when lord Chesterfield resigned, I felt, with regard to the seals, as I shall with respect to the see of Winchester, when that prelate dies. Indeed, I no more thought of the one, than I did of the other. The duke of Newcastle declared early, he would name nobody; Mr. Pelham said the same. Hence, standers-by named every body, and amongst the rest me. All Sandwich's enemies were my friends, or, to express it better than by the word enemies, those who wished him not to succeed; as it would be too strong a declaration in favour of the warlike system. Joined to these, who were numerous, and of rank at court, the voice of the House of Commons was much in my favour, and of none more loudly than Lyttleton, Pitt, &c. I flatter myself that, from personal affection too, I had more active friends than I could have imagined, or is usual; and this has been a pleasure to me. On the other side, as I never had thoughts of it, or pretensions to it (though spirit enough to undertake it, if it came strangely in my way), as the execution of it might have been attended with great discredit to myself, and certainly with much uneasiness; and, as the whole of this transaction has been such, as leaves me the honour of being talked of for it, without the reproach of having pretended to what I could not attain, I am in my mind as easy as ever I was, and shall go on in my own track as cheerfully as ever, with as little thought, as I had, of being secretary of state.

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* Lord Coke, of Holkham in Norfolk, afterwards earl of Leicester, and lady Mary Campbell, daughter and coheiress of John, duke of Argyle.

"I cannot think how infinitely surprised you would have been, to have heard from me in that station; not more than I should have been to have found myself there. The duke of Newcastle, you know, has your province. I will not omit my best endeavours to fix what I have hopes of, the envoyship of Turin for you. I find no room to hope more, which I think a little hard. I am told, the person lord Sandwich intended for his second at Aix-la-Chapelle, was lord Fane. I fancy now, it will be Legge, by whom I shall send this letter to you, as well as a parcel, consisting of Dodsley's Miscellanies, in three volumes, and Vernon's last letters. Among the former you will find some very bad letters of H. W.'s;* among the latter some curious letters of lord Bath's.

"The prince's court is little talked of, and less regarded than ever.

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* Probably Horace Walpole, junr.

CHAPTER XIV.

1747—8.

Account of the negotiations which preceded the signature of the preliminaries—Anxiety of Mr. Pelham for peace, increased by the embarrassed state of foreign and domestic affairs—Difficulties in raising the loan—Plans for the campaign—Engagements for the aid of 30,000 *Russians—New regulations for the payment of the Austrian and Sardinian subsidies—Disunion among the Allies—Clandestine negotiation between England and Spain—Ardour of George II. for prosecuting the war—Unexpected embarrassments, and sudden failure of the Dutch Republic, in the fulfilment of its engagements—Correspondence between the dukes of Cumberland and Newcastle on that subject—Mr. Pelham, and other members of the cabinet, importunate for peace.*

HAVING detailed, in a connected form, the proceedings in parliament, we now revert to those events, which accelerated the signature of the preliminaries, announced in the royal speech, at the close of the session.

Convinced that the circumstances of the country rendered peace indispensable, Mr. Pelham laboured with increasing zeal for that object; and he had now an additional motive for his exertions. Although the subscriptions for the new loan, had been nominally filled, with such unexpected alacrity, yet an alarming decline [*] suddenly took place, in the money market, and the contractors were consequently precluded from making good their stipulated advances. This circumstance, added to the unfortunate situation of affairs abroad, gave an additional impulse to the efforts of the minister for peace.

Notwithstanding the preparations for a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, all parties entered into discussions on the approaching campaign, as earnestly, as if their sole purpose had been war. The British cabinet, in particular, made the most strenuous exertions to collect efficient armies, in the Netherlands, and in Italy. With this view, 4,000 Hanoverians had been added to the former complement; a corps of 4,800 Wolfenbuttel troops had been taken into the joint pay of great Britain and Holland; and the same powers had, in the preceding year, concluded a subsidiary treaty with the empress Elizabeth, for the aid of 30,000 Russians. The Russian troops commenced their march before the close of the year; and it was hoped that they would reach the scene of action, soon after the opening of the campaign. Equal solicitude had been displayed by England, for accelerating the arrangements among the confederated powers themselves. The empress queen, in virtue of the English subsidy, promised to furnish 60,000 men in the Netherlands; England was to bring into the field a force of 40,000 men, including the Hanoverians and Hessians; and the prince of Orange engaged, that the Republic should furnish 70,000 men, exclusive of the garrisons.* The army, therefore, in this quarter, if completed, and joined by the Russian contingent, would have amounted to 180,000 men, a force justly considered superior to any, which the French could bring into the field. After much opposition from the prince of Orange, the chief command was again confided to the duke of Cumberland.

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[*] See London Magazine for 1748, p. 175, for the causes of the decline.

In Italy, the empress queen was to supply 60,000 men at her own charge, and the king of Sardinia 30,000, to act in the southern provinces of France, exclusive of those employed in Lombardy.

But, as the Austrian and Sardinian contingents had proved so greatly deficient, the preceding year, apprehensions were entertained of a similar failure on the present occasion. Hence, the maritime powers insisted, that the payment of the subsidies should depend on the state of the respective forces, to be ascertained by the inspection of British officers. This reasonable, though humiliating condition, was indignantly opposed, especially by the empress queen; and it was not without numerous remonstrances, that a convention, on that principle, was concluded, in the commencement of January. By this instrument, the terms of payment, on the part of the respective powers, were definitively settled; £.150,000 was to be advanced to the empress queen, on the 24th of January, and £.50,000 at the end of each of the three succeeding months. The remaining sum of £.100,000 was to be reserved, until the Austrian contingent, of sixty thousand men in the Netherlands, should be declared, by the report of the inspecting officers, to be complete. The payment of the subsidy to the king of Sardinia, was subjected to the same conditions.†

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* Letter from the duke of Newcastle to lord Hardwicke, dated Sept. 21—Oct. 2, 1747.—Newcastle Papers MS.

† Convention pour La Campagne. Faite à la Haye, 12 Jan. 1747-8.—Grantham Papers, MS.

Great, however, as were the difficulties, which obstructed the arrangement with Austria, still greater occurred in settling a plan of operations for Italy. As the probability of peace stimulated the courts of Vienna and Turin, to seize every contingent advantage, the articles of the treaty of Worms were again brought into the most vehement discussion. The king of England regarded those articles in two different lights: he considered the cessions to the king of Sardinia as *positive;* and the division of the anticipated conquests, for instance, Naples and Sicily, as eventual. The empress queen, on the contrary, demanded perfect reciprocity in all the conditions; and contended, that if she did not obtain Naples and Sicily, or an equivalent, the king of Sardinia ought not to be gratified with all the cessions stipulated by that treaty. After much fruitless interference, on the part of England, this critical point could not be settled, but was left for future arrangement. A dispute, relative to the military command, afforded another proof of the distrust existing between the courts of Vienna and Turin. The empress queen had agreed, that the combined forces should be commanded by the king of Sardinia; but she now required, that he should direct the main army only, and have no control over its detachments, or over any separate corps. Through the mediation of the British court, it was, however, finally arranged, that the king of Sardinia should command the army, and detachments only from that army.

Still, this compromise was far from facilitating the plan of military operations. The king of Sardinia wished to retain the principal part of his force, for the defence of his own dominions; the empress queen was no less anxious for the recovery of Naples and Sicily; while England in vain urged the necessity of reducing Genoa, and of prosecuting hostilities directly against France. These contending views left no hope of a successful campaign in Italy.

Another question now threatened to increase the irritation of the court of Vienna, while it rendered the king of Sardinia still more lukewarm. Anxious to improve the favourable disposition of the new king of Spain, the British court had continued the clandestine negotiation, begun by Mr. Keene in Portugal, and general Wall in England. Amidst the various pretensions created by the war, that which Ferdinand had most at heart, was an establishment in Italy for his brother Don Philip, whom he was anxious to remove from Spain. To attain this favourite object, he offered to sacrifice some commercial advantages; and the lure was not lost on the British cabinet, who were aware that France was labouring to strengthen her connection with Spain, by facilitating the desired acquisition.

Such a provision, however, could only be effected at the expense of Austria; and the attempts of England, to persuade the empress queen to cede Parma and Placentia to Don Philip, revived the indignation she had already felt, at the cessions which she had been compelled to make to the king of Sardinia. At the same time, the king of Sardinia was equally displeased with the proposed arrangement, because he justly considered Placentia as guarantied to him by the treaty of Worms, and therefore used all his efforts to obstruct the establishment of another Bourbon prince in Italy.

Notwithstanding the discouragement, arising from these conflicting interests, the king of England still cherished the hope of a successful campaign; and confidently expected that the recent engagements, and the vast sums expended by England, would secure a preponderating force, at least, on the side of the Netherlands. His anticipations were flattered by the duke of Newcastle, who was anxious for the prosecution of the war; and by the duke of Cumberland, who ardently desired an opportunity to signalize his command. The prince of Orange, and his adherents in Holland, likewise expressed the most earnest wish for the continuation of hostilities; and not only magnified the resources of the Republic, but even pressed England to join in farther treaties, for subsidizing auxiliary troops. In vain Mr. Pelham expatiated on the failure of the Austrian contingents, on the diminished power of Holland, and on the embarrassed state of the British finances. His complaints were imputed to despondency, and his remarks on the situation of the allies, to prejudice and misrepresentation. So confidently, indeed, did the king, the duke of Cumberland, and the duke of Newcastle, calculate on the assurances of the Stadtholder, and the support of the empress queen, that they entertained no doubt of making head against the enemy, until the arrival of the Russians.

In conformity with these views, the duke of Cumberland departed for Holland, towards the middle of February; and it appears, that, to the last moment of his stay in London, he differed from Mr. Pelham, and entertained no doubt of a successful campaign.

But the condition of the Dutch Republic proved more deplorable, than at any preceding period. So far from being able to fulfil their engagements, the States General could not supply their ordinary contingent, or pay the subsidies for which they were pledged. Neither could they raise their proportion of the extraordinaries, for the march of the Russian troops, on whose arrival the event of the war principally depended, and whose delay at this moment was much to be deplored. In this emergency, the States had recourse to England, with the hope of obtaining a loan, to extricate them from their present necessities. Their demand was, at first, for no less a sum than one million sterling,* but was afterwards reduced to three hundred thousand pounds.

This unexpected application undeceived the war party in the cabinet; and the duke of Cumberland, even before his departure from Harwich, expressed the melancholy forebodings which it excited. "I am afraid," he writes to the duke of Newcastle (Harwich, 26th February, O. S. 1747-8), "that from the shameful paper brought over by Bentinck, no more idea can be formed of the real strength and disposition of the prince of Orange, than was afforded by his famous warlike letter to the king, some time last year." He then declares his apprehension that the weakness and pusillanimity of the Dutch government, which must have some influence on the whole alliance, will constrain England to make the best peace, that the times can afford. On the same subject, the duke of Newcastle expresses his surprise and disappointment; and strongly represents the necessity of turning to advantage the favourable and pacific disposition, manifested by France. In a letter to his Royal Highness, dated Whitehall, March 15th, 1747-8, he observes:

"I am very sorry to be obliged to trouble your Royal Highness so often, with a repetition of the weak state of the Republic of Holland, and their great distress for an immediate supply of money. The inclosed paper was given me by M. Bentinck, not in the form of a Memorial, but only to explain the present request of the Stadtholder. Your Royal Highness will see, that the distress of the Republic is represented to be so great, that even the States' share of the necessary money, for the subsistence of the Russians on their march, it is suggested, may not easily be found, unless a loan of £.300,000 (of which £.100,000 is to be paid immediately) can be had from hence. I have before acquainted your Royal Highness, with the difficulty of procuring any loan of this kind, in the present circumstances. I am afraid, they have a very imperfect notion, in Holland, of our constitution, and of the method of granting supplies, in parliament, by what the Greffier proposes in his letter to M. Bentinck, upon this head; viz. That his Majesty would be pleased to advance this money to the Republic, for a short time, out of the money granted for the supplies of this year: whereas your Royal Highness knows, that there is not one shilling granted by parliament, without its being appropriated to some particular use; and that it is not in the power of any of his Majesty's servants, to apply any part of it to any other use, but that to which it is appropriated by parliament. The only method, for any foreign power to borrow money here, is by negotiating it with private persons, and always giving real security, with an extraordinary interest. This was the case of the money lent to the late emperor, (Charles VI,) on the Silesia loan, &c. In this instance, there is no security at all proposed; and an interest of only four per cent, which is near one per cent less than the public gives here. Besides, the public loans here are at present at a considerable discount, which would make any foreign loan go down very heavily: and M. Bentinck is particularly acquainted by the Greffier, that it is not the prince of Orange's intention, to have this loan negotiated with private persons, Jews, &c. And, indeed, should it come to be known, that the Republic was in such distress, for so small a sum of money as £.100,000, which, the moment it goes into the city, must be the case, it would bring such a discredit upon them, and upon the whole alliance, that the worst consequences would not fail immediately to follow from it.

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* See Letter from the Duke of Bedford to Mr. Pelham, at the end of this Chapter.

"I am sorry to acquaint your Royal Highness, that too much of this unfortunate secret is already come out; the whole subject of M. Bentinck's commission, and the loan proposed in his first Memorial, being already known, and in a manner, that it must be supposed to come from Holland: so that your Royal Highness will see, in what hands the prince of Orange's affairs are, and how his secrets are kept.

"Your Royal Highness will have the goodness to talk very seriously to the prince of Orange, or to the Greffier, upon this subject; and explain to them the impracticability of even this small sum being furnished from hence, considering the state of our constitution, and above all, the dishonour that it would be to the Republic, if such a sum could not be furnished by them, for so necessary an object, as the payment of the troops, to which they are jointly engaged with his Majesty; and that, in consequence of a measure, which was originally proposed, and most earnestly pressed, by the Stadtholder himself. What idea must this give of the weakness of the government of Holland; and, if I may presume to say so, of the imprudence of engaging in such expensive measures, as they have done this year, without being able to pay so inconsiderable a part, which becomes first due? And, since this money cannot be found here, your Royal Highness will use your utmost endeavours, that the Republic may find it elsewhere, otherwise the king is apprehensive, that, either the Russian troops may be stopped for the want of it, which, in the present circumstances, would be destruction, or else, that his Majesty will be obliged to pay it, in consequence of that clause in the Russian treaty, by which each party is reciprocally obliged to be at the whole expense, in case of failure, on the other part.

"I am afraid this great scarcity of money in the Republic, will soon be felt in all their other bargains for troops; and, consequently, it is greatly to be apprehended, that it will not only affect the number of their contingents, but the ordinary support of their army.

"Whatever little reason his Majesty had, to expect such a total defect on the part of the Republic, so contrary to their repeated assurances and declarations, the thing is now but too evident; and, therefore, the necessity appears but too plainly, of putting an end, as soon as possible, to these expenses, which, by the default on the part of the allies, grow every day more heavy upon the king. For these reasons, his Majesty would have your Royal Highness be considering with the Stadtholder, what farther directions it may be proper to send to the ministers at Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to profit by any disposition there may be, on the part of France, to put a tolerable end to the war.

"At the same time that we are but too sensible of the wants and distresses of our allies, we have the satisfaction to see, that the enemy is greatly distressed also; and that it is the prevailing opinion abroad, that on account of those distresses, they are desirous to put an end to the war: and, therefore, it is extremely to be wished, that we may, without loss of time, avail ourselves of that disposition, if it be as is represented.

"P. S. If your Royal Highness has no objection to it, I would humbly desire, that you would be pleased to order a copy of this letter to be sent to my lord Sandwich, that he may be fully informed of the true state of this case."

A second letter, written to the duke of Cumberland, within the short space of three days, manifests the alarm, which this unexpected disappointment created in the British cabinet; and we find the duke of Newcastle again pressing for the conclusion of a peace, on the best terms that could be obtained from France, and at the same time indulging the expectation that those terms might be honourable and advantageous.

"Sir, "*Whitehall, March 18th*, 1747-8.

"The unexpected account, which his Majesty has lately received, of the weak condition of the Republic of Holland, and their total want of those resources, with which we had flattered ourselves, from their own representations, and consequently from the best authority, give little reason to hope for that assistance from this considerable part of the alliance, which was expected from them; and, therefore, the king is of opinion, that nothing should be neglected, that may tend to put an end to the war, upon a reasonable foot.

"His Majesty has ordered me to acquaint your Royal Highness, that we have received pretty good intelligence from Paris, that the court of France is really disposed to peace; and that upon terms, which they think very moderate; and, if true, much more advantageous for the allies, than those offered the last year, by marshal Saxe.

"In this view, M. St. Severin, who is supposed to have the entire secret of his court, is said to be gone to Aix-la-Chapelle. He is to affect, not to appear earnest for, or to expect any success from the conferences there; and, therefore, leaves part of his equipage at Brussels, to shew, that his stay at the Congress is very uncertain. I have been particularly informed, that both the courts of France and Spain would consent, that the king of Sardinia should retain the marquisate of Finalé, which would be a great point gained; as, in that respect, the Treaty of Worms would be fully executed: that France would accept a very moderate establishment for Don Philip, possibly Parma and Placentia only; and that they would agree to the restrictions his Majesty shall propose, relating to the reversion of those duchies, and the future settlement of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, upon failure of issue male of the present king of Spain: that the court of France will, on these conditions, agree to the mutual restitution of all conquests; and no mention was made, in the letter I saw, either of the fortifications of Dunkirk, or of the cession of Furnes.

"Though his Majesty is extremely sorry to be necessitated, from the weakness of his allies, and the little support he can promise himself from them, to consent, in any case, to the establishment of another branch of the House of Bourbon in Italy; *yet that cession will be greatly qualified, by the acquisition of the marquisate of Finalé to the king of Sardinia; and the reversion of those duchies to the present possessors, on the single event of the present king of Spain having no issue male.*

"If peace can be made upon these conditions, it will be infinitely less hazardous, both for his Majesty and his allies, than that which was proposed by marshal Saxe, the last year; and this alteration can be attributed to nothing, but the real efforts which his Majesty has made, and the appearance, at least, of those which have been promised, on the part of the Republic.

"The great point, according to these advices, with France, is, that they will not begin to propose any thing themselves; pretending, that they have made their proposals by marshal Saxe; and now expect his Majesty's answer, and that of his allies. I am far from being able to assure the truth of any part of these advices. They do not come from a bad hand, and I should think, they are what the court of France would *have* believed.

"His Majesty thought, in our present circumstances, that it was proper, that your Royal Highness should be apprised of this supposed disposition of France. And your Royal Highness will communicate these accounts to the Stadtholder; and, if there should be no objection to it, your Royal Highness will be pleased to transmit a copy of this letter to my lord Sandwich, with his Majesty's directions to his lordship, to find out, in the best and most expeditious manner, that he is able, from M. St. Severin, without, however, committing himself, whether there is any foundation for this supposed disposition in his court; and, if there is, to give proper encouragement to it; as well by letting M. St. Severin see, that a peace, upon these terms, might not, in his opinion, be impracticable; and also by shewing the ministers of the allies, how advisable it may be, in our present circumstances, and particularly, in the weak and exhausted condition of the Republic, to put a speedy end to the war, if it can be done upon those conditions. It were to be wished, that Savona, also, could be obtained for the king of Sardinia; but of that, I am afraid, at present there is no appearance. The fortifying Dunkirk, on the sea-side, or the cession of Furnes, are upon this supposition, out of the question; and the guaranty of his

Majesty's succession against the Pretender, and all his descendants, is a point that cannot, and probably will not be disputed by the court of France, and can admit of no question.

"There is another thing, which I only fling out to your Royal Highness; but which, if to be obtained, would be attended with great advantage to this country; and, in the obtaining of which, perhaps, there might arise more difficulty from the allies, and particularly from the Dutch, than from France. I mean, the acquisition of the town and port of Ostend to England, which would be, in all times, a great security to our trade and navigation; and be the best defence against any future attempts from France, on his Majesty's kingdoms. And, in the low state that Holland is, and the Low Countries will be in, when restored, it would, certainly, be really for the interest of the Republic, to have that port strongly fortified, and kept at the expense of England. And, I am afraid, the putting the land-barrier in a good condition, which is now greatly dismantled, and demolished, is as much as the finances of Holland, and the revenues of the Low Countries, will be able to do, for many years. If this project could not be brought to bear, in its full extent, it might be possible, however, to prevail, that there should be a mixed garrison in Ostend, of English and Dutch; or of English, Dutch, and Austrians; in the same manner, as there were mixed garrisons in some of the barrier towns. I fling out this only, that your Royal Highness may be turning it in your thoughts. Such an acquisition would be thought a consideration for Cape Breton, and for the great expenses this country has been at, in the defence of its allies, and the support of this war."

The other members of the cabinet did not participate in the sanguine hopes of the duke of Newcastle, but were ready to accept terms more moderate. Mr. Pelham, in particular, continued to press for pacific measures; Mr. Pitt, also, of whom the duke of Newcastle had a very high opinion, recommended the same policy; and with them the duke of Bedford had for some time concurred, as we find by a letter from his Grace to Mr. Pelham.

"DEAR SIR, "*February* 27*th*, 1747-8.

"I called at your house this morning, and was in hopes to have found you at home, in order to have communicated to you, all that occurred to me, on reading the memorial signed by the prince of Orange, and given to Mr. Bentinck, as an instruction for his conduct, during his continuance in England. As the whole drift of this memorial is, in direct contradiction to all the former ones, calculated to convince us here, of the desperate situation of the Republic, as well internally as externally, and seems designed to lay the fault upon us, in case the war is not immediately put an end to, by setting forth the absolute inability of the Republic, even to comply with, and fulfil the engagements she has already taken, without this country will enable her to borrow a million sterling here, which every body must know is impossible, though, at the same time, by the same minister who is ordered to represent her in this distressed condition, she endeavours to persuade us to enter, jointly with her, into fresh engagements with the elector of Cologne, for the Munster troops: as the whole drift is, I say, of this sort, I think it may be made good use of, to convince all those, who are not so well inclined to pacific measures, as you and I are, and to bring them over to our opinion, that, as Holland has first begun (I should say the Stadtholder and his party) to cry out for peace, by owning their absolute inability, even to carry on this present campaign, it is highly incumbent on England, whose situation is very little better than that of Holland, to speak the same pacific language. As we are to meet to consider of this memorial, some time in the beginning of next week, I was desirous of communicating my thoughts to you, upon it; and am glad of any opportunity of convincing you, that, notwithstanding what has been said of me in the world, I am as strongly bent, upon the thorough conviction of the impossibility of carrying on the war, to do every thing in my power toward putting an end to it."

Such were the situation and sentiments of the king and cabinet in England, when the plenipotentiaries of the Belligerent powers assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle.

CHAPTER XV.

1748.

Meeting of the Plenipotentiaries, and opening of the Conferences at Aix-la-Chapelle—Letters from the Dukes of Cumberland and Newcastle, on the state of affairs in Holland—Military operations—Inefficiency of the allied forces, and distressed state of Holland—Successes of the French, who invest Maestricht—Overtures for Peace—Causes which occasioned the sudden signature of the Preliminaries, without the concurrence of Austria and Sardinia—Conditions of the treaty—Letters from the Duke of Cumberland to Mr. Pelham—Dissatisfaction of the Courts of Turin and Vienna—Their reluctant accession, and signature of the other powers—Arrangements for the departure of the king to Hanover—The Duke of Newcastle appointed to attend His Majesty—Causes which delayed his journey.

THE conferences were opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 11th of March; and the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers successively assembled.

England was represented by the earl of Sandwich; France, by count St. Severin; the States General by baron Wassenaer Twickel, and other members of the Dutch government; the prince of Orange, by count Bentinck; the court of Vienna, by count Kaunitz Rittberg, afterwards so well known as the Austrian prime minister, under the title of Prince Kaunitz; Spain, by Don Diego de Lima y Sotomayor; Sardinia, by the chevalier Ossorio and count Chavannes; the duke of Modena, by count Monzeni; and the Genoese Republic, by the marquess Doria.

On the 27th of March, lord Sandwich had a private interview with St. Severin, who adopted the same language, which Puisieulx had held at Liege. He frankly admitted the embarrassed situation of France, and her anxiety for the termination of the war; declaring, that his royal master was still ready to treat, on the basis of reciprocal restitution of conquests, but would, on no account, abandon the interests of his allies. He therefore required, in the first instance, a clear understanding, on the question relative to a reasonable establishment for Don Philip in Italy; and demanded, for Genoa, the restitution of her former possessions, including

Finalé, with its antient rights and privileges. He artfully invited the English minister, to enter into a private discussion of all the main points of the negotiation; arguing, that the most ready mode of realizing the laudable views of the two courts, was, to reduce the public conferences, to the mere form of confirming, what might be thus previously and privately settled.*

Notwithstanding the pacific character of this interview, neither party evinced any eagerness for a conclusion; and the usual season for opening the campaign arrived, before even a preparatory arrangement could be effected, on these two primary points. It became necessary, therefore, to call the troops into action; and, indeed, from the whole correspondence of the period, it appears that the king and the duke of Cumberland, as well as the duke of Newcastle, had calculated on gaining advantages in the field, which might enable the minister at Aix, to bring the negotiation to a favourable issue. But, lowered as their expectations had been, by the demand of the States General for money, they were still more disappointed, when, on assembling the army, an alarming deficiency appeared in every quarter. The vexation, produced by this disappointment, is strongly displayed in the correspondence of the duke of Cumberland, with the duke of Newcastle and lord Sandwich.

The Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle.

"*Hague*, 18*th*-29*th March*, 1748.

"I inclose to you a list of the troops, designed to be given in here, as the specification of the Republic's contingent. I should be glad if it was in my power to add, they were effective; but, from the knowledge I have of several of the therein-mentioned corps, I am apprehensive it will turn out a very paper list.

"From the precautions we have taken within these few days, I hope I may assure you, with some certainty, that the side of Breda is secured from any sudden attempt on the part of the enemy. But it is with great concern I must add, to these assurances about Breda, my apprehensions for the security of Maestricht; for which place, in our present situation, I will not take upon me to answer; as, by the reinforcements we have been obliged to furnish to the people, on this side, the army destined for the Meuse, is considerably weakened; eleven British, and eight Imperial Battalions being forced to remain in and about Breda, until the Dutch troops, which are to form a corps in the lines of that place, are arrived at their destination, from the distant parts of the Republic."

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* Letter from Lord Sandwich to the Duke of Newcastle, dated Aix, March 27th, N. S. 1748. —From the Grantham Papers, MS.

The Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Cumberland.

"Sir, "*Newcastle House, April* 1*st,* 1748.

"I had yesterday the honour of your Royal Highness's letter, which had been lost for two days, by a blunder in the offices, which was the more unlucky, as the not having any letters by the post, had occasioned some uneasiness about your Royal Highness's state of health, which we hope in God, is now perfectly re-established. Your Royal Highness will easily imagine, how much the continuance of the bad accounts from abroad, affects us here; and, if I may presume to mention myself, how mortifying it is to me, to hear, every day, the prophecies of those fulfilled, who, I thought, were prejudiced by their passions and views; and to see those measures, which were most sincerely and honestly advised, blamed and traduced, as wild, ignorant, and calculated for selfish ends. My lord Chesterfield has the happiness to be thought to have foreseen, and to have been willing to prevent, had it been in his power. As to foresight, it depended purely upon his intelligence, and his willingness to believe, what he wished: and, as to his resolution to prevent, what is supposed to happen, if he had it, he had not the courage to pursue it as he ought. Never were certainly people so amused and misled, as we have been by the prince of Orange, and the zealots of his party; but in those circumstances, I yet think, we had sufficient foundation for what was done.

"Your Royal Highness will forgive me, if I express my fears, that even our own contingent, and that of the queen of Hungary, does not amount to what it was thought: for, though I may talk very ignorantly, if there were ninety-thousand good effective troops, Maestricht and Breda, I should hope, would not have been such easy conquests. As to Maestricht, as it is now invested, the account of which is confirmed from the Hague, and of the retiring of the Austrians, I give it over. What will be next, I must wait to see. I am sure, wherever the small number of troops can be well disposed, they will be, by your Royal Highness. Should not the prince of Orange be shamed out of his inaction, and forced to come to Breda, and head his army there? If these Dutch have any troops, that would bring them out; and I should really think, with submission, that the whole Dutch force, though it should not amount to more than fifteen thousand men, should be drawn together in one place, that we might see, how many or how few they have.

"The king is very good; but feels the misfortunes, that this weak Stadtholder has brought upon himself and us. My friend Sandwich seems to have executed, very well, the directions contained in my letter of the 18th, and sent him by your Royal Highness. I am afraid the French will hardly consent to the article of Finalé; and it will be shameful in us to give it up, if we can avoid it. I send all my letters to lord Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson, open, for your Royal Highness's perusal. I have no consolation but what comes from you; and I hope to have the continuance of your Royal Highness's approbation. I wish to know, what, in these circumstances, your Royal Highness thinks, is or can be farther done, either to procure an immediate peace, which seems now so necessary, or to support, if that cannot be immediately done, a tolerable defensive campaign. When Maestricht is taken, they say, every thing here will be in confusion. Lord Chancellor goes to-morrow, to endeavour *to stop the journey*. I have some hopes, he will succeed. I am," &c.

The Duke of Cumberland to Lord Sandwich.

" My Lord Sandwich, " *Hague, April 2nd, N.S.* 1748.

" Nothing but the violent fever and inflammation, with which I have been attacked for some days past, and of which I have but just got quit, should have prevented me from writing to you, in a free and ample manner, my sentiments on the present dangerous situation of affairs in this country.

" It is almost in vain for me to pretend to lay before you, all the particulars of their mismanagement, and unexampled supineness. Ever since my arrival at this place, to the time of my falling ill, and even during that time, when I was very unfit for business, I have never failed to represent to the prince of Orange, and every member of the government, that I could get the speech of, the imminent danger of the present posture of affairs, and the absolute necessity of exerting every sinew of the constitution, to keep off the impending blow. I will not pretend to say, they would not hear me; but I am sorry and ashamed to say, these strong remonstrances have not had the least effect. When I press them to send their generals to their posts, they promise me they will; but instead of performing their promise, when those generals apply for orders, far from sending them away, they prolong their absence till the 15th of this month, though the enemy are in cantonments, and only wait a favourable opportunity to fall, with all their force, upon the frontier.

"So long ago, as the end of the last campaign, you must remember, it was agreed between us, the Dutch should be assembled, under the prince of Orange, in the environs of Breda; and that project has never been varied, from the time it was first settled. Notwithstanding which, and their constant assurances to us, during the course of this winter, on which assurances our measures for continuing the war, another campaign, have been *solely* founded, no one step has been taken towards assembling their troops, if they have any, at the general rendezvous, in any reasonable time. On the contrary, at this very instant, they cannot prove to me, the possibility of their being able to collect ten thousand men, from any part of the Republic, in three weeks, about Breda. As yet, but three battalions are arrived, and the *debris* of Hirtzel, which is put into Gertruydenberg; and these in want of arms, clothes, accoutrements, and recruits. The consequence of this is, that my intention of gathering a sufficient force on the side of the Meuse, for the protection of Maestricht, is rendered fruitless, and that place in the greatest danger.

"In order to strengthen them as much as I could, consistently with the view of forming another army, I had given up to them the six thousand Hessians that are in his Majesty's pay, which I was in great hopes would have been sufficient reinforcement. But I was mistaken; for, had I marched out of Breda into my cantonments, as I once intended, there would not have remained a sufficient garrison in the place, to have shut the gates. So that, at this present time, nineteen battalions that would have been upon the Meuse, ready to have encamped, on the first motion of the French, with the Austrians, and the rest of the king's contingent, are locked up on this side; and I cannot yet foresee, when it will be possible to draw them from it.

"From these particulars, of the many I could instance, you may judge of what our situation is; and I am confident it will affect you, as deeply, as it does me. I wish I could make the prince of Orange as sensible of it, as I am myself. It was but yesterday, that I sent the prince of Wolfenbuttel, and general Ligonier, to repeat and represent in the strongest colours, in my name, all that has been said to him before, which the motions of the enemy on all sides naturally added weight to; especially as it was heightened with an account from Rosendahl and Breda, that M. Löwendahl was actually to march with twenty-five thousand men from Antwerp towards Bergen-op-Zoom, and as it was suspected, not merely with a design only of escorting a convoy to the latter. All that these two generals could say, had no effect.

" I have read over, with great attention, your several letters to the duke of Newcastle, and I am very glad to find M. de St. Severin has set out with you, in appearance, so openly and fairly. I hope it will facilitate the negotiation. I agree entirely with what you say, in your last letter to me of the 29th ult. N. S., that, shewing a little steadiness and resolution in our measures at this time, whilst the negotiation is on foot, must add force to the arguments that you may make use of, to abate the French demands. But, on the other hand, I am likewise convinced, when once the enemy has commenced his operations, and begins to find, as he must, the weakness of this government, and the inability we are in, of effectually resisting him, he will rise in his demands; and, for aught we can do to hinder him, force us to accept a peace, on any terms he shall think proper to prescribe.

I thought it my duty to lay before you, as minutely as I could, the present situation we are in, that you may frame your measures accordingly. For my own part, I cannot help owning, that I think a tolerable peace is absolutely necessary. We have done, on our part, the utmost in our power, to support the alliance, and procure safe terms. These people have failed on their part; and we must do the best we can to get out of the scrape, before we are too far gone.

" One thing more I must mention to you, before I conclude this melancholy dispatch, which is, in relation to the court of Vienna, who I wish were made sensible, that the only motive, that forces us to think of peace, on such terms as we are now reduced to, is the absolute impossibility of carrying on the war, under the circumstances, that this Republic is now in. I shall endeavour to get a sight of marshal Bathiani, if he is able to come out to me, and shall do all I can, to bring him to an explanation on this subject, which I the rather flatter myself with being able to do, as I hear he has already expressed himself sensible of the necessity there is, to put an end to the war.

" P. S. *April 3rd, N. S.*—Since writing the above, four mails are arrived from England with several dispatches, public and private, for you, which have been transmitted, under flying seal, through my hands. As they are all only upon the two topics of the supineness and remissness of the present government in Holland, and of the immediate necessity of peace, I shall make no observations upon them, especially as you will find them proceeding so justly, and so naturally, from the situation of persons who write them; but shall immediately pass to the most material part, which is contained in the inclosed copy of the duke of Newcastle's letter to me.

"Indeed, could you accomplish what there seems to be hopes for, in that dispatch, I, for one, should think it the happiest event that has befallen England, since this war. And, give me leave to observe, that this letter seems to hold a sort of conformity with your account of your first conversation with M. de St. Severin: and I am so much convinced of the consequence of it, that I have already found time this morning, to insinuate to marshal Bathiani, that such, I had some reason to believe, was the French *ultimatum;* and that I believed it was highly for the interest of his court, that he should immediately dispatch a courier to *Vienna*, to acquaint the empress queen with the reasonableness of the supposed conditions of the French, as well as of the distressed situation the affairs of the alliance were in, by the prince of Orange's mismanagement: that, from these joint considerations, M. de Kaunitz might have immediate orders to be reasonable, and not delay things at a time, when there is nothing better to be hoped for.

"I shall, to morrow, send for the Greffier, and talk to him in the same style out of that paper; and I hope to find him easy and reasonable enough upon the subject. If I have time, I shall not fail to send you an account of what passes in our conversation, as well as of the orders that Bentinck and the rest may receive, in consequence of it, besides many other things, that the hurry of business prevents me from mentioning, at this time, when I have hardly got strength enough to sit to business."

His Royal Highness inclosed a copy of this letter, in one to the duke of Newcastle, dated Hague, April 2nd, N. S., 1748, in which he observes:

"The letter which I have this day wrote to lord Sandwich, of which I inclose a copy, will fully put you *au fait* of my sentiments, on the melancholy situation of affairs, and to that I must refer you for the present.

"As I am writing this, your letters of the 18th, O. S. are all arrived; and I can possibly undertake to answer none of them, this post.

"I am sure, I can bring the Greffier, who is the only sensible man that acts, and who sees the ruin of his country, as plainly as I, and all the foreign generals here do, to thank God, if the accounts we have of the French negotiating be true; and marshal Bathiani, who is just recovering of the gout, will endeavour to be brought in a coach to my house to-morrow, where I will endeavour to go down stairs to him, if I possibly can. If any Austrian minister, or general, can be persuaded, it will be one who has been upon the spot here, and sees the weakness and imminent danger, that threatens the whole alliance.

"M. de St. Severin's behaviour seems to agree with what you write; and I, for my part, should think it the happiest hour I have known, since I left England, if it proves true. I shall not fail to transmit a copy of your letter to lord Sandwich, to-morrow, by a messenger; and, as I hope to be a little better in strength, to add my own thoughts to it."

Such an account of the deplorable condition of the Dutch Republic, from the commander in chief, still more convinced the king and the duke of Newcastle, of the necessity of a speedy accommodation.

In his reply, dated March 29—April 9, 1748, his Grace observes:—

"The advices, sent by your Royal Highness, in the private letter which you did me the honour to write to me, of the 2nd of April, N. S. and which were more fully explained in your letter to my lord Sandwich, of the same date, were so important and so judicious, that I thought it my duty to lay the letters themselves before the king. His Majesty was pleased to give so much attention to them, and so far to approve your Royal Highness's reflections, that he commanded me immediately to prepare the inclosed letter for the earl of Sandwich, which, his Majesty thinks, is the necessary and unavoidable result of the present melancholy situation of the Republic of Holland, and of the allied army.

"The instructions, contained in the inclosed letter, your Royal Highness will be pleased to observe, are conformable to the proposal, in my dispatch to your Royal Highness of the 18th inst. which my lord Sandwich was then directed only to insinuate to M. de St. Severin and the ministers of the allies. But the king thinks, that, as the danger grows nearer, and more imminent, by the absolute failure of all immediate resources on the part of Holland, no time should be lost, in taking the most effectual measures to carry these his Majesty's thoughts forthwith into execution.

"I am persuaded, by the tenor of your Royal Highness's letter to the earl of Sandwich, by your resolution to transmit immediately to him for his instruction, my letter of the 18th inst., and, above all, from that solid judgment which your Royal Highness makes, upon the state of things as they are, that you will approve the contents of the inclosed letter, which your Royal Highness will be so good as to transmit to the earl of Sandwich, with such farther informations and instructions, as you shall think proper.

"The reasons for this his Majesty's conduct, are so fully set forth, in my letter to lord Sandwich, that I shall not presume to trouble your Royal Highness with a repetition of them.

"I shall have the king's orders to dispatch a messenger to Vienna, on Friday next, with directions to Sir Thomas Robinson, to lay before the empress queen, his Majesty's thoughts upon the present situation of affairs, in the same manner that lord Sandwich is ordered to do, to the ministers of the allies, at Aix-la-Chapelle."

The instructions to lord Sandwich, mentioned in this letter, directed him to represent to the ministers of the allies, the pressing necessity for peace, and to state, that as the French had not raised their demands, since the first overture made by marshal Saxe, his Majesty saw no alternative, but to conclude, on the basis of a general restitution of conquests; reserving Finalé for the king of Sardinia, and consenting to a moderate establishment for Don Philip in Italy, namely the duchy of Parma, and part of that of Placentia.

He was directed to mention these conditions to St. Severin, and at the same time to insist, that the French court should relinquish the demand of fortifying Dunkirk, and enter into measures for securing to Great Britain the possession of Nova Scotia, and the other colonies in North America. For the purpose of hastening the acceptance of such terms, he was to advert to the approach of the Russians, and expatiate on the advantages, which such an accession of force must ensure to the allies.*

During these exertions to accelerate the negotiation, no resource was left untried, for gaining an ascendancy in the field. Strong representations were made to the courts of Vienna and Turin, to resume the siege of Genoa, for the purpose of distracting the attention of the enemy; and, at the same time, the ruined and helpless condition of the Dutch was adduced, as a reason for consenting to such sacrifices, as might be requisite for the restoration of peace.

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* Dispatch from the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Sandwich, dated March 29th, 1747-8.—Grantham Papers, MS.

Amidst these unavailing efforts, the well-combined and spirited movements of the enemy, hurried the question to a decision. While the allies, too weak to act on the offensive, were scattered over an extensive frontier, in the fallacious hope of keeping them at bay, until the arrival of the Russians, the French directed different columns towards Breda, Luxemburg, and Liege; which, skilfully approximating in their advance, descended both banks of the Meuse, and on the 3rd of April, invested Maestricht. The allies, mortified by the lingering march of the Russian troops, witnessed these movements, without being able to obstruct them. The Austrians, posted near Maestricht, were obliged suddenly to decamp, with the loss of their magazines, and fall back on Ruremond, to join the main body, which was advancing under the duke of Cumberland. The French made instant preparations for the siege of Maestricht; and, on the 15th of April, the trenches were opened.

The British cabinet, unable either to check the progress of the hostile army, or to reconcile the discordant interests of the allies, determined, without the previous concurrence of the other powers, to accept the conditions which France was disposed to grant. Instructions to that effect were transmitted by the duke of Newcastle to lord Sandwich, on the 8th of April.*

In this dispatch, his Grace writes, that the superiority of the enemy, the probable loss of Maestricht, and the consequent invasion of Holland, had induced the king to order arrangements for peace, to be promptly made, as the state of affairs would admit no farther delay. He then expressed his hope, that lord Sandwich, according to the instructions of the 29th of March, had prepared a draught of preliminaries, in which must now be included, an article for the guaranty of Silesia and Glatz to the king of Prussia, conformably with the Convention of Hanover, and the Treaty of Dresden. To these conditions, the consent of St. Severin was, if possible, to be obtained; and, from the tenor of the late communications, the duke anticipated no difficulty, except with regard to Finalé and Dunkirk. If Finalé could not be allowed to remain in possession of the king of Sardinia, or be reserved for the decision of the Congress, lord Sandwich was to consent to its unconditional restitution to the Genoese. With regard to Dunkirk, he was to contend for the complete demolition of the fortifications, both by sea and land, according to the Treaty of Utrecht; but if he should fail of obtaining the entire demand, he was to consent to the continuance of the fortifications in their present state, on the land side only; and, to reconcile the French to this stipulation, he was permitted to make known, that his Majesty did not intend to send commissaries, to observe that no new works were erected, on the side of the port and harbour. An establishment for Don Philip having been previously conceded, no other reference to that subject appears, except a proposal to offer the town of Placentia, as an addition, provided Finalé was reserved to the king of Sardinia. Lord Sandwich was also to demand a cessation of arms, especially in the Netherlands; and to procure the concurrence of France in a stipulation, restraining the court of Vienna from resuming the cessions, secured to the king of Sardinia, by the Treaty of Worms.

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* Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Sandwich, April 8th-19th, 1748.—Grantham Papers, MS.

After concluding such arrangements, as he could obtain from St. Severin, he was to communicate this preliminary treaty to the ministers of the allies; and, if they offered any difficulty or objection, he was to sign without them.

Collaterally with these instructions, a representation was dispatched to the prince of Orange, requiring that the Dutch minister should be forthwith authorised to acquiesce in the conditions, which might be obtained by lord Sandwich.

Mr. Pelham warmly concurred in this resolution to conclude, if necessary, without the allies; and he expresses his approbation of the orders sent to lord Sandwich, as well as his anxiety for peace, in a letter to the duke of Newcastle.

"DEAR BROTHER, "*April 8th*-*19th*, 1748.

"I am very much obliged to you for giving yourself the trouble of sending to me your draught of a letter to his Royal Highness, and the memorandum of the conversation with the two persons mentioned in your letter. If my opinion is worth having, you cannot doubt of my most readily coming into the orders, proposed to be sent to lord Sandwich. I think the conversation, though a private one, a strong justification in point of form; and I doubt, there are too many substantial reasons for the doing it. I wish Sandwich is not mistaken. I fear he will find, France sees a great difference in her situation, between the last summer and this spring: I heartily wish she may not.

"There is one thing I would submit to your consideration: whether it is not a little too much, to put the whole of this transaction upon the Duke's opinion; as to the ability of his army defending the frontier, after Maestricht is taken; and, therefore, whether that whole paragraph might not be omitted. We know, already, he has no army; and if he should get troops together, sufficient, by lines, entrenchments, &c. to guard the passage, on the side of Ruremonde, is there the least prospect the prince of Orange can do it, on the side of Breda, and can the Duke take upon him to say *no* without consulting the Stadtholder? Will not this take up time; and is there not danger in every hour that is lost?

"Wasner talks like a man of sense. He knows, we cannot carry on the war, another year; and he sees, I hope, that we will not be imposed upon, this. What has he, then, to wish for, but to get his mistress out of the scrape, without being totally undone?

"I should hope, you would consider well the letter you write to lord Sandwich; for, though I am convinced the measure is right, and absolutely necessary, yet I see plainly, do what you will, inquiries will be made next year; and, therefore, when these orders are given, I should take care to shew, what were the reasons which induced the king not to close last year, which, in truth, were the representations from every quarter of *your* correspondence, and which have all failed. Forgive me for mentioning this to you. I can have no reason for so doing, but concern for you. Peace is what I want, both for the sake of my king, my country, and myself. Peace will be had. I heartily wish it may be no worse, than what is represented in your paper. If so, I am sure it is to be defended; but if not so, it must be defended, and shall be, by me at least, if I have the honour to serve the king, at the time of trial.

"I ask pardon for taking up so much of your time. I have had no opportunity, of late, of talking to you at all, on this subject, which makes me open myself to you more frankly on this occasion, than I should otherwise do. You will at least do me the justice to say, I mean well, and believe no one can wish you better than, dear brother," &c.

The wishes of Mr. Pelham were speedily gratified; for the British cabinet were too much alarmed, to hesitate in prosecuting the negotiations.

Lord Sandwich, therefore, in concurrence with the Dutch plenipotentiary, continued his private intercourse with St. Severin, and on the different points at issue, conformed to the secret instructions, which authorized him to yield in case of necessity. On the other hand, the French plenipotentiary was too sensible of the superiority of his sovereign in the field, to suffer the discussion to linger. He hastened the result, by adroitly intimating, that a private negotiation existed between the courts of Vienna, and Madrid, for the accommodation of their own differences, and the formation of an establishment for Don Philip in Italy, at the expense of the king of Sardinia; and still more by an ostentatious warning, that the slightest delay in the negotiation, would be the signal for destroying the fortifications of Namur, Bergen-op-Zoom, and Ypres, and for an immediate invasion of Holland.* During some days, St. Severin spared neither intreaties nor threats, to effect the conclusion of the preliminaries, without any previous communication with the allies; and from this demand he did not desist until the last moment, when he no less peremptorily required an immediate signature. Lord Sandwich, after maintaining the interests of the alliance, with all the firmness which circumstances permitted, finally conceded the points, relative to the restitution of Finalé to the Genoese, and to the restoration of the fortifications of Dunkirk on the side of the land, but exceeded the strict limits of his instructions, by consenting to annex Guastalla† to the proposed establishment for Don Philip, in addition to Parma and Placentia, though Finalé and Placentia had been assigned by the treaty of Worms to the king of Sardinia. Having arranged the project, he repaired to the Austrian and Sardinian Ministers, and imparted it to them, without reserve. On their peremptory refusal to join in the signature, he returned to the house of St. Severin, with the Dutch minister; and after a conference, protracted until midnight, the instrument was formally executed, on the 30th of April, by the English, French, and Dutch plenipotentiaries. It was accompanied by an act, for an immediate suspension of arms in the Netherlands; though the siege of Maestricht was still to be ostensibly prosecuted.‡

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* MS. Letters from the Duke of Newcastle to Sir Thomas Robinson, April 29th, May 10th, 1748.

† In consequence of the failure of the male line of the dukes of Guastalla, that duchy had recently escheated to the House of Austria.

‡ For an interesting account of this conference, the reader is referred to a letter written by lord Sandwich, under the influence of his agitated feelings, dated Aix, May 1st, 1748.—Illustrative Correspondence.

The principal articles of this hasty compact, were :—

1. The renewal of all former treaties, except in such points as were specifically changed, or modified, by these preliminaries.
2. The reciprocal restitution of all conquests, in every part of the world.
3. Dunkirk to remain fortified towards the land, in its actual condition; and towards the sea, on the footing of antient treaties; or, in other words, the works on that side were to be demolished.
4. The Duchies of Parma and Guastalla, and the town of Placentia, to be assigned to Don Philip, with reserve of the eventual reversion of Parma and Guastalla to the House of Austria, and of Placentia to the king of Sardinia, if Don Philip should die without issue male, or succeed to the throne of Naples, by the accession of his brother, Don Carlos, to that of Spain.
5. The re-establishment of the duke of Modena, in his former territories, and the restitution of Finalé, and all other possessions, wrested from the Republic of Genoa.
6. The confirmation of all the cessions made to the king of Sardinia, by the Treaty of Worms, except Placentia and Finalé.
7. The revival of the Asiento Treaty* in favour of British subjects, for four years, the period of its suspension during the war.
8. The renewal of the treaty of 1717 between France and England, comprising the guaranty of the Protestant Succession.
9. The Duchy of Silesia, and the County of Glatz, to be guarantied to the king of Prussia. With this exception, and that of the cessions to the king of Sardinia, and to Don Philip, already specified, the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction were generally revived and confirmed.

Periods were assigned for the cessation of hostilities, by land and sea; and it was agreed, that the restitutions comprised in the second article, as well as the establishment proposed for Don Philip, should not be carried into effect, until all parties interested should have accepted the preliminaries. Finally, it was settled, that all the allies should be invited to accede; that the treaty itself should contain a reciprocal guaranty for its observance; and that the necessary ratifications should be exchanged, within three weeks after the signature of the preliminaries.

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* This was a treaty, by which the South Sea Company enjoyed the privilege of supplying the Spanish Colonies with negroes, for thirty years, of which term four years remained unexpired, when the war with Spain commenced.

By a secret article, it was also stipulated, that in case of any delay on the part of the other powers concerned, the three contracting parties should enter into a concert, for enforcing the execution of the terms; and that such as should persist in withholding their consent, were to be excluded from the advantages stipulated.

The party in England, who had so earnestly promoted the continuance of the war, were evidently mortified and humbled by these conditions; but the necessity of peace had now compelled them to acquiesce in the opinion of Mr. Pelham. To his superior wisdom and foresight, they at length paid the merited homage, and to him they looked with anxiety, for advice and support, in so difficult a crisis. We find two interesting letters on this subject, from the Duke of Cumberland to Mr. Pelham, written during the progress of the negotiation.

"MR. PELHAM, "*Head Quarters of Hellenrouck,*
"*April 12th-23rd,* 1748.

"I have had so many, and such convincing proofs of your friendship and regard for me, on all occasions, that I was not in the least surprised at the very kind and obliging letter of the 8th instant, O. S. which I received from you last night; and I lay hold of the very first occasion that offers, of thanking you for it, which I most sincerely do. My illness, which has been a severe and tedious one, has indeed left me; but still, from fatigue, and the uncommon severity of the weather, I feel some remaining pains in my limbs, which, I hope, care, and the return of the fine weather, will quite rid me of.

"It would be great joy to me, was I able to give any other epithets to the present situation of affairs, on this side the water, than the melancholy and gloomy ones, which you bestow on it; but such is the condition, the flattering promises of the stadtholder, and appearing leading men, in the Republic of Holland, have drawn us into. Indeed, at the time they promised, there did appear some reason to give a little credit, at least, to what they expatiated upon so largely, in their writings, and by their ministers. Your friendship for me, will, however, I am sure, (and to that I appeal, for my justification with you,) suggest to your remembrance, that though I thought the Republic had a part, or all of those resources, which they boasted of, yet I always had my doubts, and spoke them freely too, during the whole winter, that they had not unanimity, nor resolution enough to exert them effectually. That they would be so very shamefully deficient, as they are, I never could imagine, till I saw, and felt them. From that moment, as I thought it my duty, I laid the state of affairs, as it appeared to me, fully and fairly before his Majesty's servants; and what I can do to mend them, shall not be wanting.

"You will have seen, I make no doubt, every thing that has passed since I left England, and the steps that I have been forced to take, in consequence of our present situation; and I hope they meet with your approbation. I have duly apprised lord Sandwich of every thing; and he is equally convinced, with us all, of the necessity of concluding immediately with M. St. Severin. I hope, likewise, from the present face of the negotiation, that he will be able to conclude, in spite of all difficulties, on better terms than those which were offered at the end of last summer, by marshal Saxe. The time certainly presses; and I am convinced, he will not let slip a favourable opportunity.

"In the mean time, the siege of Maestricht goes on, and we are in no condition to attempt the raising it. As this is our disagreeable situation, you will see by my public letter, what I have proposed to the generals of the allies; and, in consequence of that proposition, what we have agreed to do. Retrograde motions are always irksome, and appear with a bad grace; but they are sometimes salutary. I hope this, in the event, will prove so too. I am convinced, it is the least bad we could do, and therefore I proposed it; for, as we are at present, we might stay too long, and risk an affront, which might prove fatal: I hope the king will approve our caution.

"Your letters are always agreeable to me; and I hope, therefore, you do not think I look upon them as troublesome. I am sure I never can look upon any thing in that light, which comes from one, whose particular friendship I every day experience; and I shall be always ready to convince you on every occasion, that I am most sincerely your very affectionate friend."

"Mr. Pelham, "*Head Quarters of Hellenrouck,*
"*April 25th (May 6th),* 1748.

"Yesterday's mail brought me your obliging letter of the 19th of April; and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that, though not quite what I was, yet I am much better than I have been. You must forgive my reproaching you a little, for harbouring any suspicion, prejudicial to my regard and friendship for you, and for imagining that an absence of two or three months only, or a difference of opinion in public affairs, could, in any degree, have occasioned the least coolness in my good wishes for you, or altered my good opinion of you. It is in such uncertain and perilous times as these are, that friends should keep the most firmly connected; and I hope, you do not in any wise imagine, that I suspect you think differently from me, upon that head. I can assure you, I should be always happy to agree with your sentiments, in every thing; because, I am sure, we both mean the common good and service, of his Majesty and our country.

"I am most particularly obliged to you, for your friendly attention, in acquainting me with the manner, in which his Majesty received the account of my intended scheme, for covering the frontier of Holland. Your assurances of the king's approbation of my conduct, in that particular, are the more agreeable to me, because I have heard, that some of the Hanoverians here, were of opinion, I should have preferred this side of the Meuse, and have gone down to Nimeguen. I was convinced, in my own mind, that the other plan was the more eligible, and I am happy that my sentiments agreed so well with the king's.

"The last post will have brought you the whole of lord Sandwich's transactions at Aix, by which you will have seen the conclusion to which he has brought affairs; and, though St. Severin has not closed with lord Sandwich* directly, on the terms we once hoped he might be brought to; yet, considering the indifferent appearance there was on our side, from the frivolous *chicanes* of the French minister, before that signing, you will see that better terms would not easily have been obtained. I hope that what has been done there, agrees with your sentiments. I am convinced, those that undertook it, meant for the best; and you will, I dare say, from the same principles, that made you think those pacific measures necessary, endeavour to support those persons, who gave up their former opinion, on conviction, to your way of thinking. It is from my desire to cement that harmony and union, amongst his Majesty's servants and my friends, that I write thus openly to you; and, as every one has their difficulties in this crisis, so I am persuaded your brother is not without his. He will have frequent occasion for your assistance and advice in his future conduct; and, especially if a certain expedition* should take place, I know you well enough to be convinced, that you will most readily and sincerely give it him. Without that, it will be a very difficult task, not to say impossible, for him to know how to determine, in the various circumstances of his present situation.

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* See the letter of lord Sandwich, dated April 30th (May 1st,) in the Illustrative Correspondence, giving an account of the signature of the preliminaries, to which this alludes.

"As to the journey, I am as clear as ever I was on any point in my life, that it would be, in every light, disadvantageous to his Majesty's affairs. I have considered it in all the ways I have been able, and I see nothing, hitherto, to make me in the least change my opinion; for, even at present, though the preliminaries are signed, and will, in all probability, be ratified; yet so many and such important points will remain to be determined, that on no condition can his presence be dispensed with, out of England. I know you will be as forward as any of his servants, to speak the plainest truths to him, on the subject; and I hope your united endeavours will meet with success.

"Though the fate of Maestricht will be decided, in all likelihood, by the negotiation, yet I must do justice to the governor, and the Austrian garrison, who seem to have done their duty perfectly well. As to the Dutch, they have not deviated from their former reputation. I remain, always," &c.

The sudden publication of the preliminaries created general surprise, and excited great disappointment and indignation, in the courts of Turin and Vienna. The king of Sardinia was deeply chagrined at the alienation of Placentia, and still more at the compulsory restitution of Finalé, as both had been solemnly guarantied to him, by the Treaty of Worms. But the anger of the empress queen was roused, in a still higher degree. In vain, Sir Thomas Robinson, by order of the king, represented to her imperial majesty, the absolute necessity of concluding the preliminaries, for the immediate preservation of Holland, and for preventing the fatal consequences, with which the whole allied army was threatened, from the farther progress of the French arms.† She not only peremptorily refused to accede, but by a solemn protest, she declared that she would not consent to an establishment for Don Philip, except on the condition that the ceded territories should revert to her, provided Don Philip should succeed to the throne either of Naples or Spain. She also insisted, that all the cessions made by the Treaty of Worms, to the king of Sardinia, should be revoked and annulled.* She no less strenuously protested against the stipulated guaranty of Silesia, in favour of the king of Prussia; and, finally, she demanded the last instalment of her subsidy, amounting to £.100,000, which had been withheld by England, in consequence of the deficiency of her contingents. To attain the last point, at least, her minister, count Kaunitz, was authorised to declare, that he would not sign the preliminaries, until "this debt," as it was termed, "was liquidated."

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* The intended journey of the king to Hanover.

† Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Sir Thomas Robinson, April 26th, 1748.—Grantham Papers, MS.

The embarrassments of the ministry, in conducting the negotiation, were aggravated by a resolution which the king had taken, to repair to Hanover, and to which, allusion is made, in the last letter of the duke of Cumberland to Mr. Pelham. He first communicated this intention to the duke of Newcastle, in the latter end of March,† in terms which shewed his anxiety to effect it, with the least possible delay. In vain the ministers represented the critical situation of affairs, and the perplexity to be apprehended, in his constitutional council, if he should be absent, at a time when business of such moment was depending. But the king persisted, and ordered preparations to be made, that his departure might take place, immediately after the prorogation of parliament.

It was a question of no trifling delicacy, to decide, which of the ministers should attend him officially, during his residence at Hanover. From the appointment of Mr. Pelham, the king had been hitherto accompanied by the secretary of state for the Northern Department; and thus lord Granville, who held that office, and after him lord Harrington, had successively become the depositaries of his confidence. At present the choice lay between the duke of Bedford, and the duke of Newcastle;‡ for, though a proposal had at first been made, of sending Mr. Stone, under-secretary of state, yet, on reflection, it was judged imprudent, to place a subordinate agent in that responsible post, for so long a period. The duke of Bedford considered himself entitled to this honourable distinction, as the successor of lord Harrington in the Northern Department; while the duke of Newcastle appears to have shrunk from the responsibility attached to a personal attendance on the king abroad, and to have fully apprehended the objections of his brother, to so long an absence. The risk, however, of enabling the duke of Bedford to acquire a separate interest, like that of lord Granville, at length outweighed all minor considerations; and Mr. Pelham, himself, admitted the propriety of the decision.

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* See London Magazine for 1748, p. 257.

† See Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Cumberland, March 22nd, 1748.—Illustrative Correspondence.

‡ See Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Cumberland, March 22nd, 1747-8.—Illust. Corres. The account of the subsequent arrangements, for the attendance of the duke of Newcastle on the king abroad, is taken from the MS. letters of his Grace, to the duke of Cumberland, April 15th, April 16th, and May 13th, 1748.

So eager was his Majesty to reach Hanover, that, on the 13th of May, O. S. the very day of the prorogation of Parliament, he repaired to Gravesend, and sailed the next morning; but being driven back by contrary winds, he did not land at Helvoetsluys until the 22nd. After a short interview with his daughter, the princess of Orange, he proceeded through Utrecht, Deventer, and Osnaburg, to his German capital. He was attended by Mr. Stone, who officiated as private secretary, until the arrival of the duke of Newcastle.

Notwithstanding the expediency of the duke of Newcastle's immediate presence at Hanover, many causes contributed to detain him in England, arising chiefly from the pending negotiations, and the anxious pause which ensued, after the signature of the preliminaries. Nothing, indeed, created more perplexity or difference of opinion, in the British cabinet, than the conduct to be observed towards the empress queen; for, while the king, the duke of Cumberland, and the duke of Newcastle, were anxious to act towards her with tenderness, and in particular to gratify her with the payment of the £.100,000, Mr. Pelham declared, that as the terms of the Convention had not been fulfilled, he would not issue a warrant for the liquidation of that sum, without the consent of parliament. He also deemed it imprudent, to use gentle measures towards a sovereign, who had so vehemently opposed the signature of the preliminaries; and contended that her consent was to be extorted only by firmness and resolution. The duke of Newcastle at length yielded to this advice; and his decision produced the desired effect. The empress queen, feeling her own forlorn situation, and trusting that, in the course of the negotiation, a more favourable opportunity might occur, for advancing her pretensions, authorised count Kaunitz to accede, notwithstanding her protest; and, on the 25th of May, he signed the preliminaries. Still, however, that minister avoided any mention of the protest, in the act of accession; and the plenipotentiaries of England and Holland were necessitated to issue an instrument, declaring it to be null and void.* The king of Sardinia and the duke of Modena followed the example of the empress queen; and, after a short interval, Spain and Genoa also acceded.

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* See this Counter-declaration, in the London Magazine for 1748, p. 341.

CHAPTER XVI.

1748.

Departure of the Duke of Newcastle for Hanover—Correspondence between the two brothers—Embarrassments arising from the desire of the King to secure the reversion of the Bishopric of Osnaburg—Manly conduct of the Duke of Newcastle on that occasion—Offers of the King of Prussia to form a league with the Maritime Powers—Displeasure of the King against Mr. Legge, the British envoy at Berlin, for intruding himself into this negotiation—Spirited interposition of Mr. Pelham in favour of his friend, Mr. Legge.

THE accession of the allied powers, to the preliminaries, having been at length obtained, the duke of Newcastle was enabled to leave England, in the beginning of June. He repaired immediately to the Hague, to concert with the Dutch government the means of prosecuting the negotiation in Holland, and, in particular, to deliberate on the future disposal of the Netherlands, which, it was apprehended, would be attended with extreme difficulty, should the obstinacy of the empress queen retard the definitive treaty.

Notwithstanding the recent difference of opinion, Mr. Pelham was convinced of the expediency of his brother's journey, and hastened to express the most affectionate wishes for his success.

June 10th, 1748.

"I need not tell you, how sorry I am to be here without you; but as it is proper for your own honour, and the public benefit, that you should go, I cannot but say, I am glad you are gone. I hope and believe, there will be nothing disagreeable to you in this expedition, but your absence from your friends. It is their business, therefore, to make it as light as they can: you may be assured that I shall use my utmost endeavours, for that purpose."

We insert extracts of another letter, sent to the duke of Newcastle, during his journey through Holland, in which Mr. Pelham testifies his satisfaction at the prospect of a reconciliation with Spain, and expresses his surprise at the unreasonable conduct of the Austrian court.

In this letter, dated June 14th, 1748, after announcing that the duchess of Newcastle is much better, he adds, "Your brother* does all business at the Regency board, which has its inconvenience. I have therefore proposed to him, to meet with the lord chancellor, every Wednesday, that we may agree beforehand, what is, and what is not to be talked of, there.

"I have troubled his Royal Highness with a letter this night, and referred him to what you know of our sentiments, here. I should be sorry he thought my letters troublesome, or that I took too much upon myself. You will therefore excuse me to his Royal Highness, if you find I have gone too far.

"We had a sort of conference with Wall. He says, the king of Spain will come into our proposal, made at the conference we had with him; that is, accede to the preliminaries as they now are, and settle all disputes, Asiento Contract, &c. amicably between the two Crowns, without any other power interfering. He leaves it to the king, whether it shall be negotiated here, (he having, as he says, full powers to treat and conclude,) or at Aix, or at Madrid. I own myself much pleased with his disposition, and cannot but think, if we are steady, and not unreasonable, all will end well there, also. For God's sake, push your definitive treaty as fast as you can; leave all little objects to future negotiation; for it is so essential to confirm these preliminaries, and to reap the benefit of them, as soon as you can, that I think lesser matters should not stand in the way.

"Your friends at Vienna do most sadly. How can Bathiani have the assurance to demand the last £.100,000, as absolutely necessary to subsist his little army, when it was all they asked for the whole campaign, supposing their army had been sixty thousand strong? I will trouble you no more, on this head, but hope to hear soon of your safe arrival in Holland: your reception there, and at the army, will, I doubt not, be greatly to your satisfaction."

The separation of the two brothers occasioned a correspondence of the most private nature, in which we shall find, that, notwithstanding their mutual affection, their difference of opinion, on foreign policy, was often very strongly expressed. The anxiety of the duke of Newcastle, to secure the favour of the king, his ardent zeal in support of the house of Austria, his extensive views of the course and tendency of foreign affairs, and his sanguine temper, rendered him impatient of the calm, cautious, and economical spirit of his brother, who, like Sir Robert Walpole, was sometimes too eager in his desire of peace, and tremblingly alive to the slightest augmentation of the national expenditure. This collision of opinions, however painful at the moment, produced mutual concessions, which tended to a beneficial result, as will appear in many parts of the letters that passed between them, at different periods of this intricate negotiation.

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* Meaning his colleague, the duke of Bedford.

From the Hague, the duke repaired to the head-quarters of the duke of Cumberland, with whom he held several conferences, as well as with lord Sandwich, who came from Aix, to render an account of the negotiation; and he obtained the acquiescence of the prince of Orange and the Dutch ministers, in the leading questions then at issue. These were, the arrangements for the restitution of the Netherlands; the conduct to be observed towards Prussia; the formation of a future grand alliance, comprising the Maritime Powers and Austria, Sardinia, Russia, and Prussia; and lastly the return of the Russian auxiliary troops from Germany.*

On his arrival at Hanover, the duke of Newcastle was graciously received by the king, and opened a friendly intercourse with most of the electoral ministers. One of his earliest letters to his brother, is filled with expressions of delight and satisfaction, and with florid descriptions of the magnificence, splendour, and amusements, of the electoral court. He also gives a favourable account of his negotiations in Holland, and anticipates the speedy conclusion of a definitive treaty.

"Dear Brother, "*June* 29—*July* 10, 1748.

"I have been extremely concerned, that your long absence from London made it immaterial for me to give you a particular account of every thing that has passed since my arrival in Holland, as I could not expect an answer in any reasonable time; and my letters must have been very imperfect, as they would have referred to the accounts sent to the duke of Bedford and Mr. Stone, which accounts you could not have received. I will, therefore, now, notwithstanding the great hurry I am in, give you the best account I can, of every thing that has passed.

"My letter to Mr. Stone from the Hague, and the short letter I wrote to you, will have given you a pretty good notion how I found things there. I think we shall bring them to join with us in every thing, as they are all convinced how desirous we are to conclude, and as the Greffier will have the sending of all orders to their ministers at Aix-la-Chapelle, and at all the foreign courts.

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* Paper intitled "Points to be considered with the duke of Cumberland, and the prince of Orange." Hague, 17-28th June, 1748.—Newcastle Papers, MS.

"I hope, you do not dislike the paper of Points, and Answers, and the considerations had upon them at the Duke's quarters. Every thing tends to our great object, of bringing things to an immediate conclusion; and indeed the incident relative to marshal Saxe,* mentioned in my letter to lord Sandwich, makes it, if possible, more necessary than ever. You see we go here as far as is possible, by consenting to the Declaration, and indeed to every thing, except the French retaining part of Flanders, which, I am persuaded, would have the worst effect imaginable; take away all the grace of our peace; and give just reason to our enemies to say, that we had procured the restitution of all Flanders by the preliminaries, and afterwards given up part of it by a subsequent declaration. My friend Sandwich has brought all this upon himself, by his over hurry, and running from one extreme to another.

"I found the Duke all goodness to me; shewing me all possible marks of distinction; and, indeed, my stay at the army was extremely agreeable. Bury † was my aide-de-camp; and the best that ever was. His Royal Highness was in the best disposition imaginable; extremely pleased with you, and with your letter; as desirous to bring things to a conclusion as you can be; and I really think, he will enter into most of your schemes of economy. You will see, that I have procured him leave to go to England, as you desired. I suggested to the king, his Royal Highness's coming first, hither, for a few days; but it was not thought necessary."

After recommending colonel Yorke, to go upon a secret mission to Paris, lord Holdernesse to the Hague, Mr. Keith to Vienna, and Mr. Keene to Madrid, he continues, "I flatter myself, I have not spoiled matters, either in Holland or at the army. I found the pensionary mightily alarmed with Vanhaaren's representations of St. Severin's menaces. I was soon able to set that right. And, when I came to the army, I found my lord Sandwich very apprehensive, that the French would insist upon retaining some part of Flanders, &c. But I hope, the expedient of the hostages will be accepted.

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* This alludes to a hint of marshal Saxe, that the French troops could not evacuate the Netherlands, until the next spring.

† Lord Bury, son of the earl of Albemarle.

"I forgot to tell you, that the Duke considered your paper very maturely. The most material difference, that, I think, there is between you, relates to the *manner* of the reduction. He would rather keep the regiments as they are; and charge Ireland with an additional number of men, which, my lord Harrington seemed to think, they would not be much averse to, than make the dispositions in the mode proposed by your paper. But, however, when the Duke comes over, I am persuaded, you will be able to settle this matter, to your mutual satisfaction.

"I come, now, to what has passed since my arrival here. I am sure, you will be glad to hear, that I have been received by the king, in the most gracious, the most obliging, and the most affectionate manner imaginable; and with all the marks of goodness, distinction, and regard, that can be shewn; which appear in every action, and every word, that fall from him. And, indeed, I may say, from the king down to the lowest man here, I never saw any thing like it. And this, I am persuaded, even you will think, makes me give a flattering representation of every thing here. But, upon my word and honour, I do not exceed the truth. The court is truly royal. The house, the entertainment at dinner, the garden, the theatre in the garden, where the French comedy is acted, with the king, and the people of quality, all on one side, and the parterre, or pit, as full as any at the Opera-house, have all a very magnificent appearance.

"Prince William of Hesse is here. He is extremely well received. He has not entered into any business; but he is as polite a man as ever I saw in my life: in manner, and a little in person, he puts me in mind of the late lord Albemarle.

"My lady Yarmouth,* who has kept her chamber for some days, from an indisposition, has been, as you may easily imagine, extremely civil to me; and indeed all the ladies the same. The ministers, as far as I have seen (for I have not yet seen Mr. Munchausen, nor Mr. Grosvoight†) seem very good sort of men; and, by what I have hitherto seen, I dare say, will not do, nor desire any thing that is wrong. Every body here, by all that I can judge, is as much for coming immediately to a general pacification, as you can be at London. You will not be surprised, that whatever regard is shewn to me, from character or reputation, is shewn to Mr. Stone,* from their knowledge of him. The king, and every body, shews him the greatest distinction, as the king expressed himself to me upon his subject, with the greatest regard and approbation; so that hitherto every thing is as well as possible, and I do not see the least appearance of its being otherwise.

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* This lady was Sophia, countess of Walmoden, of whom the king became enamoured at Hanover, before the death of queen Caroline. In 1739, his Majesty brought her to England, and created her countess of Yarmouth. She naturally became the principal channel of communication between the king and his ministers; and from her acquaintance with his Majesty's temper, she knew how to introduce memorials, petitions, letters, and recommendations, at the proper season; and thus, not only relieved the king from personal importunities, but the ministers from the necessity of frequently irritating their royal master, by making applications, which, they knew, would be disagreeable, but which the affairs of state rendered necessary.

† This was a brother of the other Münchhausen, and was *grosvogt*, or high bailiff.

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* Andrew Stone, who is mentioned in this correspondence, in such terms of friendship and confidence, was a native of Winchester, and born on the 5th of February, 1702. He acquired the first rudiments of learning, at Hyde-abbey School, Winchester, then under the direction of Mr. Tittle. He was, in 1717, placed on the Royal foundation at Westminster; and, in 1722, was admitted a student of Christ-church, in the University of Oxford. He was distinguished for his classical proficiency; and was well versed in the different branches of polite literature and science. During his residence at college, he formed an intimate connection with Dr., afterwards bishop Newton, and Mr. Murray, afterwards earl of Mansfield, both of whom were also students of Christ-church, and by whom he was highly esteemed. He was first introduced to the duke of Newcastle, by Dr. Barnard, then rector of Esher, and afterwards successively bishop of Raphoe and Derry, who had espoused his sister.

His sedate deportment, sound discretion, accurate judgment, suavity of manners, and extensive knowledge, added to the elegance and perspicuity of his compositions, were strong recommendations to the favour of the duke of Newcastle, by whom he was appointed his private secretary. In this capacity, by his assiduity and attention, he rose rapidly in the esteem of his noble patron; and was admitted to the most intimate degree of trust and confidence. He was, about this period, appointed under-secretary of state, in order to give consequence to his attendance on the king, by whom he was highly favoured. Of the great affection with which the noble secretary regarded Mr. Stone, numerous instances will appear in these pages; and, until the close of his life, he was considered rather as a friend and coadjutor, thanas a dependent. He was equally respected by Mr. Pelham; and, like the lord chancellor, frequently acted as a mediator, in reconciling the differences between the two brothers.

It affords a striking proof of Mr. Stone's discretion, that, though highly distinguished by the king, and generally respected by all the members of government, he never excited the slightest degree of that official jealousy, which the duke of Newcastle occasionally manifested, towards those with whom he was politically connected. On the contrary, both in his private concerns, and in affairs of state, the duke of Newcastle invariably recurred to Mr. Stone, for advice and assistance; and derived essential advantage from his prudent suggestions and disinterested attachment.

We shall hereafter find Mr. Stone filling the important office of sub-governor to Prince George, the heir apparent; and he acted with his usual discretion, in a post surrounded with peculiar difficulties. He was also appointed keeper of the State-Paper-office; and, on the death of George the Second, he owed, to the kindness of the new sovereign, the place of treasurer to the queen.

After passing through a long political career, with singular felicity and general estimation, he died in December 1773, at the age of seventy-two. By his wife, Miss Mauvillion, whom he espoused in 1743, he left no issue; his only son dying before him, at the age of twelve. [For these communications I am principally indebted to Charles Arbuthnot, esq., Mr. Stone's grand-nephew, and to his niece, Mrs. Sarah Stone.]

"My friend Legge,* is tempting us, in his private correspondence; but I do not think that the bait will take. I really hope and believe, every thing will be done that I think right; that is, that the king of Prussia will have his guaranty for Silesia and Glatz; and, if afterwards he will concur with the Maritime Powers, and the House of Austria, in the support of the old system, in which he ought to think himself as much interested as any body, he will be admitted. But, if nothing will satisfy him but overturning the House of Austria, and entering into separate measures with the Maritime Powers, for that view, the receiving him upon that foot, would be destruction; and the giving him the least expectation of it, would create the greatest confusion imaginable. And this is the universal opinion in Holland, and, I believe, every where else, where the old system is regarded. Do not imagine that I say this, to make my court: it is my real opinion, and you know it has always been so; and, I beg of you, do not be afraid of me, upon this subject.

"I come, now, to give you a particular account of two conferences I have had with the king, upon business; and I can truly say, he shewed the utmost regard for you and your opinion, and the greatest satisfaction, upon hearing how well things were between us. I will own, very freely, that it was with some difficulty, that I got the ratifications through; and I was forced to say, that you had acquiesced in it. As to the other £.100,000, all that I desired was, that he would let me try, whether I could find out some expedient that you would come into; and, so far I got, and no farther; and throughout the whole, said not one word, but what you would be glad to hear; and this is strictly true.

"He talked to me about his troops, which are certainly very fine; ours are extremely so too. But I saw more of the Hanoverians, the reviews of the English having been over, before I came. I have been in as much powder as ever man was, without one ball. There was the greatest order and discipline in the army, that, I believe, ever was known. All the officers highly pleased with the Duke; and he extremely good to them. The Duke thinks, you would have been pleased to be there; and indeed you would;

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* Henry Bilson Legge, fourth son of William, first Earl of Dartmouth, and British minister at Berlin, afterwards created Baron Stawel.

for it was a sight very well worth seeing. We review here on Saturday. The king mentioned the having a sum of money, to enable him to keep up these troops: he said he had spoken to you upon this subject, but had not had an answer; though I had heard, that that matter had been pretty near adjusted between you. I told him, I was persuaded, that you would do every thing, that depended upon you, for his service.

"I have not time to send you many particulars, which I had intended to do. Some others I have forgot; but if any thing material comes into my head, you shall have it by another opportunity; and be assured, that you shall be acquainted with every thing that passes, of the least moment whatever. There are two or three things of consequence, which I have not time to explain to you now; but, as they do not operate immediately, I must defer them, until another opportunity.

"I have only one thing to add, which is, that I must beg from your friendship, that whenever I do any thing you disapprove, you would freely let me know it. I will tell you the truth, and my reasons for it; and will certainly alter, if they are not so strong, as to convince me, most thoroughly, that I am in the right. I must again thank you, for your goodness to the dear duchess of Newcastle. I hope, she will now be soon getting well. Pray, my kindest compliments to lady Katherine, my niece, and my lord Lincoln. Where are the Arundels? Ever," &c.

Reply of Mr. Pelham.

"DEAR BROTHER, "*July* 5*th*-16*th*, 1748.

"I returned hither, this day, from a pretty extensive, but very agreeable expedition. We met with many of your friends, who constantly inquired after you, and expressed very heartily their good wishes of success to you, in your undertakings, and a good journey and safe return. This afternoon, I received your kind letter from Hanover, of the 29th of June, O. S.; but, as I have read none of the foreign letters, which came since I left London, and but very cursorily read over yours, I cannot enter minutely into the contents of it. I am most exceedingly glad to find every thing you meet with, so agreeable to you. I never doubted of the king's gracious reception, nor of the desire, which every one would have, to make themselves as agreeable to you as was possible. The description you give of the place where you are, I have always understood to be just; and I doubt not, but you will find the magnificence, as well as the politeness of the court, increase upon you, rather than diminish.

" I am always happy when any thoughts of mine agree with those of his Royal Highness; but never more so than at this time, when I am so thoroughly convinced, that the future ease and prosperity of his Majesty's government depend so much on the taking proper measures of economy.

" I am not in the least surprised at the regard shewn to Mr. Stone, by the king: you know how much I think he deserves it; and I was always certain when the king came to be acquainted with him, his Majesty would have as true a sense of his merit, as his oldest acquaintance, and best friend. As to the two ratifications you speak of, I cannot say any thing about them, not having seen the treaties, if they relate to money. But, before the next post, I presume I shall be better informed, and will then write you my poor thoughts, with great freedom and sincerity. I can have no objection to Sir Thomas Robinson's going to Aix; I think him an able and an honest man; and, between you and me, there seems to be a little experience wanting in that quarter." * * * *

Mr. Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle.

"DEAR BROTHER, " *Downing Street, July 7th-18th*, 1748.

" By the last post I acknowledged the favour of your letter, of the 10th July, N. S.; but, as I was a good deal tired with my journey, and as no messenger went that day, I did not trouble you with so many particulars as possibly you might expect, in answer to so friendly and communicative a letter as I received from you.

" Since then, I have read over great part of your correspondence, particularly the paper of points, to be considered with the prince of Orange and the Duke, the considerations on those points, and the memorandum of the conference with marshal Bathiani. We had, last night, a meeting at lord Chancellor's, with the duke of Bedford; and you will see by the minute, for his Grace's letter is nothing else, our sense upon what was referred to us by his Majesty.

" For my part, I have not the least doubt of the king's ratification of the declaration, upon the terms expressed in the duke of Bedford's letter. At the same time I must say, it is in firm confidence that proper use will be made of it; I mean a reduction of our expences forthwith; for, if we should come to demand a sum of money, to make good to the captors, what must be restored to the several powers, from whom the prizes were taken, and not at the same time be able to shew the benefit that arose to the public, by our putting a speedy end to the war, and reducing the public charge, I am afraid that it will go hardly down.

"I must again congratulate you, on your agreeable reception at Hanover; I never doubted it, and heartily wish it may long continue."

After approving the secret mission of colonel Yorke to Paris, though he observes that he would have preferred Mr. Stone, Mr. Pelham continues:—

"But your conference with M. Bathiani, I can never approve of. You know we differ there, not only in form, but substance. I am as heartily for the old system, if I understand it, as you can be; but a proud, indigent, and ungrateful court is not to be got, or sustained, by yielding to all their unreasonable demands, or by shewing them, that our only object is, to have the honour of their countenance and approbation. What an infamous behaviour is that of count Kaunitz! Sandwich's answer was too mild; though, I assure you, I think lord Sandwich's way of thinking, at present, is both manly and judicious. Some slips he may have been guilty of; but, by your assistance, they seem to me to be pretty well set to rights.

"I am glad the Duke is coming to England; I shall, with great duty and submission, tell him my mind freely. I doubt we shall not agree, because by your letter, he differs in the fundamentals of my proposal. I wish he had gone first to Hanover, though for never so short a time. Appearances would have been better, and it would then have been thought, that he came over fully instructed by his Majesty; and, whatever had been determined, would have appeared the act of both. The princess Amelia, upon whom I waited this morning, concluded his Royal Highness would go first to Hanover. She had received a letter from him, and by that he thought so too. She desired me to make you her compliments, and was as full of your praises, as any of the most complaisant inhabitants of the electorate.

"I am much honoured by the king's thinking of me at all. I always knew his Majesty's opinion was, not for pouring out all we had, to answer the demands of the court of Vienna. You said truly, that I acquiesced in the affair of the four thousand Austrian horse. I could do no otherwise, after the Duke had engaged in it; but I hope you remember, I never counselled it, but was always of opinion, that it should not be done. What expedient you can have for the other £.100,000 I am at a loss to find out. I should not act honestly by you, nor the king, if I did not say, I see none; and I must be so free as to tell you, that I do not see how I can possibly issue the money. The scandalous *tabelle* they have sent over, of fifty-eight thousand men, puts one out of all patience.

"Poor Legge has fallen into an unhappy embassy. I dare say he acts for the best; and, if I have any guess of what his negotiation consists, I do not see what we can expect more. A peace is made, his possessions are guarantied, he of course gives his mutual guaranty; he then desires to enter into a friendly alliance with the Maritime Powers; they keep firm to their old engagements; but, having renewed their friendship with Prussia, will be the better able to maintain that alliance than, by fatal experience, we see they could without it. Perhaps I am going out of my sphere; but as you desired I would write freely to you, I do. I sent you poor Keene's letter, and my first thoughts upon it."

After commending the mission of Mr. Keene to Spain, and disapproving that of Sir James Grey to the Hague, he concludes:—

"I doubt not, dear brother, I have wrote to you with more freedom than you will approve. It is to you, and you alone, I write. No one can be happier than I am, to see you pleased, and also to be a witness of the considerable share you have, in the direction of the great machine: I would wish you, therefore, to do it as safely, as you can do it honestly; and that you may receive the thanks and blessings of your own country, as sincerely, as you will those of some other countries, plentifully. Your great object is undoubtedly right; your success hitherto great; and, by all I can learn, France is as desirous to make up the present disputes honourably, as we can be ourselves.

"I forgot to take notice of what you mentioned, concerning a sum of money to keep up the troops. The king's memory is good; and I thought I had told you what passed on that subject: it is impossible for me to give any assurances, as things now are. Many prudent steps must be taken, before such a bold one can be entered into. But you said no more than what you may answer for; that my wishes will always be, to make his Majesty happy and strong, in all places."

The duke of Newcastle had scarcely reached Hanover, when he encountered a new embarrassment, arising from the electoral views of his royal master.

Anxious to obtain a princely establishment for his favourite son, the Duke of Cumberland, the king had meditated the appropriation of the bishopric of Osnaburg, which, by the illness of the elector of Cologne, then in possession of the see, appeared likely to become soon vacant.

At the peace of Westphalia, it was stipulated, that this bishopric should be alternately occupied by a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, and by a Protestant lay prince, of the House of Brunswick Lunenburg; and, in consequence of this regulation, the see had been held by Ernest Augustus, Duke of York, brother of George I, on whose death it had been transferred to Clement Augustus, elector of Cologne, brother of Charles Albert, the late emperor, and elector of Bavaria. It was natural, therefore, for the king to wish, that the possession of such a territory could be rendered perpetual in his family, though considerable opposition to this appropriation, was to be apprehended from the head of the empire, and the Catholic princes, from the king of Prussia, as hostile to the aggrandisement of the rival House of Brunswick, and from the king of France, as a guarantee of the peace of Westphalia.

These difficulties, however, did not discourage the king. Being apprised of the illness of the elector of Cologne, he had communicated his intentions to Mr. Pelham; and, though he received no encouragement, he adopted measures for realising them, immediately on his arrival at Hanover. He not only opened a secret negotiation with the courts of Berlin and Vienna, but applied to that of Versailles; and sent orders, through Mr. Stone, in the absence of the duke of Newcastle, to lord Sandwich, to support his pretensions, in the course of the negotiations for peace. These pretensions were also to be advocated by M. Busch, whom he had already appointed as his electoral agent, at Aix-la-Chapelle.

This project was mentioned by the king, in one of the earliest audiences, which he gave to the duke of Newcastle, whose manly and spirited opposition may best be appretiated, from his own letter to Mr. Pelham on the subject.

"Dear Brother, "*Hanover, July* 3*rd*-14*th*, 1748.

"I think I may flatter myself, that my letters to my lord Sandwich and the duke of Bedford, will fully convince you, that I am determined to keep my word with you, to do every thing in my power to hasten the conclusion of the definitive treaty, and to make all the savings and reductions, that our present situation can render adviseable.

"I think the first seems in a very good way; and as to the latter, the orders now sent about the fleet, and the measures that will be taken in consequence of his Royal Highness's return to England, will, I hope, be entirely to your satisfaction.

"I told you, in my last letter, that there were some points, which I had not then time to explain to you. I will now very fully and truly acquaint you with them; and I think I may, beforehand, be assured of your approbation of what I have done, and shall do, upon them.

"Whilst I was at the Hague, I had a hint from Mr. Stone, that he had the king's orders, to write to my lord Sandwich about the affair of Osnaburg; and, when I was at the army, my lord Sandwich shewed me Mr. Stone's letter to him, and his answer, copies of which I inclose; and this is all that I then knew upon this subject. When I came hither, the king told me, that he intended to send Mr. Busch to Aix, upon this affair, and desired I would write to my lord Sandwich, to assist him in his negotiations. I mentioned to the king, the difficulties that would arise, from the Treaty of Westphalia being particularly renewed and guarantied by the preliminary articles; and from the principle which has been, and is approved by his Majesty, for excluding all points that are foreign to the Preliminaries, from being made part of the Definitive Treaty.

"I have had several conferences with the king's ministers here, upon this subject; and particularly with Mr. Munchausen the elder, and Mr. Busch, who set out, last night, for Aix-la-Chapelle. I must do them the justice to say, they are all of them very reasonable upon it. I have laid before them the difficulties, if not the impossibility, of succeeding in this point, from the guaranty of the Treaty of Westphalia, particularly stipulated by the Preliminaries, and from the measure of excluding all foreign matters from the Definitive Treaty. I have shewed them the danger of clogging, or retarding the public negotiation, which requires such immediate conclusion, with a matter of this kind: and I have laid before them, in the strongest manner, the great inconveniency of suffering France to think, that they can have such an advantage over the king, which they will flatter themselves, they will either be able to make use of, to bring his Majesty into measures favourable to them, or that they may have it in their power to set the several considerable princes of the empire against the king, by the proposal that has been made to them.

I think, this has had the desired effect with them all: they see the weight of the reasoning. Mr. Munchausen told me, he thought the thing was impracticable; that the queen of Hungary herself had told him, that no consideration whatever should make her agree to it; and Mr. Busch, who is the person employed, is fully of the same opinion, and is extremely displeased with his commission. But they all say, that the king is so set upon it, that Mr. Busch must go; but that the thing will drop of itself. They tell me, they approve extremely of my letter to my lord Sandwich, a copy of which I inclose to you, and they assure me, that no inconvenience shall arise from it; for, as my lord Sandwich is particularly directed, not to suffer the general negotiation to be in any measure retarded by it, so they give me reason to hope, that they will take care, that no separate agreement shall be made with France relating to it; and that, I own, is what I chiefly dread. However, Mr. Busch will certainly take no step, at least for the present, without my lord Sandwich's advice. My letter is so strong to him, not to suffer it in any manner to retard the conclusion of the negotiation; his orders were so strong to hasten the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty; and he is so particularly directed, to take care that M. St. Severin should not have it in his power to make any ill use of the confidence, or to have any advantage over him by it; that I really hope no other inconvenience will, at least at present, arise from it, except that France has been trusted with the secret, which was done long before I knew one single word of the matter. And, after this thing was gone thus far, before I was acquainted with it, I think, the measure I took, to apprise the ministers of the ill consequences of it, which has had its effects, and the writing to lord Sandwich in this manner, was the best that I could take, in the present situation.

"I have no apprehension that the negotiation at Aix will be at all clogged by it; and *that* the king does certainly not intend. But, when he read that part of my letter, he said "*No: that is not my meaning;* but why may not I, as elector, come to an agreement with France, that they shall give no opposition *to it?*" And *that*, I own to you freely, is what I dread. But I really hope and think, I shall have the assistance of all the ministers here, to prevent it; for they all agree with me, that it is absolutely necessary to support what I call *the old and great system;* and I have endeavoured to shew them, how inconsistent any such private agreement with France is, with that measure, which agreement France will not fail to make use of, if they can, to overturn that old and great system. And, however you and I may differ, which I hope we do not, about the necessity of supporting that old system, I am sure you will agree with me, that I have made very good use of it, upon this occasion. It is my sincere opinion, as a faithful servant to the king, that he should have no obligation of this kind to France; because it is impossible for him to return it, consistently with his own interest, and that of the public.

"I have now told you all. There is one circumstance which I forgot, which is, that notwithstanding the queen of Hungary's declared aversion to this measure, both she and the emperor have wrote letters to the king, that they will not oppose it, if all other parties consent. This was told me by Mr. Munchausen; but I find they do not lay much weight upon it. I have now told you all I know, all I have done, and all I suspect. Mr. Stone and I are here alone. We do for the best; and, if you do not like it, you did wrong to send me hither. This I will venture to say, by some anecdotes I have already learned, that none of my predecessors would have done so much. With the same freedom that I write, I hope you will write to me; but you will be very cautious how you send it. I must insist, that you would mention nothing of this, but to my lord Chancellor and the duke of Bedford. I was doubtful, whether I should write this same letter, to the duke of Bedford, or to yourself. I thought it would be best to write to you; and I hope the duke of Bedford will see it in the same light, for it can make no difference, as to the confidence.

"The other point relates to the continuance of my friend Legge's private correspondence, copies of which I herewith inclose. The only answer that I shall make, will be, that, as it is an electoral point, which was begun entirely without my knowledge, I have nothing to do in it. It was a pretty scheme, both in the king of Prussia and Legge! Had it taken, it might have blown us up with all the world; but, however, I must say no more upon it.

"We shall have difficulties about Prussia, which I do not yet see through. I dare say, the king will consent to what I shall think right in it; which is, to make the king of Prussia part of the next grand alliance, whenever it is right to form one; but whether the king of Prussia will come into it, or not, I cannot say, though I think it as much for his interest, as for that of any of the other powers concerned. But any separate or exclusive treaty with Prussia, would overturn the whole system of Europe: and I very much question, whether Holland would come into it, on any account whatever. For, when I was at the Hague, there was not the least disposition to any thing of that kind; and we might then have the comfort to find ourselves in an alliance with Prussia, and to have disobliged the queen of Hungary, and the Czarina.

"I have not yet had time to write to Sir Thomas Robinson, nor even to send him word of his being plenipotentiary at Aix. I shall send him orders to complain, very loudly, of the behaviour of the court of Vienna, and particularly of the impertinent paper lately put into his hands; and perhaps to give something in writing, by way of answer to it.

"I have now given you a very full account of all the points of business, except those contained in my letters to the duke of Bedford. I must again recommend the secret; and am," &c.

From this letter it appears, that, with the affair of Osnaburg, was coupled a transaction, which gave great anxiety to Mr. Pelham, and to which he alludes, in the subsequent letter, dated July 14th-25th.

The king of Prussia, on ascertaining the wishes of George the Second, adroitly opened a negotiation relative to the bishopric; and combined with the offer of his influence and assistance, a proposal for renewing the antient connection of the House of Brandenburg with the Maritime Powers, without stipulating for any return. This negotiation, which had commenced through the electoral ministers, was afterwards continued by Mr. Legge, British envoy at the court of Berlin, a particular friend of Mr. Pelham.

Without inquiring into the sincerity of the Prussian monarch, it may be sufficient to observe, that his offer created a considerable difference of opinion between the two brothers. Mr. Pelham was evidently disposed to conciliate that sovereign, from a conviction that his aid was requisite, to counterbalance the increasing preponderance of the house of Bourbon; and in this opinion he was seconded by the lord Chancellor.* Nor was he unwilling to risk the displeasure of the house of Austria, provided it was possible to obtain the accession of such a power as Prussia, to the British system of continental alliances. The king and the duke of Newcastle, on the other hand, were strongly disposed to consider the overture as an insidious scheme, to detach the Maritime Powers from Austria; particularly since an intercepted letter had been communicated to the duke of Newcastle, in which the king of Prussia announced his intention of dissembling his real sentiments, until the pacification should be settled, lest England should take a handle to weaken the guaranty of Silesia, given by the preliminaries.* Both the king and the duke of Newcastle, therefore, declared themselves averse to any connection with Prussia, except in conformity with the old system of the grand alliance, in which Austria was to be the principal.

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* See letter from the Lord Chancellor to the Duke of Newcastle, dated July 15th-26th, 1748. Illust. Corres.

After some cold and cautious negotiation, the king intimated, that until a definitive treaty should have been concluded, he would decline a more intimate connection with the Prussian monarch, notwithstanding his offer of assistance in relation to Osnaburg. Indeed his Majesty entertained so strong an objection to any interference in his German affairs, that he manifested high displeasure against Mr. Legge, for taking the negotiation relative to the bishopric out of the hands of his own agent at Berlin. At the same time, his resentment was heightened by an indiscreet expression, imputed to Mr. Legge, that the King's arrival at Hanover had defeated this design. The duke of Newcastle, also, resented another inconsiderate remark, implying that his Grace was led by the Hanoverian ministers. In consequence of the dissatisfaction thus given to the king and the noble secretary, Mr. Legge was summoned to Hanover, and received a severe reprimand. The king even threatened to send him home from his embassy, in disgrace, and to deprive him of his seat at the Treasury board.

Mr. Pelham, on this occasion, defended his friend, with a zeal highly honourable to his feelings. He approved the conduct of Mr. Legge in the negotiation; discredited, as improbable, the expressions imputed to him; and strongly deprecated his dismissal, as an act no less unjust than impolitic.

The opinion of Mr. Pelham, on these delicate questions, will be best shewn from his own letter to his brother, whose manly and prudent conduct, in the affair of Osnaburg, he most cordially approved.

"DEAR BROTHER, "*July* 14*th*-25*th*, 1748.

"I have read over your most secret letter of the 3rd-14th, which I received by Lamb the messenger, very carefully, as also the several papers which you sent inclosed. I afterwards read them all over with the duke of Bedford, and carried them to lord Chancellor, with whom I left them some time. He has also perused them, and will himself write to you upon the subject.† We are all clearly of opinion, that you have conducted this affair as judiciously and as honestly as was possible to do, considering how delicate the subject was. The king once mentioned this claim to me, upon the supposed illness of the elector of Cologne; but, as he recovered, I imagined it was over. Mr. Stone we pity; but are fully convinced it was impossible for him to do but as he did, considering his situation. And we are in great hopes, that the good effects of your letter to lord Sandwich, and the judicious conversation you held with the ministers of Hanover, will prevent any mischief, or ill consequence arising from this negotiation, to the prejudice or delay of the great work, which, I thank God, we are all so unanimous well-wishers to. These events will always happen, more or less, whilst our government continues upon its present basis. We must take the evil with the good; and all that the most able and the most virtuous ministers can do, is to prevent any national mischiefs arising from them. The thing in dispute, is certainly to be wished for. If the Protestant princes in the empire, particularly the House of Brunswick, can, by common consent, extend their dominion, or increase their revenues, it is an additional strength to the common cause; but if views of that kind warp us from the true interest of England, or engage us in expensive and burthensome wars, then they become a grievance.

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* Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Cumberland, dated July 12th-23rd, 1748. Newcastle papers, MS.

† See the Lord Chancellor's letter of July 15th-26th, in the Illustrative Correspondence.

"If I could express myself more amply than I do, to convince you of my private approbation of your conduct, in this affair, I would; or, if I had the least doubt of it, I believe, you, by experience, know, I should not hesitate to speak my mind freely. To convince you of that sincerity, I must take the liberty to say, that I think you judge too severely of Legge's negotiation. In my poor opinion, to say that you will have nothing farther to do with the king of Prussia, until the queen of Hungary, and he, join in one and the same treaty, is to the same effect, as to declare, you will have nothing to do with that court at all. You must see, the court of Vienna is watching for every opportunity to pick a safe quarrel there; and nothing can prevent it, but a full conviction in them, that the Maritime Powers will not suffer it. I say Maritime Powers, for fashion's sake; for, as to Holland, I look upon them, as yet, to be no power at all. I wish they may recover; but fear they will grow worse and worse. Surely the king of Prussia offers roundly his friendship. He may be false; but what do we lose by accepting his offer? If he should mean fairly, do we not lose a great deal, in throwing him irrecoverably into the hands of France? Can we ever expect to force him to be our friend; and, if this opportunity is lost, can we hope ever to lead him to be so? By what the Chancellor said to me, this is his opinion also. I doubt the affair is already determined: if not, I beg you to consider of it. I know, you may depend on Legge's secrecy, take what part you will; but you cannot expect it from the king of Prussia, who will avail himself of this offer, whenever that side of the question will serve him; and, at the same time, convince France that the offer was only to amuse us, and that he never meant to engage with us, in earnest.

"There is another point, that I beg leave to submit to your consideration. Is it prudent to talk of future treaties and engagements, in some measure offensive to France, before your peace is made? If that should transpire, which, undoubtedly, if the king of Prussia and we do not agree, he will take care shall be known to France, will it not give that court sufficient umbrage for any measures they shall think proper to take, either by breaking off the present negotiation, or by forming alliances, on their part, to prepare for another war, before we shall be ready to withstand them? As you desired I would speak my mind freely, you see I do; and I chuse rather to mention these ideas, by way of prevention, before things are done, than wait to find fault with them afterwards, make uneasinesses, and do no real service. I have now opened my whole budget to you. This, and my former private letter, will shew you my fears, and at the same time satisfy you, that in every thing already done, you have my hearty approbation."

On the subject of Mr. Legge, we also insert some letters, which passed between the two brothers, contributing to shew the difficult parts they had to act, in opposing the wishes, and soothing the resentment of the king.

The Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pelham.

"Dear Brother, "*Hanover, July* 24*th*,-*Aug*. 4*th*, 1748.

* * * * * *

"I am extremely obliged to you for your most kind, friendly, and sensible letter, which I received at Gottingen. I hope the great affair will give us no difficulty. I am glad you approve my conduct in it. I really think, you will do *very near* the same, when you know all the facts relating to Prussia. I thought it right to write the letter I have done, upon the subject, to the duke of Bedford. That is the true state of the case. Believe me, Legge has had more views, more irons in the fire, than you imagine. He is not that *simple, plain, disinterested man,* we all thought him. However, we have parted good friends. He is extremely disapproved by the king, who calls him *fool* every day, and abuses us all for sending a man, purely because he can make a speech in the House of Commons. I send you two curious letters. By one, you will see, *I have no obligation to Legge.* That conversation with Klingraff,* was before I had seen Legge. By the other, you will see, *Legge has no obligation to the king of Prussia.* The poor man was quite confounded when he was here. He had overshot himself. *Osnaburg bait* had failed, and he was getting off as fast as he could.

"We have never declared, we would not have any thing to do with the king of Prussia, until he and the queen of Hungary joined in one treaty. We have declared, we would abide by the old system, and desired his concurrence, and would give him the strongest security for his Silesia, &c. By all the intercepted letters, he wants to amuse us, and divide us from our allies. Establish his guaranties; 'give him no just cause to complain; do the business right and well at the congress; the rest will then depend upon him.' This is, *or Legge says,* this is his opinion. This is Sir Thomas Robinson's, the Duke's, and all our friends' in Holland. I must name Holland; for I think it is still essential to carry them with us in every thing, and we shall do it. There is not the least foundation for Legge's *kind assertion* about me to Klingraff, before he saw me. So far am I from being led by these ministers, that not one of them, to do them justice, has ever *proposed any one single step, or measure, to me.* Whatever I have done, is all my own; and I must stand and fall by it. Whenever I have acquainted them with what I had done, or proposed to do, they always have approved it. But indeed it is not the opinion here, nor of any one, but my friend Legge, that I take my *directions* from them; though I must again repeat, they are very reasonable, well-disposed men. This I must in justice say; and they are as reasonable upon the king of Prussia's subject, as upon any other. Do not think by this, my dear brother, that I am in the least uneasy at what you have wrote. On the contrary, it highly pleases me, and *does me good.* Advice always with me has some effect, *from those I sincerely love and esteem.* I told Stone, who has got the cholic, though he is better, that you would not believe Klingraff. He said, he was sure you would, if you knew all."

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* The Prussian envoy at Hanover.

Extract of a Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pelham.

" *Hanover, July 27th,-Aug. 7th*, 1748.

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* " I come now to the point, which is the chief occasion of my troubling you with this private letter. The king spoke very strongly to me upon Legge's behaviour to me; and, having again talked to Klingraff, of my being under the *tutelle* of the Hanover ministers, the king desired me, I would acquaint you with it. I told him, that I had already done it; that I knew, any thing that concerned me, would always make the greatest impression on you. The king said, 'We must get rid of Legge.' I really thought he meant, only from Berlin. I said, that commission would end of course, towards winter. His Majesty then explained himself farther, and plainly meant to turn him *out*. The king said, 'People, when they are out, are not so much believed;' thinking that I should apprehend, what Legge might say of me, if he remained in office. You may imagine, I put a short end to this affair, and would not suffer it to be thought of. But, however, I cannot but say, it is cruel in my friend Legge, if it is true in any degree; and I am afraid it is so; for, I know, he has had the indiscretion to say, in a place from whence I have had it, that if the king had not come to Hanover this year, his negotiation would have succeeded. I wonder he could say that, when the foundation of his negotiation was *Osnaburg*, a Hanover bait. I will trouble you no farther, upon this disgreeable subject. I know I do not deserve the imputation, and am easy about it.

" I shall write a private letter to the duke of Bedford, inclosing one I have received from Bentinck. You may acquaint his Grace with any, or no part of this letter, just as you think most advisable. I could wish, you would shew it to the Chancellor. He wrote to me strongly about Prussia; and I hope you will be all easy about it, after you have received the letter I wrote, the last post, to the duke of Bedford. The inclosed letters shew, that the king of Prussia himself does not propose any thing should be done, till after the pacification is concluded; and I think, as I said before, that matter is now left, as well as it can be, considering the temper and character of his Prussian Majesty. I beg, if you continue to differ with me in opinion, you would let me know it. I shall make no ill use of it; and I shall be heartily glad, if any thing can be struck out, which can make us agree in this, which is now the only point in which we differ. Believe me, dear Brother, I am not thought the dupe, or the creature, of the Hanover ministers. I told the king very plainly, what I had wrote to you upon that subject.

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* The first part of this letter, which relates to the provisional cession of the Netherlands to the Maritime Powers, will be found in the next Chapter.

Robinson is a great favourite with the king, and he deserves it. He wishes to have the *plate*. I have not yet dared to mention it; but will, if you have no objection to it. I will take care of all your commands, and get them done, the first moment I have leisure. I am," &c.

Mr. Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle.

"Dear Brother, "*August* 2*nd*-13*th*, 1748.

"As I can learn nothing of a messenger going to Hanover this evening, I write this, only to acknowledge the receipt of your two private letters, both which I received, since I wrote to you on Friday last. The contents, you may imagine, give me great concern. I should be very sorry to find any man lose his honour and his understanding, all at once; but when it is in the person of one I really wish well to, and to whom I have given some small protection, in my little way, it must afford me the more. If you have no other intelligence than what you have sent to me, I cannot give credit to it; and I must say, his fate is somewhat hard, that the very correspondence, which, in former instances, was always treated as false and designing, should, in his alone, be so easily credited. But I suspend both my judgment and my observation, until I hear farther.

"Your public letters I have read over, till I am almost blind. They are of much more consequence than the particular concern of any one individual, be he what, or who he will. I will certainly send you my thoughts at large, by the next messenger; though I believe you know them, pretty well, already.

"We are to dine with the Chancellor to-morrow. I conclude, every thing will be talked over at his house, and that you will hear by the next mail, the public opinion of all his Majesty's servants, that are in or near London.

"I did suppose, whoever went to Aix, that the king would put him upon the same foot as lord Sandwich. I believe it is usual to do so, and I do not think it should be lessened, because Sir Thomas Robinson is an old servant, and has been employed a great while abroad. The civil list is very low; the great offices have, for a great while, created what expense they have pleased: of consequence, my views with regard to that revenue are as little in my power to satisfy, as in any other. But of all savings, that of your embassadors, at a congress, I have always thought the most improper. We will, therefore, do as well as we can, whatever appointments the king is pleased to give him." * * * * *

The following letter, from Mr. Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle, in justification of Mr. Legge, will be found peculiarly interesting, not only for the spirit with which he supports his friend, but also for an anecdote, relating to his great uncle, the celebrated Algernon Sidney.

"DEAR BROTHER, "*August* 4*th*-15*th*, 1748.

"I answered your letter of the 7th N.S., last post, in general; and I shall now trouble you with very little more upon that part of it, which relates to Mr. Legge. I have mentioned it to nobody, but the Chancellor and the princess Amelia: to the first but slightly, and to her Royal Highness more fully; as I did imagine, had you been in England, you would have done so, yourself. The duke of Bedford I thought a very improper person, to communicate such a story to. He would have insisted to have had it explained, that one he loves might not lie under such a suspicion, without a foundation. I told the princess, as I now do you, that I cannot think him such a fool, if I could suppose him base enough, to talk of you, in such a manner, to one he knew nothing of, and a minister of the king of Prussia. I owned my concern at its being so easily credited; but his Majesty's quick decision did not surprise me at all. Long before I received this account, I wrote to Legge, and advised him to get home as soon as he could. I saw, no good was likely to come to his country, and I have long seen, no good could come to himself, from this unfortunate embassy: do not fancy by this, that I think Legge that *simple, plain, disinterested* man, you suppose we all did. I can assure you, I do not; nor do I think so of any others, whose professions are, the following of a court, and raising themselves in the world by that means. I think him full as good a man as his neighbours; more able, and as willing, to serve those that serve him, as any one I have been acquainted with, in that way, for a great while. I hope, therefore, he has not, in the most absurd instance, made that impracticable, which his other qualities made eligible. I will trouble you no farther upon this subject; but just with one observation, which is, that when I read in your letter, his Majesty's quick determination to turn him out at once, it put me in mind of what Algernon Sidney said to my father the night before his execution. 'Nephew, I value not my own life a chip; but what concerns me is, *that law*, which takes away my life, may hang every one of you, whenever it is thought convenient.' "*

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These manly representations at length produced the desired effect. The resentment of the king gradually subsided; and Mr. Legge was suffered, not only to return to his embassy, but to retain his seat at the Board of Treasury.

The scheme for the acquisition of Osnaburg continued to occasion considerable embarrassment; but the elector of Cologne having recovered his health, the king at first suspended, and finally relinquished his purpose, from a conviction of its impracticability, as well as impolicy. It is but justice, however, to observe, that the duke of Cumberland, though deeply interested in the proposed arrangement, took the earliest opportunity to express his regret, that it had ever been brought into discussion; and declared his unwillingness to suffer any personal interest of his own, to interfere with the general negotiation.†

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* See the latter part of this letter, in chap. xvii.

† Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to the Duke of Cumberland, July 13th-23rd. Newcastle Papers, MS.

CHAPTER XVII.

1748.

Claims of the Belligerent Powers, interested in the conclusion of peace—The Empress Queen insists on the unconditional restitution of the Netherlands, and on a conclusion by separate Treaties—Resolution of the King to sign the definitive treaty without Austria, if France would consent to surrender the Netherlands provisionally to the Maritime Powers—Sir Thomas Robinson appointed joint plenipotentiary at Aix—Convention for the return of the Russian Troops—The King, on the refusal of France, to cede the Netherlands provisionally, orders lord Sandwich to conciliate the Court of Vienna—Correspondence on the various points of the negotiation—Representations of the Cabinet of England, relative to the conclusion of peace—Instructions of the Duke of Newcastle to the joint plenipotentiaries, to obtain the concurrence of Austria.

FROM the precipitation with which the preliminaries had been adjusted, no sanguine hope could be entertained, of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the definitive treaty. The discordant pretensions of the contracting parties had indeed been suspended; but were renewed, when the plenipotentiaries proceeded to discuss their respective projects, in detail.

The chief points at issue, between France and England, were the restitution of Cape Breton, and of the conquests in the East Indies; the dismantling of the fortifications of Dunkirk; and the renewal and extension of the guaranty of the Protestant Succession.

Of Spain, England demanded an exemption from the right of search, which had given rise to hostilities; a compensation for the depredations committed on her maritime trade; the revival of all the commercial privileges, which had been enjoyed before the commencement of hostilities; and the fulfilment of the Asiento Treaty, which had been interrupted by the war. Spain, on the other hand, required the territories promised to the Infant, Don Philip, by the empress queen, at the signature of the preliminaries, namely the duchies of Parma and Guastalla, and the town of Placentia.

The States General claimed from France, only the restitution of Bergen-op-Zoom, Maestricht, and the other conquered towns; but from Austria they peremptorily demanded the confirmation of the Barrier Treaty, to which they attributed, not only their security from French aggression, but even their superior advantages in manufactures and commerce. In this requisition, the court of England fully concurred.

The king of Sardinia required, that Austria should confirm all the cessions made to him by the Treaty of Worms, excepting Placentia and Finalé, and insisted on a secure guaranty for the reversion of Placentia, in case Don Philip should die without issue male, or succeed to the throne of Naples. He also contended, that Naples and Spain should never be united.

But the chief attention of the Congress at Aix, was engrossed by the extraordinary proceedings of the empress queen, who considered herself sacrificed to the interests of the Maritime Powers. Her plenipotentiary, therefore, employed every artifice to evade the formal confirmation of the cessions made to Sardinia, in the Treaty of Worms, and of the guaranty of Silesia and Glatz to Prussia, in that of Breslau; while, in reference to the establishment for Don Philip, he demanded for his imperial mistress a farther guaranty of the reversion of Parma and Guastalla, should that prince die without issue male, or succeed to the throne of Naples. In the mean time, by her influence at St. Petersburg, the empress queen had obtained a private order, for the continuance of the Russian troops in her hereditary dominions, contrary to the stipulations between England, France, and Holland, for their speedy return. Her object was, to retain them, as a check on the king of Prussia, or as an auxiliary force, ready to act in the empire, should she be entirely abandoned by the Maritime Powers.

She also renewed her claim for the £.100,000, as the arrears of the English subsidy; but her most strenuous efforts were directed to the recovery of the Low Countries, without the restrictions of the Barrier Treaty. With this view, count Kaunitz formally declared that treaty to be abrogated by the signature of the preliminaries, in which no mention of it had been made; and he not only required an abatement of the Austrian subsidy for maintaining the Dutch garrisons, and repairing the fortresses of the barrier, but also the unconditional restitution of the Low Countries, antecedently to the signature of the definitive treaty. The empress queen farther objected to a general treaty, and insisted on the conclusion of separate arrangements, between the respective belligerent powers.

These conflicting claims had already occasioned considerable delay. The general principle of a mutual restitution of conquests, avowed in the preliminaries, had been recognized by all the contracting parties; but so long as the empress queen, by withholding her concurrence at each successive step, refused to receive the Netherlands, on the basis of the Barrier Treaty, and to confirm the guaranties demanded by the kings of Sardinia and Prussia, such restitutions could not be accomplished. Hence the fate of the Netherlands became one of the earliest subjects of discussion among the ministers at Aix; and, immediately after the signature of the preliminaries, by the Maritime Powers and France, attempts were made, to ascertain the intentions of the French court, with regard to those countries. This perplexing question was suspended, by the accession of the empress queen to the preliminaries; but it was revived, with increased interest, in the ulterior negotiations; and the difficulties which it occasioned, afforded ample scope for the intrigues of St. Severin. Aware of the growing dissensions between Austria and the Maritime Powers, he cautiously hinted at the temporary retention of a part of the Low Countries, by France, as a security for the fulfilment of the treaty; but, finding that this indirect proposal excited alarm, he dexterously withdrew it, and assured lord Sandwich of his readiness to conclude the definitive treaty, without the concurrence of Austria, should the conduct of that power render such a determination necessary.

Among the various expedients suggested, for obviating the difficulty apprehended from the obstinacy of Austria, the duke of Newcastle had proposed the temporary surrender of the Netherlands to the Maritime Powers. The proposal was fully approved by the Dutch government; and the language held by St. Severin, to the earl of Sandwich, was considered as implying the acquiescence of the French court.* When Kaunitz, therefore, insisted that the restitution should precede the definitive pacification, urged the adoption of his proposal for concluding by separate treaties, and again refused to acknowledge that of the barrier, recourse was had to decisive measures. On the 7th-18th of July, the duke of Newcastle, by order of the king, sent a peremptory dispatch† to Sir Thomas Robinson, injoining him to demand from the empress queen, a confirmation of the Barrier Treaty, and her acquiescence in a general treaty of peace. Should those points be refused, he was to announce the determination of the Maritime Powers, to conclude a separate agreement with France, according to the preliminaries. Only forty-eight hours were assigned for deliberation; at the expiration of which term, Sir Thomas Robinson, after communicating the result of his negotiation to lord Sandwich, was to depart from Vienna. In case the answer should be either negative or equivocal, his lordship was empowered to conclude separately with France, in concurrence with the Dutch, provided St. Severin would agree to the temporary occupation of the Netherlands by the Maritime Powers.

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* See Letter from the Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pelham, dated Aug. 7th-18th, 1748.

† Grantham Papers, MS.

Sir Thomas Robinson punctually fulfilled these orders. He could not, however, procure, either from their imperial Majesties, or from their ministers, an explicit answer; for, the empress queen again recommended the conclusion by separate treaties; evaded as needless, any specific confirmation of the Barrier Treaty; and declared that she had sent to her plenipotentiary, at the Hague, the outline of an arrangement, with such conciliatory instructions, as would be likely to bring the negotiation to a speedy and favourable issue.

With this apparent acquiescence, Sir Thomas Robinson was satisfied; and, after communicating the result of his application to lord Sandwich, in a letter dated the 25th of July,* he adds, "the court of Vienna are as desirous as we can be, to come as soon as possible to a final conclusion." He also expressed his conviction, that the directions, which had been recently transmitted to the Austrian plenipotentiary, would facilitate a satisfactory arrangement, and not reduce his lordship to the necessity of concluding a separate accommodation with France. Having dispatched his messenger to Aix-la-Chapelle, soon after the expiration of the forty-eight hours, he departed, on the 26th, for Hanover, to convey the same intelligence to the king, and to receive instructions for his conduct, as joint plenipotentiary, at the Congress.

To prevent, also, the empress queen from renewing the war, and to extort her consent to the terms proposed, measures were adopted to inforce the return of the Russian troops to their native country, which their commander, acting under her secret influence, had, on various pretences, delayed. A convention was accordingly signed at the Hague, towards the end of July, between England, France, and Holland, for accelerating the return of these auxiliaries. France, on her side, agreed to disband thirty-seven thousand men, from her army in the Netherlands; and, that the empress queen might be precluded from retaining the Russian troops, under any eventual engagement or pretext, it was expressly stipulated, by the three contracting parties, that those troops should not be permitted to serve any other state, while they received the pay of the Maritime Powers. This agreement took place without the knowledge of the court of Vienna, and, when known, produced considerable irritation in the mind of her Imperial Majesty.

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* Grantham Papers, MS.

In transmitting the account of these proceedings to the ministers in England, the duke of Newcastle anticipated their approbation, particularly that of his brother, to whom, in a letter, he expressed his conviction, that the French would consent to the provisional surrender of the Netherlands, to the Maritime Powers.

"Dear Brother, "*Hanover, July* 10*th*-21*st*, 1748.

"I must again make an excuse for my short letter. I shall be impatient to know how you approve my proceedings; for, believe me, I am more concerned about that, than about any other approbation, *now in England.* I have done my best to bring things to an immediate conclusion, and hope we shall succeed. I have, this moment, received good letters from Sandwich, of the 6th-17th and 7th-18th, with an inclosed draught of a treaty, &c. You will receive it, I suppose, with these letters. By the accounts he gives, things are as well with St. Severin, as is possible; and, by his letters, as well as by two I have from Bentinck, copies of which you shall have next post, Kaunitz seems to be rather better disposed than he was; so that I hope, when Sir Thomas Robinson has made his strong representations, Kaunitz will be directed to concur. I have done all I can towards it; for, if the court of Vienna stands out, we shall have great difficulty to conclude, for, concluding without the immediate restitution of all the Low Countries, is no conclusion at all. I hope, also, you will approve the strong declarations we make, and the dispositions we shew, for immediate reductions of expense. Do but concur in the necessity of supporting the old system and alliance, and all will do well. This, you know, was, and always must be, my point, but I do not mean to do it, so as to destroy the peace, either *now* or *hereafter*. It will certainly have the contrary effect.

"The king will go in that cursed *chaise roulante*. He was overturned, yesterday, and lighted upon his legs, between the *brancards* and the chaise, so that, if the horses had stirred the least, his legs, at best, must have been broke to pieces. He is very well, and in very good and gracious humour. We saw, yesterday, a regiment, raised by count Platen, greatly at his own expense; it is the finest thing that ever was seen. I am," &c.

From the spirited conduct of the noble secretary, his colleagues anticipated the immediate acquiescence of the court of Vienna; and Mr. Pelham, in particular, in several letters, after expressing his warm approbation, earnestly intreated his brother to persevere in the same course, declaring his perfect conviction, that a general peace must shortly be the result.

"Dear Brother, "*Greenwich-park, July* 18*th*-29*th*, 1748.

"I received your letter of the 12th-23rd,* here, this afternoon, and have also one to acknowledge, of the 10th-21st. I propose going to London to-morrow; but, as I have more time here than in London, I take the opportunity of writing now, concluding that you do not expect any thing material from me, by this post. I think, I have not missed writing myself, once, since I returned from the North; as indeed I ought not, considering how very good you have been to me. You cannot blame me for neglecting to speak my mind; for my two letters by the messengers were as frank and open, as if I had had the pleasure of speaking to you in person.

"The duke of Bedford is almost always at Woburn. He comes to London on a Tuesday night, and goes away again on Thursday in the afternoon; so that, whilst he is in town, he is in a constant hurry. But I can assure you he is in very good humour; and, I think, approves in general of every thing you do.

"I hope you did not dislike my letters. You know wherein we differ; it is only in the way of bringing about the same thing; for, now that the Preliminaries are signed, and the measure is peace, I am truly convinced, no one can be more desirous of bringing it to perfection, than yourself. I was always aware of the hampering articles in our Russian treaty, and therefore wished for some preparatory measure, to get the better of it. You may remember, I spoke both to the king and you about it, soon after the preliminaries were signed. I also wrote a private letter to lord Hyndford,† to prepare him for our sending home these troops; and told him, I thought we were intitled to some latitude, as to the prohibited months of marching, considering how well we had paid them, in both their treaties, and that we did not make an objection to the palpable imposition, when they asserted, they could not march back in the winter months, and at the same time engaged to begin their march forward, in those very months. I mean this only as a hint, for what may be said, and I hope done, if necessary.

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* This letter is missing.

† British minister at the court of St. Petersburgh.

"I have read all the letters that came in on Friday; but have not yet seen what came in to-day, excepting a very short minute, which Mr. Brown is so good constantly to send me, before the letters go to Woburn. You may imagine I am charmed with Sandwich's letter of the 14th. He says my whole thoughts on the subject; and I can, with truth affirm, I never had the least idea to the prejudice of the House of Austria, beyond what is contained in that letter. For God's sake, pursue the instructions you have now given him! Do not relax; and I will pawn my life the peace is general, before we meet. I understand, we are not to expect the Duke so soon as he first intended. I will take care to learn, whether your apprehensions are just or not, and let you know the result in my next. I wrote you word, the duke of Somerset was ill, and the University of Cambridge in a great bustle. His Grace has been better and worse; but, by the letters which came in yesterday, I look upon his case as desperate.* I am, &c."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Pelham to the Duke of Newcastle.

"DEAR BROTHER, "*July 22nd-Aug. 2nd*, 1748.

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"As to other more material affairs, I can add little to what I have wrote before, excepting that upon our meeting, last Wednesday, your letters were read, and lord Sandwich's. We are in hopes your representations will bring the court of Vienna to see their own interest, and act accordingly; but, if not, we all agree, that your instructions to lord Sandwich are as prudent and as right as can be. I do not doubt but you will have full satisfaction on that head, in your letters of this messenger. His Grace,* as I told you, is so little in town, and in such a hurry, that it is impossible to do business with him in the manner you like. His assistants may be good men, but they know so little of business, that there is no transacting any thing at his office separate from him."

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* The duke of Somerset was chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and the duke of Newcastle intended to offer himself as a candidate for that honour, on his decease. This event happened on the 7th of February, 1749-50; and the duke of Newcastle was chosen chancellor, in opposition to the prince of Wales.

In another letter of the same date, after again complaining of the official difficulties, arising from the temporary absences of the duke of Bedford, Mr. Pelham reverts to the conduct of the empress queen, in terms which shew how deeply he resented her equivocations and delays.

"I know the great inconvenience it will be to finish this affair, without the queen of Hungary; but I know too, how impossible it is for us to take up arms again. If you are driven to evils, and that by those, who ought to relieve you rather than distress you, you must of two take the least. It is in vain to look back. I am satisfied, our indulgences to them have made them thus insolent and haughty. I think not of, I point not at new alliances; but countries, like private men, may, by constant and flagrant ill usage, be driven to warmer measures than they at first have thought on. I dread the peace going off, or being delayed, ten times more than I do the ill-will, or wrong-headed resentment of any person whatever. I know the worst of the one; but I can foresee no end of the mischiefs, both public and private, that will attend the other. I will, by the next messenger, write more fully to you. I shall then probably have seen more and heard more. At present I am quite at a loss what to guess."

The hopes expressed in this correspondence, that the French would agree to the provisional possession of the Netherlands by the Maritime Powers, were unfortunately not realized. When the plenipotentiaries proceeded to discuss their respective schemes for the definitive treaty, St. Severin proposed in his project, that the restitutions should not be made, until after the conclusion of peace; and took farther advantage of the differences among the allies, by advancing a demand in favour of the attainted Scottish rebels, which was highly derogatory to the royal dignity. He also attempted to evade the engagement, relative to the fortifications of Dunkirk, as settled in the preliminaries, while he evinced a general disposition to wrest every doubtful clause, in favour of his sovereign. Of this change of disposition lord Sandwich apprised the duke of Newcastle, in a dispatch dated August 2nd, in which he still recommended the policy of menacing the empress queen with the conclusion of a separate treaty, notwithstanding the difficulties likely to arise, relative to the provisional surrender of the Netherlands; and argued, that this firmness, on the part of England, must eventually prevail.

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* The duke of Bedford.

Intelligence so unexpected, made a deep impression both on the king and the duke of Newcastle. They strongly reprobated the insidious conduct of St. Severin; and, perceiving the danger of alienating the court of Vienna, while the Netherlands remained in the possession of France, they instantly changed both their language and views. The duke of Newcastle, in a dispatch * to lord Sandwich, dated July 26th-August 6th, hastened to revoke the peremptory injunctions, recently conveyed, and the authority by which he was empowered to conclude separately with France, should the court of Vienna continue obstinate. His Grace now enjoined lord Sandwich to conciliate that court, and spare no efforts to procure the concurrence of the Austrian plenipotentiary, in the policy of the Maritime Powers. To obviate any farther cause of suspicion and jealousy, a confidential communication was to be opened with him, and he was to be informed of the convention for the speedy return of the Russian troops. The duke also approved, with a few particular exceptions, the project of Kaunitz, for a definitive treaty; declared it to be founded on the preliminaries; and allowed lord Sandwich a discretionary power to impart his own project to that minister.

During the progress of the negotiation, and before the lords justices had received any specific information respecting the necessity of conciliating the court of Vienna, the duke of Newcastle had appealed to them for their opinion on his proposal, that the Maritime Powers should take provisional possession of the Netherlands; and also requested their assistance, in devising expedients for obviating the difficulties created by the court of Vienna. While this subject was under consideration, Mr. Pelham was embarrassed by an unexpected letter from lord Sandwich, declaring his conviction, that the French would never agree, even to the temporary cession of the Netherlands; and, therefore, intreating him to advise his brother, no longer to pursue an object that was unattainable.

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* Grantham Papers, MS.

"Sir, "*Aix-la-Chapelle, Aug.* 1*st*, 1748.

"The letters I have just received from the duke of Newcastle, give me reason to think he is a little uneasy, on account of a letter of his Royal Highness's, from Eyndhoven, of the 24th of last month; in which, the method proposed for our endeavouring to engage France to make over the Low Countries to England and Holland, until such time as the empress queen shall have acceded to the definitive treaty, is very strongly objected to. The duke of Newcastle seems to differ entirely in opinion with the Duke; and tells me he has wrote to England, to know the sentiments of his Majesty's servants, upon this occasion. But, as I am convinced, in my own mind, that the proposition itself will not be accepted by France, I think it my duty, as a friend to the duke of Newcastle, to prevent any farther discussion of this matter, which may have bad consequences, and can have no good effect.

"It is on that account, Sir, that I trouble you with this letter, to inform you, that France thinks they can have no security for the cessions, to be made in favour of their allies, on the side of Italy; and, consequently, that they cannot trust all their conquests on this side, in our hands, or yield them, on any account, until they can be assured of the immediate possession of what is stipulated to be ceded, in favour of their allies. As this is the case, you may possibly judge it to be more advisable, to wait for farther lights, before you give any formal opinion upon the question; and you may depend upon it, that in my next public letters, you will have the explanation of this matter, which I now give you; and which will, in my opinion, render any decision whatever unnecessary.

"I write this to you, as the person most immediately concerned in every thing that regards the duke of Newcastle; and you must see, that my intention is good in so doing. Upon that account, I dare say I can rely upon your shewing this letter to no person whatever, particularly to any of your brethren in the administration, some * of whom would take it ill, and perhaps not easily forgive me, if I wrote upon such a subject, to any other than themselves; and yet, as a friend to the duke of Newcastle, it is my duty to act as I now do, by putting this affair into what I think the best, and safest hands."

Mr. Pelham was much perplexed by this communication; because it contained an injunction to secresy towards his colleagues; but he saw no other expedient, than immediately to acquaint his brother with the information he had received.

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* Alluding to the duke of Bedford.

"Dear Brother, "*July* 26*th*-*Aug*. 6*th*, 1748.

"I received a scolding letter from you, yesterday. I do not suppose it is meant to me, for that would have been very unjust. You know I have not failed one post, since you arrived at Hanover; nor have I omitted writing largely to you, by every messenger that went. I have had the pleasure to agree with you, in most things you have done, and accordingly said every thing I could, to convince you of my satisfaction, and approbation. When I differed, I told you; which was rather in what you omitted to do, than in what you had done. This is what I thought you desired. I did not suppose it could be of much use, but it was of all the use I could be; for public approbations are not part of my station, and public animadversions less my inclination.

"I wrote you word, that the duke of Bedford was more in the country, than I thought he should be. I sent to him to come to town, upon the letters which came last Friday, as soon as I saw them; but could not prevail with him to come sooner than this afternoon. Lord Chancellor and I, are to meet him, this evening, at Bedford House; whether we shall be able to come to any resolution, so as to forward it to you this evening, I know not; but some account will undoubtedly be sent you, of what passes. There are at present no other lords in town, but the duke of Montagu and lord Harrington; neither of whom, I suppose, for different reasons, you would have consulted. I desired his Grace to send to the duke of Dorset, lord Privy Seal, &c.; but whether he has, or not, I do not know. I have also desired that the Regency may meet twice a week; so that, for the future, I hope you will have more regular office accounts. I do not know, that any thing has been particularly referred to the king's servants here, excepting the naming commissaries, and lord Sandwich's declaration of the 8th of June, which, indeed, was over before it came to us. I did not, therefore, much attend to the minute; all I said, was, that I concluded every one would think it should be ratified, when it was signed; and, for my part, I thought we were well off.

"I shall have some difficulty, upon the point we meet upon, to-night. From a private letter I have had from lord Sandwich, which he desires me to shew to nobody here, he writes with great affection towards you; and, as he knows the French will not come into the provisional possession of the Austrian Netherlands, in the manner you proposed, he wishes we would give no opinion for it, and tells me, that in his next public letters, we shall see this affair thoroughly explained. I can very easily follow his advice; but how you will like it, I do not know. We can easily call for farther lights; and refer our opinions to what lord Sandwich shall say in his next letter, as he must be better informed of what passes, than we are, and as he may possibly strike out some new expedient, better calculated for the satisfaction of all parties.

"I have it not in my power to write more to you on this subject; but will by the next post, tell you what I observed at our conferences; and what my own opinion is. I am heartily glad you are at ease, upon the subject of your other letter. I did not know how to give credit to your suspicions,* nor how to contradict them. I waited on your friend † this morning, who is very happy at your being set right. She laughed a little, but not more than you should expect. The news of the town is, a wedding between colonel Fitzroy and the late duchess of Beaufort.‡ I find, by your friend, his Grace knew of it, and it is supposed is exceedingly pleased with it. She has immediately given him £.5,000 a year, and keeps only one for herself, by way of pin-money.

"I must now beg of you, dear brother, not to fret yourself so much upon every occasion. You have what you have long wished for, in its full extent; do not think you can enjoy it differently from what your predecessors have done. We, that are your natural and true friends, enter into your private inquietudes; but that is not to be expected from the common world. I must do the duke of Bedford the justice to say, that when I see him upon business, he approves as much, and is as thoroughly satisfied, as you could wish; but when measures are taken, and things over, very likely he may not think it so material to take up a great deal of time in discussing them. I hope he will do better for the future. I can, myself, do no more than I have done. My private opinion you shall always have, even when things are over; but a public one unasked, and without a possibility of its having any effect, seems to me unnecessary, if not imprudent. I desire my compliments to all friends, and in particular," &c.

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* The duke of Newcastle suspected he had lost the favour of the duke of Cumberland, to which Mr. Pelham here alludes.

† Princess Amelia. ‡ The duchess of Beaufort was divorced, and married col. Fitzroy.

In his next letter to his brother, Mr. Pelham, after informing him that the lords justices had at length deliberated and decided on his proposition, again adverted to lord Sandwich's letter, and inclosed a copy of it for his perusal.

"Dear Brother, "*July 29th-August 9th*, 1748.

"According to the advices I gave you by the last mail, we met at Bedford House on Wednesday last; that is, the duke of Argyle, and lord Gower, added to us three; the other lords, who were sent to, not being in town. The duke of Richmond went into the country, that very morning.

"I hope you are satisfied with what the duke of Bedford writes, by this messenger. I think there is an entire approbation of every thing that is past, and a clear opinion as to the main point; which is, that in case the empress queen should continue obstinate, in not joining in a definitive treaty, we ought, nay, we must conclude without her; for, if we do not, it is demonstrable, she will be in a much worse condition, as well as ourselves.

"If this negotiation of peace goes off, what can we do? We must carry on the war, it is true; but how, or where? Undoubtedly, not upon the continent. Let us exert our full force; we cannot, and, in my mind, the nation will not furnish any more foreign subsidies; they will resort to a domestic strength and a sea war. You know my sense of such a scheme. I think it destruction; and, therefore, am, and have been for a peace. But will it not be immediate destruction to the House of Austria? Can that court furnish an army, without subsidies, who have not been able to furnish a complete one, even with the vast sums we have paid them? How will they be able to carry on the war in Italy, the only place where they seem to have the least prospect of success, without our fleet in the Mediterranean, and with, in all probability, the House of Savoy against them? I dare say, many better reasons have occurred to you, why the empress queen should go on with us, and act in peace as well as war, a conformable part. I mention this only to shew to them, that we cannot help them out farther, if we would.

"I was under great difficulties, what to say upon the other part of your letter, viz.: the proposition for the Maritime Powers taking the provisional possession of the Austrian Netherlands. The letter, which I received that very day from lord Sandwich, a copy of which I send to you, puzzled me very much. I was to say nothing of it to any body, and yet I was to put off any farther discussion. I knew, by this letter, that lord Sandwich's opinion was, the French would never come into it; and yet, by your letter, it appeared a very strong argument for the proposition, that his lordship thought, France would come into it. I consulted lord Chancellor privately what to do; he seemed at a loss. I, therefore, struck out the other proposition, of executing the preliminaries with the queen of Hungary, so far as mutual cessions and restitutions; and, at the same time, the Dutch and we, to agree with France and her allies, upon a definitive treaty. If France comes into this, as I cannot see why she should not, if she has the least disposition to come into the other scheme, our business is done; the peace is made; the House of Austria will be in possession of every thing stipulated for them in the preliminaries; and their obstinacy, to say no worse, will appear the stronger, if they should stand out, and not accede to the definitive treaty. We have, at the close, also suggested, that it was possible, some farther lights might come from lord Sandwich, by the next post. I hope you approve of this; I could not manage it better, without fairly owning that I had received such a letter, which might, possibly, in this jealous age, have blown us quite up.

"I have persuaded the duke of Bedford, to have two regency days in a week, after next Tuesday. I was willing to compound for that, as probably your journey to Gottingen will suspend any thing of consequence coming to England, from you, for one post.

"You desire my opinion, whether it might not be proper for lord Sandwich to make his instances, for removing the Pretender's son farther from France, than Switzerland. I heartily wish they could get him back to Rome; but I doubt they will not be able to do it. I cannot say, but I have my fears of ill consequences from his residence in Switzerland; not from its vicinity to France, but from its distance from Rome. I hope and trust in God, no change will happen in our time; but if *this young gentleman* should declare himself a Protestant, and another * should not act suitable to the great and good examples he has had before him, the Lord knows how matters may end. This is not my present point; but, as you asked me the question, I cannot help telling you, what immediately occurred to me upon it.

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* Alluding to the prince of Wales.

"You sent a note of count Czernichew's* to the duke of Bedford. If it will be of service to you, he may be assured I will take care that the proper warrant and orders shall be sent to Mr. Nicols, the deputy paymaster abroad, to pay the subsidy to the Czarina's minister at the Hague, as desired. I wrote to lord Hyndford to desire it might be so, as I found that court did not care to trust their own minister here. It was too absurd, to make the king's consul at Petersburg, their attorney to receive their subsidies here, which is the corrupt method, in my opinion, they have hitherto taken.

"I am extremely happy, that my endeavours for his Majesty's service, are so graciously received. I shall continue to act with the same zeal and duty, as long as I live. You know my way of thinking, and, of consequence, my plain, but I hope, respectful way of talking. It is that which has made me, unfortunately, sometimes differ with my best friends; but I hope we are now all convinced, that there is but one way to act; and, surely, when that is the case, zeal, duty, and affection will make us unite in the means of carrying on, and supporting that government, by which alone we are ourselves supported. This may, perhaps, be a little more serious, than you expect from me; but I can assure you, I every day grow more and more so.

"Your affairs in Cambridge go swimmingly. I hear, Dr. Richardson says, he will propose the prince of Wales, that he may see who and who are together. If he does, by what I hear, he will certainly lose it, three to one. The king's friends have exerted themselves manfully, and deserve encouragement. I hear, the duke of Somerset cannot last long; but he may, for some short time. My best services to the duchess of Newcastle. All my family join in good wishes to you both."

The advice, however, of the lords justices, communicated in the dispatch of the duke of Bedford, dated July 29th-Aug. 9th,† and inclosed in the preceding letter, much embarrassed the duke of Newcastle. It specified, "that there were only two methods of concluding a treaty without Austria. The first was, that France should deliver the Netherlands, provisionally, to the Maritime Powers. The second, that France should concur in the act for executing that part of the preliminaries, which related to the restitutions and cessions, provided the empress queen should hold the Netherlands on the same footing as before the war; and, at the same time, that a definitive treaty be settled, between his Majesty's ministers and those of the other powers, to which count Kaunitz should be invited to accede. The first of these expedients had already been rendered impracticable, by the refusal of France to consent to a provisional surrender of the Low Countries; and it was almost certain, that the empress queen would not give her sanction to the second, which required her acceptance of that territory, on the same terms as before the war.

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* The Russian minister in England.

† This letter is missing; but the two expedients, suggested by the duke of Bedford, are specifically mentioned in a letter from the duke of Newcastle, to lord Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson, dated August 7th-18th. Grantham Papers, MS.

In this perplexity, the noble Secretary acted with equal judgment and spirit: alike unwilling to irritate the empress queen, by mistrust, and to allow the definitive treaty to be retarded by her indecision, he transmitted the opinion of the lords justices, on the 7th-18th of August, to the two plenipotentiaries. In the accompanying letter, he expatiated on the necessity of procuring, if possible, the concurrence of Austria in the peace, and dwelt on the policy of maintaining a confidential intercourse with Kaunitz; though, to work on the fears of the court of Vienna, he enjoined the plenipotentiaries to represent, that if the war should be renewed, or the king be compelled to treat separately with France, the House of Austria must expect no farther assistance from England. He concluded, with strenuously exhorting lord Sandwich to conciliate Kaunitz, by a greater manifestation of cordiality; and, at the same time, to justify to St. Severin that confidence, which he had found it necessary to repose in the Austrian minister.*

Soon after Mr. Pelham had dispatched the preceding letter of July 29th, O. S., he received one from his brother, informing him of the new instructions which he had sent to lord Sandwich; acquainting him with his change of sentiment; and expressing his sanguine hopes, that the course, he had now adopted, would meet his approbation.

"Dear Brother, "*Hanover, July 27th-Aug. 7th*, 1748.

"The occasion of my dispatching this messenger, is to acquaint you with the orders I sent, yesterday, to my lord Sandwich, in answer to his letter, received the day before. I am very much afraid, M. Saxe has done mischief at Compiegne; for St. Severin talks differently from what he did, and I own my friends, Sandwich and Bentinck, seem to be going so fast, that we shall, I am afraid, stand still all at once.

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* Grantham Papers, MS.

"Had M. St. Severin continued in the disposition to offer us the provisional possession of Flanders, we might then have threatened the court of Vienna to sign without them, and might have done it, without any great risk. But what shall we get by a definitive treaty, whereby we are to give up Cape Breton immediately, and France to remain in possession of the Low Countries, until the queen of Hungary accedes? However, our friend, Sir Thomas Robinson, is firmly persuaded, that if France is in earnest to restore the Low Countries, Kaunitz will at last come in; and that is what we must now push.

"I hope you will approve the orders, and let us know your opinion upon the draught of the definitive treaty, as soon as possibly you can, after you have received it. Lord Sandwich's private letter to you was a ridiculous one; and, I think I see, was wrote more to get off the point of the provisional possession, than to remove any disagreeable circumstance relating to me, though he gives it that turn. You will see by my answer, what I have said upon it. What can we do about the Asiento? Can any thing be so absurd, as to refer the point of the years of *non-jouissance*, to be settled between the two crowns, and then determine it afterwards in the Treaty; though, if we could conceive, that the finishing the whole depended upon this point, it would be hardly worth while to insist upon it."*

At this period Sir Thomas Robinson arrived at Hanover; and, by representing that the court of Vienna were favourably disposed to over-rule the objections of their plenipotentiary, he confirmed his Majesty and the duke of Newcastle, in the course of policy which they had recently adopted. Trusting in his knowledge of the Austrian cabinet, they hoped that he would be able to carry into effect their conciliatory views, and that, from his long acquaintance with Kaunitz, he might obtain his concurrence in the definitive treaty. They, therefore, communicated to him the documents relating to the negotiation, including the latest dispatches from lord Sandwich; and secretly intrusted to him the principal direction of affairs at Aix-la-Chapelle; taking precautions, however, not to excite jealousy in the mind of lord Sandwich. Sir Thomas Robinson consequently took his departure for Aix, on the 13th of August; and, so far, all things seemed in a favourable course.

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* The rest of this letter, which is on the subject of Mr. Legge, is inserted in chap. xvi. p. 445.

We have already seen, from his correspondence, Mr. Pelham's great anxiety to diminish the national expenses, by the reduction of the army. He had the satisfaction of knowing, that the Duke of Cumberland had repaired to Hanover, by order of the king, with a view to arrange the necessary steps for that purpose, and that it was likely, his Royal Highness would not differ materially from him on the subject. On this occasion, the duke of Newcastle, in a letter dated August 3rd-14th, observes:—"His Royal Highness, who has been received by the king with all the tenderness and regard, which he so justly deserves, will be leaving us in a few days, to go to England; though, I think, his Royal Highness intends to make some short stay first, at the army. I am confirmed in my opinion, that you will not finally differ about the reductions, &c. I have seen the Duke's scheme, though I am not thoroughly master of it. The king has talked to me upon it, and it is all referred to you. The outlines of it, to use a fashionable expression, are, to reduce the army in England to eighteen thousand men, and the expense, to as little as it was before the war; to add four thousand men to the establishment of Ireland, which the king told me my lord Harrington had, *by a letter*, approved of, and, I think, proposed. His Royal Highness will, also, I believe, be charged to talk to you upon another subject; but that is not new, and nothing new will be said upon it."

ILLUSTRATIVE CORRESPONDENCE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. STONE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

Communicates the substance of Lord Carteret's dispatch.—On the demands of the Queen of Hungary, and the terms of peace proposed by France.

"MY LORD, "*Whitehall, July* 31*st*, 1743.

"BETWEEN twelve and one this morning, Chalke, the messenger, arrived with letters from lord Carteret, dated the 20th-31st instant, which I immediately sent by a messenger to my lord duke of Newcastle, who is in Sussex.

"Lord Carteret, in these dispatches, does not mention, not even so much as to acknowledge, my lord Duke's letters of the 5th, by Parker; nor does his lordship take the least notice of the incident which occasioned the sending of that messenger.

"His lordship says, that prince Charles and count Kevenhuller left Hanau on the 19th-30th, in good humour; that Neipperg was to put into writing their whole scheme, as far as any thing that relates to military affairs can be answered for, which vary from day to day; that he shall dispatch another courier in two or three days; that his Majesty will soon be in motion from Hanau, but that the bridges are not yet ready: that the king is impatient for my lord Duke's answer to his lordship's dispatch of the 5th-16th instant, by Walton; that things seem to take a very favourable turn; but that more risks and hazards must be run, to bring them to consistency; that, by my lord Duke's answer to the above-mentioned dispatch, his Majesty will be able to judge to what degree he may depend upon the national support.

"The Sardinian affair meets with fresh delays; the queen of Hungary having proposed in form, that she should keep Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, as the *dédommagement* solemnly promised to her, and that the elector of Bavaria should, in exchange, have the kingdom of Naples. They pretend, that this idea was started by M. Villettes, as the suggestion of M. D'Ormea. Lord Carteret treats it as impracticable, and has sent strong orders upon it to Sir Thomas Robinson, which his lordship hopes will put an end to the notion.

"One M. Hatrel, an intendant at Strasburg, has insinuated to the minister of the elector of Mayence, that France would make peace on the following terms, which terms they wished the elector would communicate to the court of Vienna, viz.:—

"'1. The young Arch-duke to be elected King of the Romans.

"'2. France to assist in retaking Silesia from the king of Prussia.

"'3. The emperor to employ his influence with Spain, to make an advantageous peace for England.'

"Lord Carteret had sent this plan to lord Hyndford, to be communicated to the king of Prussia, as a proof of the ill intentions of France towards him, and of his Majesty's friendship.

"I have now given your lordship an account of every thing that seemed material in lord Carteret's dispatch, by this last messenger. I am, with the greatest respect, &c.

ANDREW STONE."

MR. STONE TO LORD HARRINGTON.

On the Memorial of Lord Stair.

"MY LORD, "*Whitehall, September* 11*th*, 1743.

"Brettel, the messenger, came in this day, at noon, from the army. Lord Carteret's letters are dated the 2nd-13th, and the 4th-15th inst. His lordship, in a very short letter, transmits a copy of the Memorial, presented to his Majesty by the earl of Stair; complaining in general, that he had not been consulted either in military operations, or in the details of the army; and had received frequent marks of disregard, &c. His lordship seems to reflect upon the inaction of the army after the battle of Dettingen, and of other great opportunities that had been missed; that if his advice had been followed, things would have gone better. In the end, he desires leave to retire to his plough, which he should be glad to do without any marks of his Majesty's displeasure. After the delivery of this Memorial, lord Carteret acquainted lord Stair, that his Majesty accepted his resignation; that he could not conceal from his lordship, that the king was greatly displeased with his Memorial; but that his Majesty would shew him no farther marks of his displeasure, unless his future conduct should occasion it, or to that effect. Upon which lord Stair talked very reasonably; and soon after wrote a letter of acknowledgment to his Majesty, a copy of which lord Carteret incloses, as also copies of lord Stair's revocation, and recredentials to the States General.

"Lord Carteret observes, that the above-mentioned pieces are to be communicated to his Majesty's principal servants; but not to be made any public use of. His lordship says nothing as to his Majesty's intentions, with regard to the command of the army: nor is there any mention made of their present motions or designs, or of those of prince Charles's army.

"On the 2nd-13th, lord Carteret signed with M. Wasner and Ossorio, the definitive treaty, between his Majesty, the queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia. The original instruments came by this messenger, in order to their being ratified by the lords justices. I should have imagined that might have been more regularly done by his Majesty, and a warrant signed by the king, for putting the great seal to the ratifications in England.

"The Marriage Treaty with Denmark was to be signed on Monday last. Mr. Schlenthal is to come immediately to England, in order to attend her Royal Highness the princess Louisa, to Copenhagen. The prince royal of Denmark is to meet her on the frontiers of that kingdom, where her attendants from England are to take leave of her Royal Highness, and to return home. I have the honour to be, &c.

ANDREW STONE."

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

On the measures to be pursued in the approaching session of parliament—Retrospect of foreign affairs—Complains of lord Carteret's silence, and disapproves his conduct in the foreign negotiations—Remarks on the campaign in Germany—The King recommended by the ministers, to take the Hanoverian troops into British pay.

"MY LORD, "*Claremont, October 24th*, 1743.

"* As the king's return and the meeting of the parliament draw now very near, it will be absolutely necessary for your lordship, my brother, and myself, to consider very maturely, and determine what part to take in the present situation of affairs; what language to hold to his Majesty, when he comes over, and what conduct to observe in the parliament.

"Though these great and necessary points are more proper to be considered and debated, in a free and confidential conversation amongst ourselves, than to be made the subject of letters, yet so many disagreeable incidents so frequently arise in those conversations, that the end and use of them is not attained; and therefore I have chosen rather to put my thoughts in writing, that your lordship and my brother may see what they are, and judge dispassionately upon them.

"The entire ignorance, in which we have been kept this summer, both with respect to the operations of the war, and the sources from whence they arose; and to any negotiations that may have been carrying on, either for war or peace, the little or no share that we have had, in any public transactions of any kind, since his Majesty left England, leave us at full liberty to act as we shall think most proper for the king's service, the interest of the public, and our own honour.

"In order to have the full state of this question before us, we must necessarily look back to the conduct of foreign affairs, since the death of the late emperor.

"Your lordship very well remembers, how much it was the opinion of many of the king's servants, then in the administration, and especially your own and mine, that in order to prevent the crown of France from giving law to all Europe, the queen of Hungary should, pursuant to our engagements, be supported, to the utmost, in all events; that all endeavours should be used to induce the Dutch, and other powers equally engaged in interest and by treaty, to take part with us; and though some,† then in the king's service, were not so much convinced of the prudence and necessity of this measure, yet it became the measure of the government. The parliament, that session, gave a subsidy of £.300,000 to the queen of Hungary, and made a considerable augmentation of our land forces; addressed the king to support the queen of Hungary; assured his Majesty of their concurrence and assistance; and, in order to induce the king to take this strong part, offered to defend his electoral dominions, if attacked on that account; and, as we had then actually in our pay six thousand Hessians, the queen of Hungary not only made a formal demand of those troops, for our contingent, but his Majesty acquainted the parliament with it, and that those troops should accordingly be given for the purpose; and when the king went abroad that year, 1741, twelve thousand of the best English troops were picked out, and encamped in Essex, to be in readiness to be sent over upon the first notice, whenever the state of the war, and the interest of the queen of Hungary should require.

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* This copy was taken from a draft in the duke of Newcastle's own hand-writing.

† Sir Robert Walpole and his particular adherents.

" What passed that summer at Hanover is too well known. The French sent a very considerable army to the borders of the electorate, in order to intimidate his Majesty from executing his engagement, as king of England, with the queen of Hungary. How far that succeeded I shall not pretend to say; but, in fact, the Danes and Hessians, though often advised from hence, were never sent to the queen of Hungary. The twelve thousand men that were, or ought to have been, in readiness to go over, were never called for. A convention or capitulation for the electorate of Hanover was agreed with France; his Majesty's electoral vote given to the elector of Bavaria, who, in the election, was supported, and in great measure forced, upon the empire, by the great army of France then actually in Germany.

" How much this unhappy turn of affairs concerned his Majesty's servants at home, is also very well known; how often we proposed the sending the Danes and Hessians to the queen of Hungary's assistance; how much we pressed here the accommodation with the king of Prussia; how earnestly we advised the ordering Mr. Trevor to summon the Dutch, to concur in the performance of their engagements, by a memorial in form; and, lastly, how absolutely we advised against his Majesty entering into a neutrality, as king of Great Britain, even with the king of Prussia only. Some indeed, amongst us, feared that the rapidity of the successes against the queen of Hungary; the alliances of several princes of the empire, and particularly Prussia and the king of Poland, with France, against her Majesty;* the backwardness of the Dutch, to concur in every vigorous measure; had made it impracticable to think any more of the support of the House of Austria: whilst others, of which number were always your lordship and myself, though they lamented what had been done at Hanover, were unwilling to give up the game entirely, and therefore were for inquiring, if something could not yet be done, to serve the queen of Hungary, ourselves, and all Europe. And I must here beg leave to refer to a paper, which I wrote in November 1741, and sent to your lordship, and communicated to Mr. Walpole and my brother, wherein I believe the very measures that were afterwards taken and followed, were pointed out and proposed, as far as the then situation of affairs would permit; and this I have thought necessary to mention, that we may not run away with a mistaken notion, that the support of the queen of Hungary, and the measures taken for it, were the single act of my lord Carteret and his friends, when they appear to have been, from the arguments, the opinions, and advice, of those that were in the administration, and remained after lord Carteret came into it.

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* The queen of Hungary.

"In this situation, the parliament opened in December, 1741. The very bad prospect of foreign affairs, and the great strength which the Opposition had in this parliament, soon gave them such advantages, that it was evident, Sir Robert Walpole could not any longer answer for the success of the king's business, in the House of Commons: upon which, he thought proper to ask the king's leave to retire.

"His friends that were to remain, did, in concert with him, make the first overtures to my lord Carteret and Mr. Pulteney; in consequence of which, lord Carteret came in to be Secretary of State; and, as he had joined with the administration, in support of the queen of Hungary, when he was out, it was natural to imagine, that he, in concert with us of the ministry, who had been invariably for that measure, would not fail to pursue it, then, with the utmost zeal and vigour.

"It may not be amiss to remember, that the king, during that winter, had been threatened by France and Prussia, that if he did not strictly adhere to the terms of his neutrality, which they would extend farther than to the electoral troops, and include the Danes and Hessians, as not being to be employed on the part of the queen of Hungary, the electorate of Hanover might be exposed to the utmost danger. Upon which, the king thought of making a Treaty of Neutrality, absolutely, for the electorate, stipulating expressly, that he should be at liberty to act as king, in support of the queen of Hungary, or even to employ or let out his electoral troops, for that purpose, any where but in Germany. This Treaty was some time negotiating at Paris, by Monsieur Hardenberg, the king's electoral minister, who had been sent thither upon the approval of* ———, but as the conditions were such as would not, in every respect, have answered the views of France, at that time, their negotiations failed, and to do my lord Carteret justice upon this point with the ministry, he put an absolute stop to it, which was the best thing he ever did.

"Monsieur Wasner† had some time before shewn to lord Carteret a Memorial, which he had orders to present to the king. There were some reproaches and offensive expressions in it; but it concluded with demanding, that a body of twelve thousand men might be sent from hence into Flanders, to join the queen of Hungary's troops there, and for the defence and encouragement of the States of Holland. This measure, though not absolutely agreed to, was, however, entertained by the then ministry, and was particularly proposed in my paper of November, 1741; whereas lord Carteret came in, in the February after. Monsieur Wasner was prevailed upon to omit the offensive expressions in this Memorial, and to confine it to a demand of the troops going to Flanders.

"The Memorial was no sooner presented, than every body was equally for the measure. Four thousand men were sent from Ireland, to increase the twelve thousand to sixteen thousand, and a subsidy of £.500,000 was given to the queen of Hungary, £.200,000 of which, however, was designed for the king of Sardinia. And here I must observe, that the negotiation with the court of Turin had just begun, and was carrying on with appearance of success, ever since the late emperor's death; and the orders were sent to the admiral in the Mediterranean, in November, 1741, to act in the same manner, for the support of the queen of Hungary, as Mr. Matthews has been since directed to do; and Mr. Haddock, from the beginning of the war with Spain, had sufficient orders to authorise him to attack and detain any ships of war, of any nation whatsoever, supporting or assisting the Spaniards, which was evidently the case of the squadron which conducted the Spanish merchants' fleet into Toulon, where it now is.

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* The word omitted was probably "the king."

† Envoy from the queen of Hungary.

"The sixteen thousand men, having been thus ordered into Flanders, lord Stair was soon appointed to the command of them, and sent into Holland, to endeavour to get the Dutch to join a body of their forces with ours. The transporting the troops into Flanders took up several months, and it has been thought there was not so much expedition used as might have been in it; and, I own, from what I have since seen, I cannot but suspect that lord Carteret was not sorry for the delay. Upon these vigorous measures, on the part of England, the court of France thought that they might have occasion for their army, which was in Westphalia, nearer home; and, for that reason, as well as to remove any umbrage the Dutch might have, at the neighbourhood of the French troops, they determined to recal Monsieur Maillebois.

"His Majesty, being thus freed from this apprehension for the electorate, being unable, upon his electorate only, to support so great an army, and seeing no prospect of being reimbursed by England, any part of the extraordinary expense he had been at, in maintaining his troops, declared to my lord Carteret and myself, the resolution of reducing the Hanover troops, to the number they were, before the troubles began in Germany, being unable to support the expense of them. We were then humbly of opinion, that such a measure, taken by the king, as elector, would strike such a damp upon the affairs of the queen of Hungary, and deprive the common cause of so great a number of troops, which were necessary for the support of it, that, after such a step, there could be little hopes of any advantages to the queen of Hungary, or the common cause, from the great expenses that we had incurred, and were putting ourselves to; and, particularly, that the sixteen thousand men sent to Flanders, if not supported, must either return home, or be exposed to be knocked on the head there. For these reasons, my lord Chancellor, my lord President, lord Steward, the late lord Wilmington, lord Bath, Mr. Pelham, my lord Carteret, and myself, did, upon the most mature deliberation, humbly advise his Majesty to take into his English pay sixteen thousand of the Hanoverian troops, in consequence of the power given to the king for the support of the queen of Hungary; and, accordingly, sixteen thousand Hanoverians did enter into English pay, from the 31st of August, 1742.

"I must also observe, that the loss of the battle of Czaslaw, and the repeated instances of the king, to bring about a reconciliation between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia, about the month of June, induced that monarch to conclude the Treaty of Breslau, upon the absolute cession of Silesia from the queen of Hungary, in his favour. And it may not be improper to observe here, that I do not remember any promise made to the queen of Hungary, at that time, either verbally or in writing, that could amount to any thing like an engagement on the part of the king, to procure the *dédommagement* of the queen of Hungary, in consequence of the cession.

"Though it was at first imagined (and, indeed, preparations were made for it), that Maillebois with his army was returning towards France, those that had engaged the French king to undertake the emperor's cause, in the manner he had done, persisted so far as to get Monsieur Maillebois ordered, with his army, either into Bavaria, or to the relief of Prague. As soon as that was known, it was naturally proposed here, to send our army into Germany after them; and orders were sent to lord Stair, at the Hague, to stop the Hanoverians, who were upon their march to Flanders, so that they might join the English and Austrians, and go into Germany after Monsieur Maillebois; but, by what fatal accident I know not, lord Stair had prevailed upon duc d'Aremberg and M. Chanclos,* to represent that measure as unadvisable, if not impracticable, and to substitute in the place of it, lord Stair's extraordinary proposal of going to Paris, &c. through Normandy, with which proposal his lordship came over in the month of ———.

"It is very well known, that both his Majesty and lord Carteret did, at first, relish in some degree this proposal; and it is also known, that your lordship and myself did, from the beginning, express our disapprobation of it, to that degree, that both his Majesty and lord Carteret were very short with me, on the Sunday, for representing only, that it was a great and political question. A meeting, however, was had upon it, when were present your lordship, my lord President, the late duke of Argyle, the late lord Wilmington, lord Stair, Mr. Pelham, general Wade, lord Carteret, and myself; and it was there agreed, absolutely, to lay aside the thought of attempting to go to Paris, or to Normandy, as impracticable and chimerical; but the keeping an army in Flanders, in order to make some incursion into France, was preferred by some, though I must own I never saw any advantage in it. But, upon this foot, things went on, till lord Carteret went to Holland, and the season of the year was so much advanced, that no operations could be thought of.

"The duke d'Aremberg, however, with general Chanclos, came over towards the end of October, and pressed extremely, that the army might march and make a† * * * or take their winter quarters in Germany. This measure was at first supported by us all, it being thought necessary to make an appearance of desiring something in favour of the queen of Hungary, to have one army in readiness to act early in the spring; and, above all, to contradict the reports that then began to prevail, and were afterwards asserted with great boldness in the House of Commons, that his Majesty's electoral troops could not, and should not, act in the empire, either consistent with the Act of Settlement, or with his duty as a prince of the Empire.

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* The Dutch general.

† Words omitted in the draft.

"The king being unwilling to expose his electoral troops, to a difficult and hazardous march, at that time of the year, was much against this proposal; and, at last determined to send for general Clayton over, to know his opinion. From that time to this, lord Carteret has, in my humble opinion, made all his measures, and all his advice, subservient to the only point of making court to the king, by flattering his Majesty in his electoral views and partialities. Obstructions were, from this hour, thrown in the way of any motion towards Germany. General Clayton was sent over by my lord Carteret, to be the agent, and to forward or otherwise, any thing that should be proposed, with regard to the operations of the army, as lord Carteret should find they contributed or not, to advancing his credit in the closet.

"What instructions Mr. Clayton had, I never knew,* * * * in writing; but, it is scarce to be imagined, considering the manner in which he was sent, but that he probably knew the king's and lord Carteret's inclination.

"During the whole winter I never ceased pressing lord Carteret to determine to send an army into Germany, knowing well that nothing could be done any where else; and that the not doing it must be ascribed to electoral considerations only. All I could say had no effect; and I never could get him once to be clear that they should go. He would urge, in excuse, that it was time enough to determine. I soon found out his meaning; and, indeed, he once owned to me, that if the king of Prussia should put his threats in execution, what would be the consequence of it? or to that effect, which was a key to the whole proceedings; and to his irresolution and apprehensions of the consequences, that the sending our army to Germany might have, with regard to the electorate of Hanover, I attribute great part of the misfortunes which have since happened; for, it is owing to lord Carteret's irresolution and apprehension upon this head, that no orders were given, or preparations made, for the march of the army, when it did move, and that we had not sufficient magazines provided for their subsistence; and this want of proper magazines has been given, as one reason for our not being able to undertake the services that were proposed for our army, when in Germany; when it is plain, that lord Carteret's backwardness ever to consent to our army's going across the Rhine, was the reason that the proper magazines were not provided.

"However, lord Stair, who had the command, did, without any order, in the month of February, march the whole army towards the Rhine; and, when it was actually upon the march, lord Carteret then thought it would not be safe to stop. However, he had restrictive orders sent him, with regard to Frankfort, &c., and such managements were recommended, as shewed plainly, the march was not greatly approved. But, when things were so far advanced, and, upon the repeated instances of others, lord Carteret did, in concert with lord Chancellor, Mr. Pelham, and myself, agree upon very proper instructions to be sent to lord Stair, to prevent the French going into Bavaria to attack the queen of Hungary's troops; and to attack and fall upon the French Imperial army, where he could meet them, on the other side of the Rhine.

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* Some words omitted in the draft.

"Thus things stood when his Majesty went abroad, in the end of April. The farther conduct of lord Carteret will shew, that he has had no other view in carrying on the war for the queen of Hungary, but as it served, or not, his own present private purposes, and that, if the war is now become impracticable to be carried on, it is simply owing to lord Carteret's management of it, and not to the measure itself; for, had the providential advantages we got at Dettingen, been in any measure pursued, in all human probability, France must and would have submitted, before this time to reasonable and proper terms of peace."

INTRODUCTION TO MR. YORKE'S PARLIAMENTARY JOURNAL,

Written in the beginning of 1744.

"There were two circumstances, which occasioned this session to open with great expectations, and some uncertainty, as to the event of it; viz. the opinion generally entertained, of the king's partiality to his Hanoverian troops, and the want of union in the ministry. The real grounds of the former, as far as I could collect, were by no means proportionate to the ill humour and clamour which it had raised, the methods destructive of all decency and order employed to propagate it, and the malicious use to which it was applied, by the enemies of the government. Some of the most considerable instances that were given, of gross partiality, were scandalously false; and those which one could less doubt of, seemed rather the effects of indiscretion, hastiness, or reserve, in the king's temper, than of any formed design, to affront or undervalue his English subjects. Yet I am far from justifying the whole of his conduct. A few more good words and kind looks, bestowed upon the officers, would have prevented much of the discontent which has spread itself among them. The treatment of the earl of Stair was highly impolitic and unjust; for, though the army was by no means unanimous in their sentiments of his conduct, as a general, particularly in the premature passage of the Mayn, and the march to Aschaffenburg, &c., there was but one voice about his affability, generosity, and skill, in the fighting part of his trade; and many of the officers about him, who hoped to push themselves forward by his means, and had attached themselves to his person, when they found their views disappointed, by his sudden resignation, were the forwardest in promoting the cry against the Hanoverians. It seemed equally imprudent to disoblige the duke of Marlborough, by refusing to make him a major general, if what is said be true, that in order to conform to the practice of the military establishments abroad, it is intended to abolish the rank of brigadiers, and that a very large promotion out of them had been just made, and which stopped at him.

"Let the true motives of this discontent be of a trifling or important nature, the bad effects of it, upon the minds of the people, are real and alarming; and even trifles, out of which designing men may form national distinctions, are not to be neglected. The name and vogue given to the party of the Gueuses, at the beginning of the Low Country troubles, arose from an incident, as seemingly insignificant as that of the Yellow Sash.*

"The other bad symptom, which attended the opening of parliament, was the disagreement in the administration, which was very near coming to an open breach, within a few days of its meeting; and I doubt, even now, is but ill accommodated, and may break out again, when the present exigency is got over. Lord Carteret's reserved and contemptuous treatment to the rest of the ministers, whilst he attended the king at the army, may be set down as one principal cause of it. He corresponded with them but seldom, and then chiefly on points, which the next Gazette might have informed them of, as fully as his dispatches: their advice was not thought worthy to be asked, nor their concurrence in the private departments of business expected; but he managed every thing by himself, and was wholly intent on gaining, with the king's ear, the power and reputation of a prime minister and favourite; and the arts by which he worked, were of a nature that ought not to recommend him to the confidence of a wise prince, or to the good opinion of the nation; for they were such as should with the one, call his prudence in question, with the other his integrity.

"A convention subsequent to, and explanatory of the treaty of Worms, to which he had gained his Majesty's consent abroad, gave the rest of the ministers a fair and just opportunity of expressing their disapprobation of his conduct. They thought he had by it engaged the king too closely with the queen of Hungary; in one article (as I was informed upon a pretty good authority,†) certain verbal assurances, not specified in the body of it, nor sufficiently explained by lord Carteret, (between whom and baron Wasner they had passed,) were confirmed by another; the queen of Hungary was promised an annual subsidy of £. 300,000, as long as the war lasted, or the necessity of her affairs required; of which necessity, as the article was at first drawn, she might pretend to be the sole judge. The debates rose so high, on this occasion, that it was reported, the lord Chancellor refused to put the seal to the convention, as it then stood, and that lord Carteret went so far as to declare, that the king should affix it himself. However this may be, it is certain the matter was warmly agitated, in several long meetings; but, at last, it was finally decided in favour of the old part of the ministry, by a majority of five in the cabinet council. As divisions in that place are not frequent, and scarce ever come to the knowledge of the public, I shall put down the names of those, who voted on both sides of the question, in the debate above mentioned.

For the alterations.

Lord Chancellor
—— President
Duke of Newcastle
—— of Dorset
—— of Richmond
—— of Mountague
—— of Argyle (rather doubtful)
—— of Grafton
Mr. Pelham

Against the alterations.

Lord Carteret
—— Winchelsea
—— Tweeddale
Duke of Bolton

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* The king is said to have worn the Yellow Sash, which is the Hanoverian badge, in the battle of Dettingen.

† His father the lord Chancellor.

"The opposition which lord Carteret's measures had met with, was, in general, agreeable to the public, as it was thought a right and an honest one, and it was calculated to prevent his gaining too great an ascendant, in the king's councils."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Discordant opinions of the allied generals—Various plans proposed for military operations, but none adopted.

"MY DEAR LORD, "*Powis House, August 16th.* 1744, *eight at night.*

"Your Grace will wonder to hear from me, at this hour, from this place; but the explanation of it will make the subject of this letter. Last night about nine, I was informed, accidentally, that an express was arrived from the army. The fear that if I pursued my intended journey, early this morning, I might be called back, made me instantly dispatch a messenger to my lord Carteret, to know if it had brought any thing that might occasion a meeting of the king's servants to day. His answer was, 'That the letters were with the king, and he had not seen them yet; but that, in this uncertainty, he wished I would put off my journey till the next day.' I expected nothing less than that your Grace would be fetched from Claremont; and waited till this day at noon, without hearing any thing farther. Being then impatient to learn the event, I called at his house, and found his lordship reading the letters. He said the answers were so categorical and precise, that he had not thought it necessary to send for your Grace; and desired I would take the letters and read them: that he should go immediately to the king; and if I could be at my lord President's, about the time he returned, would bring my lord Stair with him thither. Upon this I undertook, for saving of time, to take the letters to my lord President's, and to read them over with him, before lord Carteret should come back. As I understand the letters are to be sent into Sussex, to your Grace, I need not enter into the detail of them, neither have I time. The result is, that duke d'Aremberg, marshal Wade, and count Nassau, who used to differ in every thing else, agree unanimously in rejecting lord Stair's plan. Wade says, the facts whereon it is grounded, are entirely without foundation; that marshal Saxe has with him seventy-two battalions and one hundred and five squadrons; and that he never could conceive, how any part of it could be carried into execution. The decisive opinion against it is signed by duc d'Aremberg and count Nassau; and there is another paper, signed by all three, and also by general Wendt, concerning the impossibility of attacking M. de Saxe in his present situation, in which the opinion is all of duc d'Aremberg's hand-writing. The whole centers in a concurrent opinion for the siege of Maubeuge, wherein there are at present only one battalion of regular troops, and three of militia. But your Grace will find, by Ligonier's report, who was Wade's deputy at the second conference, that the Dutchmen present absolutely refused to contribute to any part of the expense; a point which he represents himself to have debated well with them. I forgot to mention, in its proper place, that at the conclusion of duc d'Aremberg's, and count Nassau's joint opinion, there is a supposition made, that there may be a possibility of attacking M. de Saxe, in case he goes on to weaken himself by detachments, as some intelligences say, he has hitherto done.

"Lord Carteret and lord Stair came to my lord President's very late. The latter seemed a good deal disturbed and piqued at his plan being rejected; but, by the way, I do not think he is quite recovered of the stroke your Grace saw him under upon Tuesday; he looks ill; and seems, sometimes, to have some difficulty in his speech. However lord Carteret undertook, at his pressing request, to send him a copy of the opinion, upon which he is to write his reply and remarks, which are to be transmitted to Wade. I wish we have not a paper war, instead of one *en campagne*.

"After lord Stair was gone, the result of our conference was: That whatever any particular opinion might be, it was impossible for the king and his servants here, to order the army to penetrate into France, according to the said plan, contrary to the opinion of the three generals of the three nations; which seemed to have the more weight, because it came from persons who have no *penchant* to agree with one another.—That therefore lord Carteret should write to-morrow, to press them to make the siege of Maubeuge, if they still adhered to their opinion, that it was the best that could be done, for the service of the common cause, and could be undertaken in time.—That they should be most vigilant and attentive to prevent M. de Saxe from reinforcing the garrison, and to get up their artillery, which lord Stair thinks may be brought up to Tournay, in a few days after it is upon the Scheld.—That lord Carteret should at the same time, write to Mr. Trevor, to represent to the Dutch ministers, the prodigious unreasonableness of their pretending to throw this burthen upon the king.—That his Majesty will not charge himself with it, unless they will bear their proportion; and that the not carrying into execution, an enterprise which their own generals cry up, as the only feasible measure, must lie at their door. Boetzlaer is also to write. My lord President threw out another point, that if finally the siege of Maubeuge should not be practicable, they should consider of detaching part of this great army to the Moselle, as was formerly hinted by somebody, and leave sufficient to remain upon the defensive in Flanders; for, as the great point is, to create a counter diversion to the king of Prussia, and to prevent prince Charles being overpowered, such a movement might have that effect. The only objection I had to this was, lest, by starting so many hares at once, our pack of generals should not staunchly follow the scent of any. But lord Carteret has undertaken to represent to them *de novo*, the inevitable danger to themselves, as well as to the public, by wasting the campaign in doing nothing. This was the result of our conference, at which I am to the last degree mortified, that we had not your Grace's and Mr. Pelham's company; but how it will be executed, by the person who holds the pen, I know not.

"I own I see such a spirit of confusion, contradiction, and hesitation, in the army, that I am full of melancholy apprehensions, lest the campaign should wear out, without any thing material being even attempted; and I fear marshal Wade's ill health makes him low spirited; and consequently things may go worse, on that account, though they say he is got pretty well again.

"I shall go to Wrest * to-morrow morning, and indeed I absolutely want some rest. I beg your Grace will protect me in it, as long as ever you can; for, really, I look upon myself as making a ridiculous figure, to attend these military consultations, of which I really know nothing, and, which is more, cannot be supposed to know any thing. God bless your Grace and Mr. Pelham; and give you much health and pleasure where you are; and more pleasure here at your return, than you have found of late. I am ever, my dear Lord," &c.

LORD GRANVILLE TO SIR THOMAS ROBINSON.

Circular letter from the earl of Granville, announcing his appointment to the office of Secretary of State.

"SIR, *Whitehall*, 11*th February* 1745-6.

"Upon the resignation of the duke of Newcastle, and of the earl of Harrington, his Majesty has been pleased to appoint me, to resume the place of principal Secretary of State, and to execute the business of both offices for the present. I therefore take this first opportunity of acquainting you with it, and desiring you would address to me such relations and accounts, as belong to your department, which I shall take care to lay before the king, and to send you his Majesty's commands, as often as they shall be requisite, for your conduct in the affairs under your management; and, if in any thing I may be particularly serviceable, I shall be very ready and desirous to shew you, how much I am," &c.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Expresses his concern at the resignation of the Pelham ministry.

"MY LORD DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, *Edinburgh*, *Feb.* 16*th*, 1745-6.

"Yesterday, as I was coming hither, to settle the bread for the army, with lord justice Clerk, and to pay prince Frederic of Hesse a visit, I met with yours of the 10th, acquainting me with your resignation, which gave me infinite concern; not so much for that real friendship and personal esteem I always had for you, as for the consequences that may, and I fear will attend it. I tremble for the old Whig cause, that fixed us here, and that must support us here. I do not doubt, but that you had, all, your reasons for resigning; yet I think it at a most fatal juncture, and that the enemies of the king and his family will profit of these inward confusions.

"For my part, I shall always remember the many kind and obliging offices done to me, by those now out of power, but particularly by you; and let whatever public changes happen, I shall remain your sincere friend. I heartily thank you for your congratulations on the almost dispersion of the rebels, which will now soon allow me to return to London, where I shall have a great pleasure in assuring you, by word of mouth, how much I am your very affectionate friend,

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* The seat of his daughter-in-law, the marchioness Grey, in Bedfordshire.

WILLIAM."

THE EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Expresses his resolution to resign, and his conviction that the Pelham administration must be reinstated.—In a postscript, rejoices at the fulfilment of his prediction.

"MY DEAR LORD, "*Dublin, Feb.* 18*th*, 1746.

"Though I threatened you, in my last of the 15th, with a longer letter, this shall not be a very long one; for, besides that I am not, at any time, very fond of my own speculations, all speculations at this distance, and in such a conjuncture, are probably impertinent. A situation so violent must vary every minute; and will, I dare say, be very different, at the time of your receiving this letter, from what it is now, at the time I am writing it.

"I am convinced I need not tell you, that the day after my arrival in London, I shall most certainly resign my employment: as to the manner of doing it, I will receive and observe your directions. But this I think necessary to tell you, which is, that though I believe most people have a good opinion enough of me, to take it for granted, that I intend to quit, yet I have not communicated that intention to any one person living, either here or in England, but leave it entirely to you, to publish or not, as you shall think proper. Let me only know which you do, that I may conform myself here to it.

"During the rest of my stay here, which shall be as short as I can possibly make it, though it cannot be half so short as I wish it, I must necessarily send my recommendations to my successor, whoever he may be; but I will take care that those recommendations shall be of such a nature only, as that, if they prevail, I shall only have a civility, but not an obligation to acknowledge. In the mean time my situation is extremely disagreeable; and God knows when it will end, for I have no great hopes that the council in England will give much attention or dispatch to my Irish bills; so that I may possibly have full leisure to learn the language, if I apply myself.

"It seems to me impossible that the two earls* can carry on the business, unless they have a strength in parliament, which I am not aware of; for, I take it for granted, that by much the greatest part of your old corps will stick to you: and I cannot think that many of the old opposition will join them, so that, in my mind, your situation is better than it has been this great while; your way is clearer; you must be called for again, and that upon your own terms.

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* Lords Bath and Granville.

"When that day comes, and I think it cannot be far off, *point de foiblesse humaine, point de quartier,* I beseech you; and let no ill-timed decency, candour, lenity, or heroism, weaken or spoil the best and most solid settlement of an administration, that it was ever in people's power to form. In short, do not be, *subjectum lenis in hostem.* Adieu, my dear lord; you have long known me to be what, if possible, I am now more than ever, &c.

"My compliments to the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and if you please to the whole late Cabinet Council."

"P. S. *Tuesday night.* Just as I was sending away my letter by an express, I received Mr. Stone's of the 14th, which shewed me that I was no bad prophet. And, to do honour to my spirit of prophecy, I send you the letter itself, by the common post, which you are again master of. Your victory is complete: for God's sake pursue it. Good policy, still more than resentment, requires that Granville and Bath should be marked out, and all their people cut off. Old Archy ought too, in my mind, to be made an example of, for more reasons than one. Every body now sees and knows, that you have the power; let them see and know too, that you will use it. The Garters, I should think, ought instantly to be properly disposed of, in one way, and the Finches in another. A general run ought to be made upon Bath, by all your followers and writers. If the rebels had pursued their victory at Preston Pans, they might have come to London, and we had been undone, as they are now, by their own neglect. If we had pursued the victory at Dettingen, Fontenoy had never been. As to your humble servant, all he desires for himself is, dispatch to his Irish bills, of which he will send you another cargo, the latter end of this week.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Expresses his satisfaction at the re-establishment of the Pelham ministry.

(EXTRACT).

"MY LORD DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, "*Aberdeen, February 28th,* 1746.

"I need not repeat the reasons of joy I had, when I heard of your being reinstated in the king's favour, as I think that we shall have no more of those dangerous shakes of government, as the sentiments you profess towards the king and your country are the same you have always had, and that the world knows you to have. I rejoiced the more, that you will have it as much in your power as ever, to exert them, which nobody is more convinced of than myself."

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

Congratulations on the victory at Culloden.

"SIR, *Newcastle House, April 24th,* 1746.

"I could not let the messenger Cleverly go away, upon this great occasion, without troubling your Royal Highness with my most sincere and dutiful congratulations, upon your great and glorious success, which does your Royal Highness so much honour, and the king and your country such real service. Could your Royal Highness have seen the pleasure with which his Majesty received your letter and lord Bury,* I am sure your Royal Highness would have had as much satisfaction, as his Majesty and your faithful servants felt, to see your Royal Highness's merit and services so justly acknowledged, and so graciously received by the king. The joy, Sir, is universal; and it is the greatest comfort to me, to find, that the great advantages done to the king and country, receive every where an additional merit, from the glorious hand from whence they come; and I doubt not but we shall, in a proper manner, shew our sense of it.

"When his Majesty told me he would write himself, I was determined to dispatch Cleverly with the utmost expedition, knowing the satisfaction it would be to your Royal Highness; and being always desirous to contribute whatever is in my power towards it. Poor Bury was much mortified to have been tossed about so long at sea. I carried him to the king; and he was most graciously received, and very much questioned; and he behaved like a hero and a politician. Had your Royal Highness dropped one word in his favour, his business, I believe, would have been done. We will do our best, in our circumstances; but I wish your Royal Highness would enable us, by a line from you. When I assure your Royal Highness of the universal joy, I need not mention any body particularly; but the Premier is always amongst the foremost. The Princess has new spirits upon this great occasion. I am," &c.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Returns thanks for his congratulations on the battle of Culloden.

"MY LORD, *Inverness, April 30th,* 1746.

"I am extremely obliged to you, for your obliging compliments on the battle of Culloden. The particular share you are so good as to take, in the king's mark of favour to me, by his most prodigiously gracious letter, on that occasion, which has made the body of troops here, if possible, as happy as myself, are taken by me, as a great mark of your friendship. You can easily conceive the joy it must have given a dutiful son, to have pleased an indulgent father; and to a young general, to have his King commend him, and the behaviour of the troops under his command. All this together makes me unfit for writing long letters."

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* Son of the earl of Albemarle.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

Communicates the congratulatory addresses of both Houses of Parliament—Settles with the King and Mr. Pelham the amount of the pension to his Royal Highness.

"SIR, *Newcastle House, April 30th*, 1746.

"The advantages obtained by your Royal Highness, come out every day to be so much greater, that every post brings fresh cause of congratulation; and, I hope, the accounts your Royal Highness will receive, by this messenger, of the sense of both Houses, upon this great and glorious occasion, will not be disagreeable to you. It is impossible for me to express my satisfaction, that the present conjuncture has enabled your faithful servants to propose, and, I hope, soon complete, what they have long had at heart, and, what I can with truth say, has been one of my chief views. I flung it out to the king, before I last wrote to your Royal Highness; but, on Saturday last, I had the good fortune to settle it quite, with the king and the Premier, whose earnestness to do it, in the most advantageous way for your Royal Highness, was as great as my own; and, indeed, I find all my brethren in the administration, and every body to whom it has been mentioned, equally zealous for it.

"His Majesty asked me, what sum I would propose. I told him, my own notion was, that £.40,000 per annum should be immediately settled upon your Royal Highness, and your heirs male; £.15,000 of which was to be settled by the king, during his Majesty's life. The king was pleased to approve extremely; and, I have had the good fortune, in a very distinguishing manner, to make my court to the king, by doing what was the most agreeable to myself, and the rightest for my country. Mr. Pitt, our new Paymaster-general, has distinguished himself by his forwardness upon this occasion, and has been of great use to us. The king insists upon his moving it, in the House of Commons, which he is very ready to do; but the Premier thinks, that honour should be conferred on him, or some of the king's old servants. Happy am I to see the day, when this right measure shall be thus contended for. The Chancellor is every thing your Royal Highness can wish; and, I hope, you will immediately dispatch a messenger, with an answer to his letter, for the House of Lords.

"When I am upon your Royal Highness's subject, I can never finish. The late lord Stanhope told me, that Sir George Byng, my lord Torrington, had shewed himself to be a greater man, and to have more ability, by his behaviour and conduct in Sicily, than by the great victory, gained over the Spanish fleet, in the Mediterranean. Give me leave, Sir, to say, that your Royal Highness's noble notions and wise measures, for reducing Scotland to the king's obedience, are, if possible, more extraordinary, and more meritorious, than your wonderful success over the rebel army; and, I do not mean by this to lessen, in any degree, the glory or merit of that great action. I shewed the king your Royal Highness's letter about lord Findlater, with which he was extremely pleased. I will take care his lordship shall neither be frightened nor cajoled, into an alteration of opinion or behaviour; but, in order effectually to prevent it, I wish your Royal Highness could procure from him a copy in writing, of what he proposes, before he gets out of Scotland," &c.

THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Is gratified by the complimentary Addresses of both Houses.

"MY LORD, "*Inverness, May 7th*, 1746.

"I received your private letter of the 30th of last month: it is writ with that warmth of friendship that you have often shewn me; but never with such strong proofs as at present. You must allow the vanity of a young man to be a little blown up, by such a success, and so particularly noticed as it has been. The king's goodness and partiality shewed itself so evidently in my favour, on this occasion, that I could not have wanted any thing more; but the compliments of both Houses, sent me, and the terms made use of in the addresses, are monuments that will make posterity form ideas, that, I fear, I never have, or shall deserve. If I can, I will send my answer this day, with a little short public letter, which I will make up in a day or two.

"I am sensible that your friendship has greatly helped me to this success; for you and I were friends before I entered into public life; and friendships of that date are never to be forgot.

"The settlement which you mention is a very ample one, as it comes unattended with matrimony; and, though I have never been very pressing, and I may say, that it has hardly come across me to think of it, at a time when I was trusted with this service, yet I must own, that it is a most agreeable thing, not to be almost sure of being obliged, some time or other, to have left all thoughts of the great world, out of mere economy, which must have been my case; but the reason that it comes for at present, and the friends that proposed it, and will bring it through, are in my opinion a great addition to the joy I seek.

"I rejoice that Mr. Pitt has got the post of Paymaster, as it looks very strongly in favour of the stability of the Closet. Though the king be inclinable to have Mr. Pitt the mover of my affair, yet I should be much better pleased if the Premier moved it, both as a friend, and on account of his weight; but this is a thought of no importance. I am fully convinced of the Premier's good-will towards me; and am extremely flattered at the readiness you find in your brethren. The Chancellor is all you say, and all that I can think: sure never was so flattering a compliment so penned. Excuse my nonsense; for vanity has got the better. I hope the letter will do for Bury; he really deserves it; as he has great application, and does neither want parts, nor a good heart. Lord Findlater is already set out; but I will write to him, that if he stops at lord Hopetown's, it would be agreeable to have him give his thoughts in writing, even before he reaches London."

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

Audience of the king on the subject of the proposed preliminaries of peace, between France, England, and Holland; and conference with lord Harrington, at Claremont, on that subject.

"MY LORD, "*Newcastle House, May 21st*, 1746.

"You will easily imagine, that I have not had a very agreeable time, since you left me; being alone, to support or recede from the opinion we gave, in an affair of the highest importance. However, I have done the best I could; and, by adhering in the main, I think things have ended tolerably well.

"Lord Harrington was with me early on Saturday, and endeavoured, chiefly by commenting on the Pensionary's letter, which you saw the night before, to shew me the necessity of departing from my opinion, which, however, I could not do; and we both debated the point over, in the king's presence afterwards, and his lordship, with some emotion, and improper marks of uneasiness.*

"As I found lord Harrington had shewn the king the draught of his letter the day before, I began, by giving the king my paper, as containing your lordship's thoughts and mine, upon the orders to be sent to Mr. Trevor. His Majesty, who has behaved throughout this whole affair, with great decency and regard to his servants, on both sides of the question, read the paper aloud, to us both, with great attention, giving, in the material places, short marks of his approbation, by often saying, in a low voice, '*I think this is right; I think so;*' argued afterwards very strongly on our side of the question; and concluded with wishing we could settle it amongst ourselves, though lord Harrington, on Saturday and yesterday, urged with great vehemence, that the necessary consequence of our measure would be, that the Dutch would make a separate peace, and the French would go immediately to attack the king at Hanover, where it was not in our power to give him any adequate assistance.

"This did not seem to make any great impression. I said what I thought proper, to shew the improbability of such a measure; and, indeed, I am more and more convinced, that no inconvenience will arise from the part we have taken, since, if the

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* So in the original.

Dutch should make a separate peace, I doubt not but they will stipulate a day for the king and his allies to come in, which we may then do, if proper, much more honourably and more justifiably than at present, without trying to obtain better conditions.

"Lord Harrington resolved to make another trial upon me; and, accordingly, appointed a meeting at Claremont, on Sunday, with my brother, where, after talking the whole matter over, lord Harrington made this proposal, 'that he would send my paper to Mr. Trevor; that he would order him in the strongest manner, to insist upon it to the last; but that in case Mr. Trevor found that the Dutch would separate, he should then have a power to conclude, upon the terms of the draught of lord Harrington's letter, produced on Friday night.'

"I made my objections; but, as lord Harrington has, all along, supposed, (and to the king,) that your lordship would not set the Great Seal to the preliminaries agreed upon the foot of his opinion; and, indeed, though he often asked me, I could not say that I thought you would, though I told him, with great truth, that I had not heard you say a word about it, I was inclined on Sunday to send a messenger to your lordship, with this proposal. But, reflecting afterwards, that it came to nothing, and would probably end in the same thing, as if lord Harrington's letter had gone, I avoided giving you that trouble, and gave lord Harrington the inclosed paper, on Monday morning, intitled '*Instructions for Mr. Trevor*,' as what I thought would answer most of his difficulties, arising from the supposed inconveniences of the delay, and would, at the same time, be quite agreeable to our opinion, and give us an opportunity to determine finally, what should be done, when we knew the Pensionary's thoughts and intentions, upon the objections we offered to the counter-project, as it now stands. Lord Harrington took this paper, and, I really thought, intended to write accordingly.

"He did not go to Kensington on Monday; and I had an opportunity of talking the whole over very seriously with the king, who was in as right a way of thinking upon it as possible, and extremely applauded the particular objections your lordship made, to the agreeing immediately to a treaty of this importance, which had been negotiated without the intervention of any one English minister. The king liked extremely the expedient proposed by me, in the inclosed paper.

"When I came into the closet yesterday, I found the king reading the new draught of lord Harrington's letter, which, upon my not having seen it, he began to read over again; and I send you a copy of it, as I went away last night.* The king struck out some passages, which his Majesty thought shewed too much disposition to the other side of the question, in the articles relating to Cape Breton, the perpetual neutrality, &c. I am persuaded you will think the letter appears to be written by a person, who did not approve the measure, and consequently did not state it in the most favourable light. But, as the substance of what we proposed is there, and as nothing is to be concluded, until we hear farther, I think no inconvenience can arise from it.

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* Evidently an error or omission: but corresponding with the original.

"I think we shall make the communication to M. Wasner and M. Osorio here. The king was very much for sending a person of great weight and credit to Holland, and even to Brussels. I own I was much for it; but no such person could be found, as lord Chesterfield persists in refusing to go. I much wished that Mr. Poyntz might go; but it was said that his health would not permit him.

"Whether fondness to one's own opinion coinciding with your lordship's, for whose integrity and judgment I have the greatest deference, may make me more tenacious than I ought to be, I cannot pretend to say. But thus far I may say, that the more I think of it, the righter I think is our measure, and the less inconvenience do I apprehend from it.

"You will have seen by the Gazette, that the French operations are slow; and I send you a copy of Mr. Trevor's most secret letter, which came in on Monday, and is, I think, extremely favourable to our opinion, viz. that the king should make his objections, and expect to hear from Holland, at least, upon them, before he takes his final resolution: and I cannot imagine, but that all well-intentioned men in Holland, and every where else, must think this reasonable.

"Thus this great affair must remain for some days."

REPLY OF THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

Congratulates him on his victory over lord Harrington, in the discussion relative to the proposed terms of accommodation with France.

"MY DEAR LORD, "*Wrest, May 22nd*, 1746.

"Though I was under an obligation to spend one day at this place, before my return to town, on particular business, I deferred it till now, in expectation that some of the first days of the week might bring me some commands from your Grace, considering the material points which were depending, when we parted. But so much was I in the wrong, that your messenger overtook me this forenoon, about half way between Wimpole and Wrest. The first thing I do, is to sit down, to thank your Grace for your very important and most kind letter, and to congratulate you upon having fought this second combat, single, with better success, than, I must own, I could have expected. I rejoice that our master has behaved so well upon the occasion; and, I really think, from your Grace's relation, that he has shewn a great deal of temper and judgment, especially in not suffering himself to be amused and alarmed about Hanover, where, I apprehend, there is no cause of fear at present.

"I am very glad the second proposal, which was made on Sunday at Claremont, did not take place. I think it would have been dangerous to have left it to Mr. Trevor, to conclude upon the terms in lord Harrington's first draught, on his own judgment, or perhaps any terrors, that might have been thrown out to him, that the Dutch were on the point of separating. We have often seen in his letters, that he has strongly apprehended several points and crises, though not quite so important, for which there was no solid ground. Your Grace's *projet* of 'Instructions to Mr. Trevor,' certainly produced the draught of the letter which is gone; to the matter whereof I have no substantial objection, though the manner of it is certainly liable to your observation, that the person who held the pen was not fond of the measure, which seems to me to appear, most remarkably, in the shortness and dryness of the reasoning about the neutrality of Flanders. However, I am glad of any expedient that brought us together; and, upon the whole, I like it very well. I own, the more I have reflected upon the opinion I have given, the more I am sincerely confirmed in it; and the concurrence of your Grace, who is so much a better judge of affairs of this nature, has greatly strengthened me; though that concurrence was, in truth, the effect of an uniformity of sentiments, without the least previous communication.

"I know no warrant any person has, to suggest to what kind of preliminaries I should set the Great Seal. That must greatly depend on the circumstances existing at that time; but one thing I will venture to advance, that nothing can be a better defence for ratifying preliminaries, not in themselves eligible, than the having used all possible endeavours to procure better; and, if we had concluded upon this counter-project, I fear it would not have appeared that we had used any at all. One may partly see the Pensionary's own way of thinking of it, by Mr. Trevor's most secret letter of the 27th inst. N. S., by which it appears, that he chose to treat it as a first project of the French court. It seems to be a lucky circumstance, that the secret committee did *then* direct it to be communicated to his Majesty; for that must be taken as the first-arrived communication, which takes off several days from the delay.

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"The deliberations concerning peace and war were carried so far, whilst I had the honour to be with you, that I cannot say that any thing new has occurred to me on the subject. I am very glad there has to your Grace, because we find the utility of it. As the papers contained in your packet are all copies, I have taken the liberty to keep them, that I may have an opportunity of considering them something more maturely on my return to Wimpole, where I propose to stay till Monday, and to be at Powis House on that evening."

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

On the ill successes in Italy, and on the disputes between the Empress Queen, and King of Sardinia.

"SIR, "*Newcastle House, March* 17*th*, 1746-7.*

"Having not been honoured with any commands from your Royal Highness, I should not presume to trouble you with a letter, did I not think it my duty to acquaint your Royal Highness with some very material points, which are at present under consideration here; and upon which I should be most proud to know your Royal Highness's sentiments. And, as I depend upon your forgiveness for this trouble, I am sure, I can equally do so, that nothing contained in this letter will transpire.

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* Newcastle Papers.

"The unfortunate miscarriage of our affairs in Provence; the continuance of the differences between the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia; the great army, which, it is reported, that the marshal Saxe, &c. will have in the Netherlands; and the supposed, and magnified disposition of the Dutch, to make peace at any rate, and even, for that purpose, to take separate measures; have given great handle to those who press pacific measures here, to propose, and almost insist upon, our entering immediately, into a private concert with the Pensionary and the ministers of the States, in order to settle among ourselves, the conditions upon which we would make peace.

"I own I have combated this notion as much as I could, as thinking it would tend only to embarrass us, and deprive us of the advantages, which we ought to propose to ourselves from the immense expenses we are at for this campaign: expenses entered into, purely to see whether our armies in the Netherlands, this year, and in the southern parts of France, might not oblige that crown to accept more reasonable conditions of peace. But I have put my thoughts upon that subject, in a paper, which I presume to send to your Royal Highness, marked No. 1.* I will only add, that, as the immediate dissolution of the parliament, after the expiration of this session, seems, in every respect, advisable, I think it should not be dropped, till we can agree amongst ourselves, about peace and war. For, in either light, that measure seems equally necessary; either to justify such a peace as it may perhaps be necessary to make; or to enable the king to carry on the war, if that should be thought practicable and advisable.

"The memory of their late deliverance, owing, under God, entirely to your Royal Highness, and their obligation to the king, for his goodness, in making your Royal Highness the instrument of it, and for his royal protection and support, under the dangers this nation was so lately in, is, at present, too fresh, not to give us almost a certainty of chusing a good Whig parliament, this summer. The uncertainty as to the success of the war, and the terms of a future peace, will keep all people in suspense, and hopes. Whereas, any reverse of fortune, though not to be prevented, and any final conclusion of the war, by almost any peace that can be obtained, would undoubtedly give strength to opposition, raise some flame in the nation, and render the choice of a parliament more difficult. And I beg leave to add to this, the present new opposition is yet unsupported, unconnected, and not in high reputation. What the course of a year may produce, nobody can tell. Unfortunate public events, or private disappointments, and personal views, may render that opposition formidable, which, at present, is far from being so.

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* The substance of this document, entitled, "Considerations," is inserted in the Narrative, c. xii.

"I beg leave also to trouble your Royal Highness, under No. 2, with a letter I wrote to lord Sandwich, and his answer, No. 3, upon the subject of his private negotiation with Macanaz.*

"I come now to acquaint your Royal Highness, with a secret of the utmost importance, which must be most religiously kept. M. Wasner has received a letter from the queen of Hungary, unknown to her ministers, with orders to acquaint the king, that her finances are so exhausted, that she must think of a peace, not being able to continue the war: that, without some addition to her dominions in Italy, she cannot support the expense of them; and hints at wishing to get back her cessions from the king of Sardinia, for other advantages to be given him; I suppose Savona, &c. The king has, himself, answered Wasner extremely well; that, in order to get a tolerable peace, the queen of Hungary must support the engagements of the Convention; have her army complete in the Netherlands; and make the irruption promised, in the southern parts of France; come to an agreement with the king of Sardinia; and lay aside the thought of attacking Naples. M. Wasner has promised to write to the queen, in the strongest manner, to this purpose; and Wasner has told me, that his Majesty held the same language to him that I do.

"This incident, however, will encourage, and render perhaps more practicable, the unalterable disposition of my friends for peace. My own opinion, however, is, that we shall treat of peace with more advantage, when our armies are all in the field, and have made some impression, as I hope they will do, upon France.

"I leave the account of our proceedings upon lord Lovat's trial, to the best, and most unerring hand; and shall only add my most ardent wishes, that the same success may attend your Royal Highness's glorious attempts, for the welfare of Europe, that have so remarkably attended your brave, and unparalleled zeal, for the preservation of the king and your country."

THE PRINCE OF WALES TO SIR THOMAS BOOTLE.

The Prince of Wales thinks, the Pelhams will ruin the country.

"DEAR BOOTLE, *June*, 1747.

"You are three days gone, therefore I must write to you. I have always found you as zealous as you are diligent, and when business is going forward, as these times require it, I want you prodigiously. Nothing less than the great regard I have for that worthy man,† with whom you are now, could make me part with you at present; but I will bear with the inconvenience of your absence, provided you bring me the good news, that he is in better health, than our enemies, and those of this poor country, wish it. Pray God they have not a strong majority, or adieu to my children, the constitution, and every thing that is dear to me. My upright intentions are known to you; my duty towards my father calls for it. One must redeem him out of those hands, that have sullied the crown, and are very near to ruin all. I will endeavour it;

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* The Spanish plenipotentiary at Breda.

† The duke of Somerset.

and, I hope, with my friends' assistance, to rescue, a second time, this kingdom out of wicked hands."

SIR EVERARD FAWKENER TO SIR THOMAS ROBINSON.

On the battle of Lauffeld.

"*Head Quarters at Richolt*, 16*th July*, 1747.

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"I now accompany my letter with a relation of the affair, which passed on the 2nd, between the left wing of the allied army, and the right of that of France. I suppose it will have appeared before, at the court of Vienna; but I send it you, as soon as I could get it ready. You will not expect the same alacrity in transmitting this, as I should have used in sending better news. I will own to you, that I am fallen from my great hopes; for we had drawn the enemy from their retrenched and fortified posts within the Dyle: but it was not to be so. However, we have the satisfaction that neither our leader, nor our troops have lost any of that glory they had so justly acquired. The labours and endeavours of his Royal Highness, as well for many days before the battle, as in it, gave him the justest claims to better success; and if his wing could have been supported with that spirit they gave the example of, there can be little doubt but the event would have been different; for they withstood all the efforts of that formidable column of infantry, supported by an army of cavalry, and were absolutely in possession of the disputed village, when the disorder began on their right. The numbers of the enemy, lost, sufficiently speak the efforts they made. The marshal Saxe owned to Sir John Ligonier, eight thousand foot, one thousand horse, and many officers killed and wounded. He does not certainly aggravate things, and the small number of prisoners they made, shew the condition our wing was in, at the time the centre broke, by which the army was divided, and a retreat became absolutely necessary.

"All the officers of note who were prisoners, are general Ligonier, major-general Isenburg, of the Hessians, and colonel Conway. Our horse suffered from their over ardour; for they broke whatever came before them; but they were not very numerous, and, in their alacrity, went so far as to be flanked by lines of foot, from whom they received the greatest mischief. The head of the great column of infantry was broke as often as it attacked; fresh troops always renewed the attack, and they were driven on by cavalry, sword in hand. The marshal Saxe was present to see this attack; and, he told Sir John Ligonier, was as near being taken as could be. The Duke also was once mixed with a squadron of French horse. The 4th, all our common men prisoners, who were not wounded, were sent back, including nigh two hundred irregulars, who I am not sure, were taken at the battle; they did not amount to five hundred. We made a good many more, in the different times we repossessed the village. We did not lose our colours, but took seven, and got six standards for four lost.

"I once apprehended there might arise some coldness, from the circumstance of the right wing not supporting the left, or attacking, to divert those violent efforts the enemy made on our left. But you see with what candour the Duke has spoken of that circumstance; and I have heard him say, that the situation of marshal Bathiani was a very strong, and an exceeding good one, to receive an enemy in, but not at all proper to attack from; and, if there was any thing with regard to the right wing, which might be wished to have been otherwise, it would be, that so great a proportion of the whole force had not been employed to strengthen what was of itself so very strong, but that part of it had been made use of, on the left, or at least been kept as a reserve to follow occasions." * * *

LORD CHANCELLOR TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

On the necessity of tranquillizing the king of Prussia on the subject of Silesia, and of preparing a plan for peace.

"MY DEAR LORD, " *Twickenham Park, Dec. 29th,* 1747, *nine in the morning.*

"I received, late last night, a letter from Mr. Stone, by your Grace's orders, inclosing the copy of one from my lord Sandwich to my lord Chesterfield, dated Jan. 4th, N. S. The contents of the latter are indeed of the utmost importance and consequence; and are to a degree supported by the deciphered letters from the duc d'Huescar * at Paris, though without any precision, as to the manner in which the king of Prussia would execute his resolutions in favour of France. This brings to my mind another circumstance, which I read a little while ago, I think in a letter from Dresden; that the king of Prussia had ordered all the draught horses in Silesia to be in readiness, and the carriages to be repaired, or new ones provided. I mention this only as one farther circumstance, falling in with the present intelligence.

"It is certainly true, that all this is contrary to the whole tenor of the intercepted correspondence, which we have seen, if that channel be now to be securely depended on. But, for my own part, I have always had my suspicions; and never could be entirely satisfied in my own mind, that this Prince would look with an eye of indifference on a great Russian army, coming to act on this side of Europe, whereby that power, which he considers as his determined enemy, might be supported, and himself be rendered of less consequence in the scale of Europe. And yet all this may be only demonstration or show, to strike a terror; and the king of Prussia himself may have taken care to have this intelligence insinuated, in a secret manner to Groensfeld, without really intending to put any such measure in execution. But, be that as it may, my humble opinion is, that we should act upon it, as if it was real and well-founded; as to the manner of doing which your Grace is the best judge.

"The proposition made by the Prince of Orange, of *communicating the engagement for taking a body of Russians, and making the requisition,* seems to me, with humble submission, to be trifling, unless it be attended with something much more material. Is it not therefore absolutely necessary, to hasten the sending of your minister to Berlin immediately, that the States-General should send one at the same time; and that they should jointly be instructed to tranquillize the king of Prussia, on the subject of Silesia, to eradicate his jealousies that the empress will be permitted or encouraged to take it from him, as soon as her peace is made; and to give him all the guaranties he can desire, from both the Maritime Powers, that she shall not be permitted to do so; which is the more necessary, because Holland has hitherto declined coming into any guaranty at all. If any thing farther can be done, your Grace will be able to suggest it, better than any body. But, however disagreeable this may be, yet if there is a power, which, as things are now constituted, holds the balance of Europe in its hand, and can turn it on which side it pleases, which is certainly the case of Prussia, at present, very disagreeable things must be submitted to, for a season, in order to overcome that difficulty.

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* The Spanish Embassador.

"The next thing to be done, is seriously to set about fixing your plan of peace; and adjusting such terms as you will really and finally accept, in the present circumstances, about which I have already given your Grace a great deal of trouble, but which every incident of this nature makes the more necessary and pressing.

"Mr. Stone acquaints me, in his letter, that Mr. Pelham intends to be in town on Wednesday morning, and that your Grace desires to know when you may see me there. I had the honour to acquaint your Grace, that I came hither with an intention to stay till next Friday morning; and I beg it as a favour, that you will have the goodness to permit me to continue, till that time. I came, in order to get rid of a cough, which had hung upon me, more or less, these six weeks; and for that purpose am trying the effect of asses' milk and riding, which I would not willingly be interrupted in, during this short space. There doth not seem to me any thing in this intelligence, that can make the difference of two days of any consequence. The measure, if really intended, cannot be executed, until the season is somewhat more advanced; and the general design, of sending a minister to the court of Berlin, is already agreed upon. Besides, you may have a very useful meeting with your brother, at the Duke's on Wednesday, to which, I do not say it affectedly, I am sure I could contribute nothing. Indeed, I can say no more than I have written, except this, that I should humbly apprehend, nothing of this intelligence should be communicated, or suffered to transpire, as yet, to the court of Vienna, or M. Wasner, for fear it should make them think of withdrawing their troops, or part of them, from Brabant or Holland.

"As I am here at a friend's house, I cannot with convenience run backwards and forwards; so when I return on Friday, I shall stay and be at your service, from that day.

"I return herewith the copies of Huescar's letters, and also the correspondence between your Grace, lord Sandwich, and Bentinck, all which I have read; but I cannot think my friend Bentinck's answers to lord Sandwich's queries so entirely satisfactory as his lordship seems to do. I wish your Grace a thousand happy years, and am," &c.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

Alludes to his embarrassments, on account of the king's determination to go to Hanover.

"SIR, "*Newcastle-house, March 22nd,* 1747-8.

"I have troubled your Royal Highness so much of late, with my private letters, that I should not have written by this post, but to send your Royal Highness a copy of very material intelligence, which I have this day received from the Spanish marquis. If this is true, my late colleague* is not so determined, not to have any *liaisons* of any kind, as he would have it believed: at least he has certainly trusted lord G.—— with the reasons he would have be believed to have induced him to resign.

"Your Royal Highness sees the object of Bentinck's commission; and the low and desperate state of the Republic is too well known. I agree with my lord G.—— : patience and resolution are necessary; but we must not wait too long. He does not seem to be sufficiently aware of the accidents that may happen, before the arrival of the Prussians. I hope, however, to hear by every post, that those apprehensions diminish daily, and that the Dutch, sensible of their danger, are preparing against it.

"The king told me this morning, that he was determined to go to Hanover, and expected I would get every thing ready for him; by which I suppose he meant the parliament, &c. The discourse was but short, the duke of Bedford coming in. I laid before him the present state of his affairs. He did not mention my attending him, or otherwise, and indeed there was scarce time for it. I foresee the greatest difficulties and inconveniencies: a peace, and such a peace as we must, I am afraid, take, to be negotiated, and finally concluded, with the king at such a distance from this kingdom and his council, and possibly by one part of his ministers, suspected, and distrusted by the other! I am really afraid that my brother, in the present temper he is, may decline being in the Regency: especially if it should be determined that I should attend the king to Hanover. I say this, in the utmost confidence, to your Royal Highness, and your Royal Highness only. You will make the proper reflections on it."

THE EARL OF SANDWICH TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

An account of his negotiations with St. Severin, and the signature of the Preliminaries.

"MY LORD, "*Aix, May 1st, N. S.* 1748.

"I was not able to keep my promise of dispatching my messenger last night, with the final result of the great affair in hand, as it was near one in the morning, before we came from M. St. Severin's; and it must, of course, as your Grace will imagine, take up some considerable time, to copy all the Pieces, the originals of which you will receive, together with these dispatches, which are the Preliminary Treaty, the Separate and Secret Article, the Act for the Suspension of Arms, the Declaration, signed by the Dutch ministers and me, and the copies of the Full Powers of those, who joined in the signature.

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* Lord Chesterfield.

"I cannot flatter myself, that these preliminaries are, in all respects, what could have been wished. They are formed and executed in a hurry, and are, of course, not so clear and explicit, in many places, as works of this delicate nature ought certainly to be. However, your Grace must consider, whom we had to deal with; an enemy flushed with his superiority; and who was, I fear, too well apprised of our weakness; and an Italian plenipotentiary, who, I must acknowledge, was the most difficult person I ever had to treat with, and what is worse, who changed his language every day, and could not be depended on for any thing, till he had signed and sealed.

"In the course of yesterday, it was several times uncertain whether we should conclude, or break off. We agreed upon the form of the treaty, the day before, and that I was to communicate it as yesterday, to the ministers of the allies; and, if they refused to join in it, to come immediately to his house, and sign without them. Instead of that, at six o'clock, he begged of me not to communicate it, but to sign in secret with him, according to the first proposal; that he had reconsidered the matter, and could not bring himself to act otherwise; for that the *éclat*, that would be the consequence of our transactions being public, would throw him into the greatest difficulties. This proposal I positively refused to comply with; said, that I had taken my part, that I would not be amused any longer; that I feared that I had already given his Majesty's allies too much cause of suspicion; and that I was determined, on going from hence, either to shew them the means of concluding immediately, or else to tell them, that I had broke off my negotiation with M. St. Severin, and that no terms were at present to be had, that we could with honour accept. And indeed, there was no other resource for us left; for if I had suffered myself to have been amused for any time longer, the jealousy of the allies would have been raised to such a degree, that I am sure France or Spain, or whoever would have negotiated with them, would have carried them almost into any measures.

"He then objected to the article about the Asiento Contract, the force of which, he said, he was not at first aware of. I told him, I could not consent to alter a single word in the Project; that I claimed his promise of executing it, as it then stood; and that I insisted on an answer, whether he would proceed upon that foundation, or consider the whole at an end. He then desired to see the paper, which though the only copy that existed, I was weak enough to trust him with. After which he increased his objections; and said, he acknowledged he made a bad figure, in so often changing his mind; but that he could not conclude upon this foot. I then desired my paper, which he hesitated to deliver me again; a proceeding that, I own, astonished me extremely. However, it gave me an opportunity of painting his behaviour to me in such strong colours, that at last he thought proper to return me my paper, and to take his resolution to conclude. By very good fortune, M. Bentinck was in the room, and a witness of all this extraordinary conversation; and I own, I hope he will give a more particular account of what passed, wherever it may be necessary; as it will sound better in his mouth than in mine, considering that we are both of opinion, that unless I had shewn a good deal of firmness, the negotiation was certainly at an end; and the allies, who would, sooner or later, have found out what had been in question, irrevocably dissatisfied.

"What were his reasons for this extraordinary conduct, I am at a loss to guess. But certainly, to the end of the night, he expressed as much concern and agitation, as I ever saw in a man in my life; and most certainly disapproved, and repented of what he was doing. So that I cannot help thinking, he must have had hopes, or received intimations, that he could have had still better conditions. He, indeed, several times repeated, that he had sacrificed the court of Spain, whose real demands, notwithstanding what might appear to us, were infinitely higher than what they had now obtained. And it is a farther proof of his apprehension of the resentment of the court of Spain, that he is, this very day, to set out for marshal Saxe's army, and from thence to Paris, to give the first impression himself, with regard to this transaction.

"I come now to the most disagreeable part of the whole business, which was the communication of this affair to the ministers of the allies. I went immediately to count Kaunitz; and, after proper introduction, I shewed him the project, which he read over carefully. When he had gone through it, I told him, that those conditions were, I believed, to be had; that I feared the present situation of our affairs would not authorise us to expect better; and that, for that reason, I thought it my duty to propose to him, the joining with us, in signing a treaty upon that foot. This he absolutely refused; and without entering into the particulars, said, that the whole was utterly destructive to the interests of his sovereign, that he would at no rate, and on no consideration, give into it; that he considered his mistress as utterly abandoned by us; and that, in short, he entered his protest, in the most solemn manner, against the whole proceeding.

"I went from hence to M. Chavannes,* and on my first mention of the necessity of giving up Finalé, he shewed the utmost uneasiness and concern; and said that he could on no consideration join in any measure of this sort; but, on the contrary, oppose it by every method whatever, that depended on him; and that he was sure, the king his master would rather suffer the last extremities, than acquiesce in what was now in question. In short, my lord, it must be left to time, to bring those two courts to reason. For, so far from there having been any possibility of engaging them to cooperate with us, in measures at all like those, on which I am instructed to proceed, that notwithstanding their repeated avowal of the distress of our situation, I am convinced they would rather have seen every thing run to confusion, than give in to what they think so destructive to their respective interests.

"After this unpleasant part of my business was over, I went with the Dutch ministers to M. St. Severin's, and as your Grace will see, proceeded to a conclusion.

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* Minister of the king of Sardinia.

"I have acknowledged at the beginning of this letter, that these preliminaries are more loose, than ought to have been wished, in many parts. However, as I am convinced, we had no resource but this left, I flatter myself, the necessity of our affairs will be our justification, for having taken the best terms that could be got. Exclusive of the melancholy accounts in your Grace's several late dispatches, the recent advices from general Mordaunt, of the slowness of the Russians, and the certain intelligence, that the French had mined, not only Bergen-op-Zoom, but Namur and Ypres, and, that the orders to spring the mines, and entirely destroy those important fortresses, were only suspended, till the fate of my private negotiation with Monsieur St. Severin, should be decided, were additional reasons to hurry us to a conclusion.

"These facts are so well ascertained, that, exclusive of the positive intelligence from his Royal Highness, that Bergen-op-Zoom, and the forts in the lines, are ready to be blown up, Monsieur St. Severin owned the fact to Bentinck; shewed in several of Monsieur Puisieulx's letters, the dates of those orders, as also the same with regard to Namur, and Ypres, and added what I have already said, that the execution of them was suspended, singly, in consequence of representations, he had very lately made to marshal Saxe; upon that subject. Another consideration, that would, in my opinion, have rendered it imprudent to hesitate to conclude, by any means in our power, was, that Monsieur St. Severin declared to me, that if we did not finish now, all negotiation between us was at an end; and that, if we lost this opportunity, there could be very little reason to hope for another. That, if we broke off, his court would be obliged to enter upon new measures; and that, of course, they were at liberty to rise in their demands: that, if we waited till their arms were attended with any success, I must expect they would become less tractable; and, in short, that the peace was now in my hands, if I would give up Finalé and Dunkirk; but that a few days would render even those concessions useless.

"Your Grace must easily judge, whether, after having received your instructions of the 8th of April, I could take upon myself to reject this offer; and it was on these considerations, that I determined to conclude.

"I heartily wish your Grace may think my reasoning just: I am sure it was well-intentioned. For, otherwise, I should have stood by myself, in the refusal of a peace, upon the single point of the duchy of Guastalla; for, in all the rest, I think I am within my instructions; and what would have made it worse, was, the declaration of Monsieur St. Severin, that this was the last word he had to say to me; and that, if we did not now finish, France would change her measures, and rise in her demands; and, when once she had set out on that foot, there is no knowing where it might have ended.

"As to the articles themselves, I can say no more for them, than what I have already said. They are the best that could be had. Monsieur St. Severin, in the whole course of the negotiation, knew his superiority, and made use of it; and, I am very apprehensive, that, some way or other, from the Hague, he must have known the substance of my instructions; for, soon after your Grace's dispatches of the 5th and 8th of April, he came to me, and abruptly told me, that if I would give up the points of Finalé and Dunkirk, the peace was in my hand. And when he had once engaged me to enter at all into negotiation upon that principle, I am sure there was no remedy, but going through, almost at any rate. The article, however, with regard to Dunkirk, is rather better than I should have expected; as they have no right to erect any new fortifications to the land, or to do any thing at all on the side of the sea.

"The suspension of arms we had much difficulty about, as Monsieur St. Severin said, that could not be possibly admitted, till the exchange of the ratifications; and that, considering the chance of winds in the passage to and from England, and the distance of Italy, six weeks was as early a period as could well be allowed for that purpose. But that he would agree to a separate act, with regard to the operations in the Low Countries, which might take place without ratifications, and that we might each of us immediately send a copy of it to the respective generals, that they might fix the day forthwith, on which it might take place; but that, as to the siege of Maestricht, it was absolutely necessary, as it was so far gone, that it should take its course; and there was no possibility of settling it upon any other footing:—though it is absolutely understood as the basis of the whole, that the hostilities shall cease immediately in the Low Countries; and, if they make any difficulty on that article, I own, I think we have a right to refuse exchanging the ratifications, if there should not be any other reason; which, I am sure I cannot pretend to answer there will not be, as I am aware, this business has been done under many disadvantages, which, I fear, will appear to have operated in the conclusion of it.

"I ought, upon such an important occasion as this, and particularly where so much may be necessary to be said in my justification, to have wrote more at large; but I must beg your Grace's indulgence for the present, as my agitation of mind is such, that the most prudent thing I can do, is to defer what farther may be wanting, till the next post.

"P. S.—Monsieur St. Severin has changed his mind about going himself to Paris; and has sent away his first Secretaire d'Embassade, Monsieur Tercier, who set out this morning."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Remarks on the affair of Osnaburg—On the difficulty of signing without Austria—Approves the endeavours to gain Prussia.

"MY DEAR LORD, *Powis House, July 15th-26th*, 1748.

"Your Grace will not wonder that I did not acknowledge the honour of your very kind letter, by Tuesday's post, since I had not then been able to see Mr. Pelham, which was absolutely necessary, in order to fill up the blanks. I call them blanks, because the material part of your letter to me, consists of references to that to Mr. Pelham, which I have since perused, with its inclosures. But I must begin with my thanks for the undeserved regard, which you are pleased to shew my correspondence, which I am sure did not merit to be communicated, in the place to which it had the honour to be conveyed.

"As to the subject of your Grace's private letter to your brother,* I need use no words to convince you, that it gave me as much concern, as it could possibly do you, and for the same reasons. But I will tell you my opinion upon it, directly and plainly. I think neither your Grace nor Mr. Stone could possibly do better, or otherwise than you have done. The latter could do no otherwise than obey; and it is ridiculous to think he could. Your Grace has considered the affair in all possible lights, and taken all imaginable precautions, to prevent inconveniences; and, in this opinion, both the duke of Bedford and your brother do entirely concur. At the same time I must own, that I fear some disagreeable consequences may arise, from the making such a confidence to the French minister. Not that I think the thing will succeed; the treaties of Westphalia stand too obstinately in the way, and they are made part of the basis of the preliminaries. But the French Court has it in its power to make one or other of these advantages; either to flatter a certain person, by making him believe they will push this point for him, and thereby induce him the more easily to overlook more material things, in the definitive treaty; or else to betray the secret to other powers, whom it may offend and irritate. This is part of the king of Prussia's bait; and France may now let him know, that his offer has been slighted and rejected; and the same thing has been sought for at their hands. I wish all this may be avoided, and am convinced no mortal could have taken wiser means to avoid it, than your Grace has done.

"The doctrine of hastening to a conclusion, is the most orthodox that can be preached; and we all rejoice to see so many steps taken towards it. We all likewise agree, that France ought not, on any pretence, to be left in possession of any part of their conquests in the Netherlands. The whole difficulty seems at present to arise from the conduct of the court of Vienna, which is abominable; and will, in the event, provoke this country to a degree, which I, who am a friend to the House of Austria, dread. If you proceed to make the cessions and restitutions, by an act of execution of that article, precedent to the definitive treaty, it cannot be done without the Empress Queen; because she is to make part of the cessions, and receive part of the restitutions. If you resolve to do the whole by the definitive treaty, she must be a party to it, and has laid a foundation to create many difficulties, which may delay the work, and continue the national expense. The last case is, if the court of Vienna stands out, to conclude the definitive treaty without them. How then will you come at the cession of the greatest part of the establishment of Don Philip? And will France yield Flanders without it? But if France will agree to that, by some method of putting those places *en sequestre,* or otherwise, may not the court of Vienna still gain some part of their view by this means? Your Grace sees they want to make as many several treaties, as there are powers, almost. If we conclude a definitive treaty without them, they will say they are at liberty to make one for themselves; and, this way, they may hope to avoid the guaranties to the kings of Prussia and Sardinia, for which they have laid in a claim by their protest.

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* See chap. xvi. p. 436, where the letter above alluded to is inserted, dated July 3rd-14th, 1748.

"Now I am upon the definitive treaty, permit me to throw out one doubt, about giving orders to my lord Sandwich, to sign without communicating the draught, either at Hanover or here. Is not this going rather too far in so important a work? Your Grace knows, better than any body, what escapes and inaccuracies happened in the preliminaries, and how many subsequent acts of explanation have been occasioned by them. In a work of such haste, this might be unavoidable. But in a definitive treaty, which is supposed to have continuance, and can never be corrected but by consent of all parties, it will be thought unpardonable. Neither the French, Imperial, nor Sardinian ministers, will do this, without sending to their respective courts; and the same time will serve for my lord Sandwich to communicate, both at Hanover and at London.

"It has been observed,that your Grace repeats, over and over, "*the Old System;*" and, from thence, an inference is made, that you are averse to Prussia. I will venture to say one word upon that head, because you know I am a hearty friend to the old system, and an utter enemy to our entering into such an intimate union and connection with France, as should make us dependent upon her, which had, not many years ago, been likely to be the case. But, notwithstanding that, I see, and we all have felt, the lameness of the old system, without Prussia. It has been the great maim and weakness of the whole alliance. In this view, I am quite delighted with your Grace's letter to Sir Thomas Robinson; and, for this reason, in my poor opinion, neither the king nor the empress should stick at small matters, or the modality of things, to take him in. If you gain Prussia, the confederacy will be restored and made whole, and become a real strength; if you do not, it will still continue lame and weak, and much in the power of France. The assistance of Russia cannot repair this defect; for we see, by sad experience, at what a prodigious expense their succours are to be had; how uncertain, and, at best, how very late in their coming; insomuch that all may be lost before we can see a man of them. This weighs extremely, not to insist upon niceties, when the gaining of Prussia, if practicable, is the question; and, methinks the king of Prussia has gone a considerable way, in declaring, that though perhaps the friendship between him and the Empress Queen, is not quite clear enough, to encourage a direct alliance between him and her Imperial Majesty, yet he is willing to enter immediately with the Maritime Powers, and, by the medium of them, to give all guaranties and securities for the Austrian dominions. So I understand it; and I should hope that a little demonstration of good disposition and compliance, on the part of the court of Vienna, might bring him the other part of the way. As to proceeding immediately, to make any general new confederacy, to secure the allies against the power of France, my fear is, lest that should alarm France, and make that power, which has much in its hands, reluctant, and disposed to create obstructions, and take advantages, in settling the definitive treaty. But the right measure seems, to my humble apprehension, to be, to have, even now, such a new alliance always in view; to be entering into secret concerts for it, and paving the way to it; that it may be concluded, without loss of time, after the definitive treaty is made."

END OF VOL. I.

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